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To The Citizens of Toronto
Past and Present

THE MUNICIPALITY OF TORONTO A HISTORY

"Generation after generation takes to itself the Form of a body; and forth issuing from Cimmerian Night on Heaven's mission *appears*. What force and fire is in each he expends: one grinding in the mill of Industry; one hunter-like climbing the giddy Alpine heights of Science; one madly dashed in pieces on the rocks of Strife, in war with his fellow:—and then the Heaven-sent is recalled; his earthly vesture falls away, and soon even to Sense becomes a vanished Shadow. Thus, like some wild-flaming, wild-thundering train of Heaven's artillery does this mysterious *Mankind* thunder and flame, in long-drawn, quick-succeeding grandeur, through the unknown Deep."—CARLYLE

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Lieut.-Col. John Graves Simcoe
First Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada.

THE MUNICIPALITY OF TORONTO A HISTORY

By

JESSE EDGAR MIDDLETON

With the Co-operation of a Group of Special Writers

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PREFACE

IN THE arable area of this Province of Ontario the fields, whether flat or undulating, offer no obstacle to the plough. The houses are sturdy, roomy dwellings, often of brick or stone. The spacious barns are an index of prosperity. The cattle in the pastures are sleek-coated aristocrats; doubtless with certificates of registration hanging above their stalls. At easy distances apart are public schools and churches. It is a country established, settled, content; a Province of infinite loveliness, of rich contrasts in every landscape. The grace of elm-trees, of grain and Indian corn; the color of triangular spruces, of birches, of Autumn maples and of brass-leaved poplars; the noise of meadow-larks, of hurrying streams, of the breaking waves on the broad Lake beaches—these are the treasures of beauty which are the inheritance of the people.

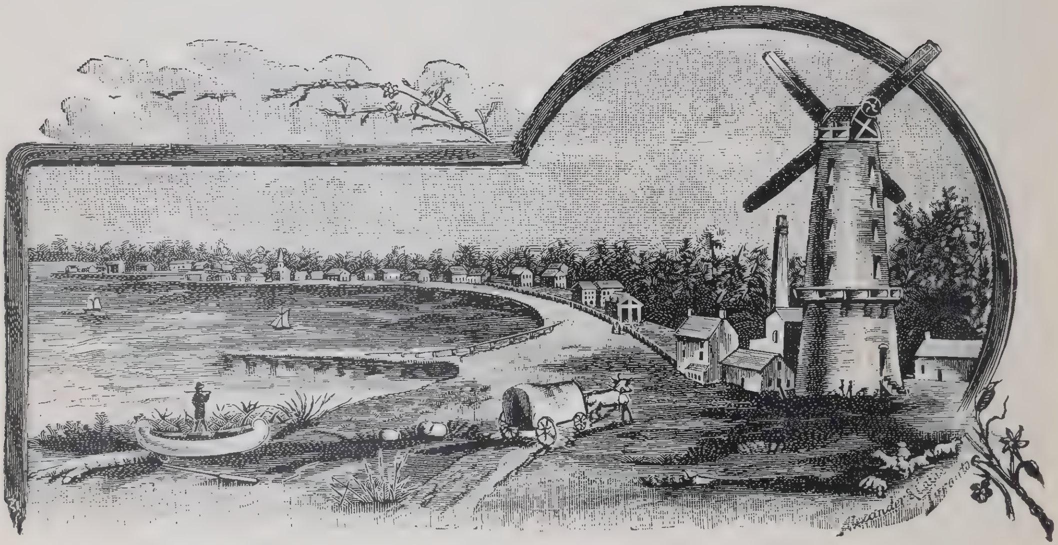
Yet the site of the City of Toronto, now the pulsing heart of the Province, was an unbroken forest in 1793 and the whole of Upper Canada a wilderness of hardwood and pine. By toil and hardship, through suffering, disputation, conflict and even battle, the wilderness, although lovely in itself, has been transformed into a new excellence, and this brave City has risen to a place of power and influence in the Dominion of Canada and in the world. To unfold the romantic story of its building is the purpose of this book. How far the performance falls short of the splendor of the subject the Editor does not dare seriously to consider.

Official historical materials relating to the early settlement of Upper Canada and its Capital are limited, by reason of the burning of the first Government records by the Americans in 1813, and the destruction of the Montreal Parliament Buildings in 1849 by a mob. Copies of many documents thus destroyed have been secured from private individuals and from the Public Records Office in London for the Dominion and the Provincial Archives but these are only fragments compared to the mass of material which has been lost. It is only in recent years that the Journals of the earliest Parliament have been published by the Provincial Archives and original printed copies of the early Statutes are rare. The Minutes of the City Council of Toronto are complete from 1834, the year of incorporation, but many correspondence files which should supplement those Minutes, and in a measure clothe the skeleton with flesh, are missing.

Unofficial records are more common. The papers of Judge Powell, Hon. Robert Baldwin, Hon. Peter Russell, Bishop Strachan, Sir John Beverley Robinson and others are of great value, but there must be other family records of importance which have not yet been made available to the student. Much can be gleaned from early newspaper files, though here again is a lack. For the period between 1812 and 1820 or thereabouts, few newspapers exist. In the field of original inquiry Dr. Scadding, Mr. John Ross Robertson, Mr. C. C. James, Mr. Justice Riddell and Miss Lizars have done invaluable work and the Editor and his associates owe much to them.

To Dr. George H. Locke and staff of the Toronto Public Library, to the Librarian of the Provincial Parliament and his assistants, to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, the Provincial Archivist, and to Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, thanks are due. One must not omit acknowledgement of the co-operation of Mr. W. A. Littlejohn, City Clerk, of Mr. Thomas Sanderson, his assistant, and of the Special Writers. These last have been very patient in their dealings with the Editor.

It is not possible to name all who have been helpful. Their name is legion and their courtesy, infinite. The work of collecting material has involved a labor of over two years and until September, 1922, was under the supervision of Mr. John Lewis. At that time the onerous nature of his newspaper work compelled him to resign; and the present Editor took over the task.



Toronto, in 1834.

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PART IV.

THE CITY IN ITS PEOPLE

A SERIES OF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

ERRATA

Page 169 For "Spragg" read "Spragge"
Page 174 For "molerate" and "slouyh" read "moderate" and "slough".
Page 194 For "hanged" read "shot"
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PART I.

The City in its Beginnings

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

A CITY, like an individual, has Personality. Even the most unobservant traveller can discern the distinctive quality of "atmosphere" which differentiates Baltimore from New York, Detroit from Cleveland, London from Paris. That "atmosphere" is not to be discovered in streets and buildings alone. It is more elusive. In a modern city the contour of the skyline, and the appearance of the buildings along the principal avenues may change utterly every ten years, but the spirit of the community remains constant, determining the attractiveness, or otherwise, of the place to visitors and to residents.

It may be that the dominant thoughts of the majority of the people found in a community may give that community its "color" or its soul. If that be true, the story of the making of any great city must necessarily be worth telling. It has been the scene of struggle and conflict; in business, in politics, in all the relationships of men. The savor of an old romance or the memory of an ancient tragedy clings about this street or that. The culture of the community may trace itself to the sacrifice of a lover of learning, long since dead, who mortgaged his farm to help erect the first college building. There is a fascination in the spectacle of life. Where else is it so varied, so full of interest, as in the centres of population?

Toronto, the chief city of the Canadian Province of Ontario, is the home of about 600,000 people; and at least 400,000 more are found in the district tributary to it. How it rose, from an unbroken forest on the margin of Lake Ontario, to its present position as a place desirable above all others in the eyes of the citizens is the subject of the following pages.

IN THE first years of the Seventeenth Century when the French began the exploration of Canada, the peninsula now known as Western Ontario was occupied mainly by three tribes of Indians; the Hurons, established in the district between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, the Petuns or Tobacco Nation inhabiting the region from the Nottawasaga River to Lake Huron, and the Neutrals, whose villages ranged towards the south and west as far as Lake Erie and the Detroit River. The Hurons were at enmity with the powerful Iroquois, or Five Nations who lived south and east of Lake Ontario. These Nations, from west to east, were the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks. It has been suggested that the Neutrals were on good terms with the belligerents because they controlled large deposits of flints in the Niagara peninsula which both sides required for arrow-heads and axes. That may or may not be true. If the Neutrals were the munition dealers of their time, the business was soon ended by the coming of iron axes and firearms. Neutrality did not save them from calamity. Ultimately their nation was destroyed by an Iroquois incursion.

All these tribes were of the same racial stock and differed materially from the nomadic Algonquins found chiefly in the Laurentian country but often wandering farther south. They lived in villages, practised a rude agriculture and had a distinctive social organization and national tradition. The Hurons were the first to come in touch with the French explorers on the St. Lawrence. Every summer they made the long canoe-trip from the Georgian Bay, through French River, Lake Nipissing, the Mattawa River and the Ottawa, bringing furs to the lower end of the Island of Montreal or even as far as Three Rivers and Quebec. These peltries were bartered for iron weapons, trinkets and brandy, and thus the great fur trade of North America had its beginnings.

Samuel de Champlain was anxious to cultivate the good will of both the Hurons and the Algonquins, that his plans of exploration in the interior of the Continent might be furthered. Therefore in the year after the founding of Quebec, he agreed to accompany and assist an Algonquin war-party against the Iroquois. On this expedition, which went by way of the Richelieu River, Lake Champlain was discovered and named. On July 29th, 1609, near Crown Point the Iroquois were encountered. The next day a battle was fought in which the muskets of Champlain and his two French companions turned the scale. The Iroquois, terrified by the fire-arms, were defeated and the victors returned triumphant to the St. Lawrence. This petty skirmish, for it was little more, had much historical importance. It definitely ranged the powerful Iroquois confederation against the French, was the excuse for innumerable incursions and massacres that tormented the colony of Canada for more than one hundred years, and thus was one of the prime causes of the final overthrow of French power in 1759.

Having assisted the Algonquins, Champlain acceded to the demand of the Hurons that some day he should give them support against the common enemy. He exacted one condition, that as soon as convenient the Hurons should admit to their country a Christian missionary. Six years elapsed before the time was considered opportune.

Meanwhile an Algonquin Chief of the Upper Ottawa named Iroquet was so friendly that Champlain unfolded to him a plan whereby one of the young Frenchmen might be trained as an interpreter. He suggested that this youth should go up the Ottawa with the Indians and remain with them during the winter of 1610 and 1611. Iroquet readily consented, but when he brought the matter before his tribesmen objections were raised. It was feared that should any accident befall the young man, vengeance for his death or injury might be exacted by the French. In view of this opinion among his followers the Chief refused to carry out the arrangement.

Champlain told the tribe that his continued friendship depended upon them taking the lad as Iroquet had promised. "You are not children," he said, "to break your promises in this manner." After further consideration the Chief suggested that the French should accept in exchange a young Indian named Savignon and take him across the sea. Thus the life of the one should be a guarantee for the life of the other. The arrangement was mutually satisfactory. Savignon saw the glories of Paris which later he described to his kinsmen, and Étienne Brulé saw the wonders of lake and hill, forest and stream between the St. Lawrence and Lake Huron, which afterwards he described in the closest detail to Champlain.

At least six youths were sent into the woods by the founder of Quebec, Brulé, Nicolet, Marsolet, Hertel, Marguerie and Vignau. These lived for a greater or less time with the Indians and acquired sufficient of their language to act in future as interpreters. Champlain does not say specifically that Étienne Brulé was the youth who went with Iroquet, but in 1618 he declared that Brulé had been among the Indians for eight years. The testimony also of the Récollet Brother, Sagard-Théodat, the first historian of Canada, indicates that no other could have been intended in the following sentences by Champlain "I had a young lad who had already spent two winters at Quebec (1608-09, and 1609-10) and who desired to go with the Algonquins (and Hurons) to learn their language. I thought it well to send him, because he could see the country, also the great lake, observe the rivers, the people, the mines, and other rare things, so as to report truth about all this. He accepted the duty with pleasure."

Meanwhile Champlain returned to France, and by the summer of 1611 was again on the St. Lawrence to meet the trading flotilla from the Huron country and the Upper Ottawa. He restored Savignon to his people, and wrote concerning Brulé, "I saw also my servant. The boy had learned the Huron language very well." One of the Huron chiefs said also that his people had never seen a Frenchman except Champlain's servant. From July 1611 to July 1615 the only contemporary mention of Brulé was that he lived among the savages. There is abundant justification for the opinion that Étienne Brulé "the pioneer of pioneers," the first of the *coureurs de bois,* was the first white man to see this pleasant Province of Ontario.

The summer of 1615 saw the consummation of Champlain's alliance with the Hurons, and his start for their distant home. The Indians had accepted a missionary and Father Joseph Le Caron, a Récollet priest, left Lachine with the main canoe flotilla on July 6th or 7th, 1615. Twelve armed Frenchmen were with this party. Champlain with Brulé and another French companion, and seven Indians left on July 9th in two canoes. It was a long and toilsome journey; three weeks of paddling and the crossing of no fewer than 35 portages—one of them nine miles long. In some minor rapids the Indians did not trouble to land, but waded, shoving the canoes forward to reach some convenient eddy where paddling might be renewed. So the explorers came to the mouth of the French River, and thence by way of "Freshwater Sea" (Mer Douce) as Champlain called Georgian Bay, threaded their way among the thirty thousand islands to the shores of Machedash Bay.

Le Caron was conducted to the palisaded village of Carhagouha across the headland to the westward where a separate cabin was erected for him. Champlain landed on August 1st at Otouacha about four miles below the present town of Penetanguishene, and on the other side of the bay. During the next two weeks Champlain was conducted by his Huron guides to all the important villages of the settlement. He came to Carhagouha, on August 12th, where he met Father Le Caron, heard the first mass celebrated in Ontario, and participated in the singing of *Te Deum Laudamus.* The war-party of the Hurons was assembling, the point of concentration being

Cahiagué on the shore of Lake Simcoe,* near the present town of Hawkestone.

They determined to journey towards the enemy's country by way of the Trent River route, emerging from that chain of inland lakes and rivers into the Bay of Quinté, then coasting around the eastern end of the great Lake to the neighborhood of the present Oswego.

The Hurons had received word that five hundred warriors of the Carantouanais tribe, living south of the Iroquois country, probably along the Susquehanna River, would willingly assist in the attack upon the common enemy. It was necessary to send a scouting party to acquaint these southern allies of the place of rendezvous and the time fixed for the junction of the two forces. Twelve of the most stalwart Hurons were chosen for this special duty which necessarily was toilsome and dangerous, since a part of the way lay through the enemy country of the Senecas.

Brulé sought and obtained permission to accompany the scouts. They crossed Lake Simcoe, came through the Holland River marshes, crossed a portage to the headwaters of the Humber and floated down that fine stream to Lake Ontario. Étienne Brulé was the first European to see the noble shore-curve of Humber Bay. The date was probably September 10th, 1615. William Shakespeare had still seven months to live.

The two canoes coasted around the western end of Lake Ontario and came to the Niagara River. It is unlikely that Brulé saw the Falls of Niagara at this time. There was need of haste, and the route probably lay south-east of the present town of Lewiston. Through the forests and marshes the Huron scouts took their way, meeting only one hostile party which they surprised and defeated, killing four men and capturing two. They reached Carantouan safely and delivered their message.

Because the war-party subsequently organized was slow in setting out, the Carantouanais missed the rendezvous by two days, and the Hurons with Champlain were defeated. Brulé remained with this tribe during the winter and was able to explore "a river that flows in the direction of Florida to the sea." It is believed that he followed the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake, and then retraced his course to Carantouan.

With the Spring of 1617 Brulé and his Huron companions started back through the Seneca country towards Lake Ontario. This time they encountered a superior force and were compelled to scatter for safety. During two days Brulé was lost in the forest. Finally discovering a trail he followed it and walked into a Seneca village. At first he was kindly received, since he denied that he was a Frenchman. The Chief believed him, but the warriors were more suspicious. They seized him, stretched him on the ground (probably pegging him out) and applied the forms of torture which Indians rejoiced to administer. They tore out his fingernails with their teeth, applied glowing coals to his body and plucked out his beard by handfuls. They would have killed him, had not the torture been interrupted by a furious thunderstorm. The Indians may have imagined that this storm was a heavenly rebuke. In any case the Chief released the prisoner, bound up his wounds and treated him kindly. When he had recovered sufficiently to march he was conducted to Lake Ontario and found his way back to the Huron country. Thence in 1618 he returned to the site of Three Rivers, meeting Champlain on July 7th.

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* The Huron name for this body of water was Ouentaroni, or the Lake-Where-Fish-Are-Speared. According to the late Father Jones, S.J., the eminent antiquarian, the word "Ouenta" means a small fish. The place-name Ontario, therefore, has in itself a reference to the lakes and rivers which water the Province so plentifully, and give the countryside such enduring beauty and charm. The transfer of the name "Lake Ontario" from the small body of water to the large one farther south is one of the curiosities of history.

What a story he had to tell of the Empire he had seen! How he could have thrilled the courts of Europe if he had chosen to cross the sea! But he was still Champlain's servant. He had a love for savage life and his friends were in Huronia. Besides there were stories of a great lake north and west of the Mer Douce. So he rejoined the Indians, coming down again with the trading flotillas in 1620 and 1621, but spending the time between in exploration. Sagard says: "At about 80 or 100 French leagues from the Hurons there is a mine of red copper from which the interpreter Brulé showed me a large ingot when he came back from a journey he made to a neighboring nation with a man named Grénolle."

Year by year he reported to Champlain the result of his inquiries and his observations and undoubtedly the uncanny accuracy of Champlain's map published in 1632 but probably drawn in 1629 is due to the information which Brulé brought. But the "servant" lost caste with Champlain when he acted as pilot for one of the ships of Kirke, the Englishman who captured Quebec in 1629. He returned to the Hurons while the French were being sent back to their own country, but three years later he became involved in a quarrel. The Indians clubbed him to death, and his body was cooked and eaten. De Brébeuf, the Jesuit missionary, testified in 1635 that he had seen the place (Toanché)* "where poor Étienne Brulé had been barbarously and treacherously murdered."

Champlain after the defeat of 1616 had returned to Huronia by the Trent waterway, reaching Cahiagué on December 23rd. After a few days' rest he joined Father Le Caron at Carhagouha and between January 15th and February 15th, 1616 they two made a journey to the Petun villages. While, in later years, the Petuns were concentrated in the Blue Hills, it is believed by antiquaries that at this time their country ranged all the way from the neighborhood of Stayner to the peak of the Bruce Peninsula and the east coast of Lake Huron. Concerning this little journey Sagard says: "He (Le Caron) passed over as far as the Nation of the Petuns, where he met with more suffering than consolation in his dealings with these barbarians. They offered him no hearty welcome nor gave sign that his visit was at all pleasing, acting, it may be, at the instigation of their medicine-men or magicians who had no wish to be thwarted in or condemned for their mummeries. So that after a short stay the good Father was constrained to return to his Hurons, where he remained until it was time for them to go down to Quebec for the annual barter."

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* The village was not far from Lot 3, Concession 19 of the present Township of Tiny. Some day a memorial of the first explorer of Ontario might well be erected in this neighborhood.

After the departure of Le Caron and Champlain in 1617 neither missionaries nor explorers other than Brulé appeared again in the Huron peninsula of Ontario for six years. Meanwhile Father Le Caron had been in Europe and had secured reinforcements for the mission. By the middle of August 1623 he, with Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Gabriel Sagard-Théodat (the historian) were established in the Huron country and remained there, living near Carhagouha, until the Spring of 1624. Then it was determined that Le Caron and Sagard should return to the Récollet house at Quebec to secure necessary supplies. Father Viel remained at the mission until May, 1625. On the way to Quebec, after having passed all the dangers of the long trade-route, he came to the swift water of the Rivière des Prairies to the north of the Island of Montreal. Here, whether by accident or by the design of two or three Indian ruffians, his canoe was upset and he was drowned, in company with a young Indian convert named Auhaitsic, or "Little Fish." There is a suburban village, erroneously called "Ahuntsic" established in our day on the shore of the "Back River" in plain sight of the Sault au Récollet.

In 1625 the Jesuits first came to Quebec, having been invited by the Récollets. The first missionaries were Father Charles Lalemant, Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Ennemond Massé who came over from France in company with two Jesuit lay brothers and a Récollet friar named Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon. It was found impossible to proceed to the Huron country until the following year and by that time three more Jesuits had arrived from oversea. When the Hurons came to the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1626 they agreed, although reluctantly, to convey three missionaries to their country. Accordingly on August 1st or thereabouts Father de Brébeuf, Father Anne de Nouë and the Récollet Father d'Aillon stepped into their canoes and by the end of the month were living at the village of Toanché a little west of the shore of Penetanguishene Bay.

Father de la Roche d'Aillon had instructions from his superior, Father Le Caron, to visit the Neutral Nation where no priest had ever been. Accordingly he set out on October 18th, 1626 in company with two Frenchmen named respectively Grénolle and La Vallée. (Grénolle was Brulé's companion). It is believed that his route was through Grey and Wellington counties and then by way of the Grand River. He was with the Neutrals about three months, returning to the Jesuit mission about the middle of March, 1627. That year Father de Nouë returned to Quebec, having found it impossible to learn the vowel-ridden Huron language. D'Aillon left in 1628 and for a year Father Jean de Brébeuf was in Huronia alone.

The sudden appearance in the St. Lawrence of the Kirke brothers, English sea-raiders, and the prevalence of famine in the colony made it necessary for De Brébeuf to return to Quebec. He was there on July 19th, 1629, when the Kirkes demanded the surrender of the city. On the following day the English entered Quebec and for three years Canada remained in their possession. The country was ceded back to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on March 29th 1632. Meanwhile the missionaries were in France.

By the Spring of 1634 the Jesuits had returned; Father Paul Le Jeune being established as Superior at Quebec, and Fathers de Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davost proceeding to Huronia. From that time onward for ten years the Huron Mission became more and more important. The Fathers built a fort named Ste. Marie on the River Wye and by 1640 this Residence was the home of 15 Jesuit priests and as many Brothers and domestics. Its ruins may be traced today. Missions were established in all the principal villages and also in the Petun and Neutral country. The Hurons were nominally Christian, although they were slow to change their traditional cruelty towards prisoners.

Meanwhile the Iroquois were growing more and more troublesome. They waylaid French and Huron hunting parties, prepared ambushes at the portages, becoming bolder and more relentless with every success. Father Isaac Jogues was captured on August 3rd 1642, carried into the Iroquois country and tortured. He was ransomed by the Dutch Governor of Albany, Van Corlear, and returned to France. A year later he was again in Canada, swinging his paddle, intoning the mass, acting as special envoy of the French Governor to his former captors and finally going to the Mohawks as a missionary. He was slain by a tomahawk in the hands of an infuriated Indian on October 16th, 1646, near the present village of Auriesville, N.Y.

In 1648 eighteen missionaries were in Huronia. Then came the first fierce gust presaging the coming storm. St. Joseph, or Teanaustaiae, was a fortified village beautifully situated on a height overlooking the Coldwater River. At sunrise on July 4th, 1648, Father Antoine Daniel went to his chapel to say mass. While the service was in progress the war-cry of the Iroquois was heard. During the night the enemy had silently labored at the stockade, undermining the heavy posts with hatchets. At last a practicable breach was made and into the village they came, an army of red demons straight from the Pit.

Some attempt at a stand was made by the surprised Hurons, but it was of short duration. Soon the village was a shambles. Those who escaped in the first onset ran in a frenzy of terror to the church. Amid the lamentations of women, children and old men, so many called aloud for baptism that the priest dipped his handkerchief in the font and baptised the people by aspersion. Meanwhile he comforted them with heroic words: "Brothers, to-day we shall be in Paradise."

At last the invaders come even to the Church. Calmly the priest opens the door and stands unarmed before them. He questions them. They pause, abashed, but only for a moment. A musket ball stretches Father Daniel upon the ground. He is riddled with arrows, his cassock is stripped from him and his brave body mutilated. Then, the torch! The church, filled with dead and dying, flames up, a red terror in the midst of that dark forest. The bloodstained body of the Jesuit is cast into the fire, and the Iroquois withdraw before the Huron war-parties of revenge can be assembled.

For fourteen years Father Antoine Daniel had labored in Huronia. He walked with savages on earth. He walks with better company to-day, "with Barak and Samson, with David also and Samuel, and with the prophets, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, out of weakness were made strong."

During the rest of the summer of 1648 there were no further incursions in force by the enemy, and by winter the Hurons believed that they were safe until the ice broke up. But 1,200 Iroquois braved the dangers and discomforts of a winter march in order to make a surprise attack. They took care to arrive at night outside the stockaded village of St. Ignace some three miles from St. Louis in a south-easterly direction. Placing warriors in ambush along the line of retreat, the main body broke through the palisade and began the massacre. Of the startled fugitives who streamed along the forest path only three escaped. These came, breathless, to St. Louis.

Scarcely had they told their story when the van of the enemy's forces appeared and the Huron warriors gave battle. Many of the women and children had time to escape in the direction of the fort at Ste. Marie, and the Indians urged the two priests at St. Louis to follow their example. They refused. Soon the Iroquois had beaten down all resistance and had fired all the cabins. Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant were captured.*

Back to St. Ignace the yelling victors took their way contemptuous of possible danger from the other Huron communities. The priests were stripped and bound to posts to make a holiday for demons. Their fingernails were torn off; they were beaten with great fury. A renegade Huron mocked De Brébeuf and the rites of the Church by baptising him with boiling water. He did not quail but preached, telling again and again the story of the Cross until an Iroquois cut off his lips and his tongue. A collar of red-hot hatchets was flung about his neck, a belt of bark, full of pitch, was girt about him and then set on fire. So on and on through the long March day he endured "as seeing Him who is invisible." He was captured in the early morning. He died at four in the afternoon. Father Lalemant, whose tortures were not less bitter, lived until the morning of March 17th.

Huronia was ended, as a mission field, as the nucleus of civilization, and as the home of the Huron Indians. Some fled to the St. Mary River. A remnant accompanied by the Jesuits made their way to the Island of St. Joseph (now Christian Island) where another fort was established and occupied on June 15th, 1649. But the Iroquois held the island so closely invested that any hunting party which crossed to the mainland was sure to encounter enemies in ambush. The colony on the island was reduced to a state of famine, and on June 10th, 1650, priests and people took canoes for Quebec, to live under the shelter of the guns. The descendants of the broken nation are found to-day in the village of Lorette, and in the Wyandotte tribe settled in the neighborhood of Detroit.

In the years 1650 and 1651 the Petuns and the Neutrals ceased to exist as separate clans. Such warriors as were not slain in battle or given to the torture were adopted into one or other of the Iroquois tribes, as were practically all the women, and the western peninsula of Ontario became a wilderness indeed, visited only by wandering Algonquin hunters.

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* Nephew of Father Charles Lalemant, Superior of the Canadian Mission.

Lake Ontario was avoided by French traders and explorers, and for the best of reasons. It was an Iroquois lake, a *mare clausum* dominated from Niagara to the Thousand Islands by the cunning fighters who plotted the ruin of the French Colony as they had plotted the ruin of the Frenchmen's native allies. In 1666 De Tracy led a considerable force of soldiers, militiamen, adventurers and Indians against the Mohawks and captured all their more important villages. The effects of this early punitive expedition was to dampen the fighting ardor of the enemy and to open Lake Ontario to French missionaries and explorers.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, a native of Rouen, came to Canada in 1666, an elder brother being a Sulpician priest in Montreal. The Superior of the order of St. Sulpice, Abbé Quéylus, was attracted by the energy of the young man and gave him a grant of land near the Rapids afterwards called Lachine. Some Seneca Indians told him of the existence of a pleasant river, to the south of the Lake region, which flowed onward to tidewater. Naturally La Salle assumed that its course was continually westward to the "Vermilion Sea" known to-day as the Gulf of California. Was this the western road to China? La Salle's imagination kindled at the thought, and immediately he sought permission from Governor De Courcelles and Intendant Talon to go exploring. The permission was given, provided La Salle paid his own expenses. Accordingly he sold his seigneurie, outfitted fourteen men and procured four canoes.

Meanwhile the Sulpicians were emulous of the Jesuits and desired to go a-missioning to the more remote Indian tribes. They had already established a station at Quinté, on the Bay of the same name, where Abbé Fénelon and Abbé Dollier de Casson were stationed. It was proposed that Dollier should lead an expedition towards the West, and at the suggestion of Governor De Courcelles, he joined forces with La Salle, undoubtedly to the distaste of that hardy and opinionated leader. Dollier had with him Abbé Galinée, a priest-surveyor, and seven men.

The expedition started from the head of the Rapids on July 6th, 1669, and reached Lake Ontario on August 2nd. Coasting up the south shore the explorers came to the present site of Charlotte where Dollier remained in charge of the canoes, while La Salle and Galinée visited the chief Seneca village in an attempt to secure guides. They were not successful, but a visitor in the village from an Iroquois outpost near Burlington offered to guide them to his home and show a better way to the Great River. The party reached the outpost, called Otinawatawa, on September 24th and the Chief gave to La Salle a Shawanoe prisoner who declared that the great river named the Ohio could be reached in six weeks.

Before a start could be made Louis Joliet arrived in the village. He had been exploring Lake Superior, had returned, by way of Detroit and along the north coast of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Grand River; thence to the portage which brought him to the neighborhood of Burlington Bay. Joliet reported that the Pottawattamies of the northwest were in dire need of the Gospel. Accordingly the priests determined to go in that direction.

La Salle had no intention of seeing his own plans balked in this manner, so he pleaded sickness and embarked, ostensibly for Montreal.

Dollier and Galinée descended the Grand River and finding Lake Erie in the grip of an Autumn tempest, camped first on Long Point and then at Point Pelee. In the spring of 1670 they were at Detroit, the first officially recorded passage of the Strait by white men. Thence they paddled to Sault Ste. Marie, found the territory occupied by Jesuits, and so returned to Montreal by French River and the Ottawa. La Salle in the meantime had gone to Onondaga, found a guide and started for the Ohio. Some of his men deserted, returned to Montreal and named the Rapids "La Chine" in derision of the project to reach China by westward travel. But La Salle discovered the river he sought and sailed down it as far as the rapids below Louisville, Kentucky. On his return to Montreal he showed himself hostile towards the Sulpicians and thus gained the confidence of Governor Frontenac, who granted him the trade monopoly of Fort Frontenac, the fortified post established in 1673 at the present site of Kingston—as a French sentinel in the Iroquois front-yard.

La Salle, in the hope of prosecuting his discoveries still further, returned to France and interested a merchant named La Motte de Lussière who came to Canada with him in 1678. An expedition was planned to start from Fort Frontenac. Accordingly on Nov. 18th, 1678, La Motte and Father Hénnepin, a Récollet friar of adventurous disposition and imaginative temperament, set sail in a ten-ton vessel for Niagara. The lake was stormy and in order to get partial shelter from a furious north-west wind they came tacking up the North Shore. On November 26th they reached the Indian town of Teiaiagon not far from Toronto Bay and ran into the mouth of a River, supposedly the Humber. It is improbable that this "town" was a settled community such as those of the Iroquois. More likely, it was an encampment of tepees, such as the Indians of Algonquin strain, like the Mississaugas, would erect for the hunting season.

While the little vessel was in shelter the frost came and the sailors had to cut the ice with axes to free the ship. On December 5th she was again in clear water and headed for Niagara. La Motte built the first fortified post on the Niagara River, not far from Lewiston—greatly to the disgust of the Senecas, and Father Hénnepin wrote the first detailed description of the Falls of Niagara.

Thus by 1678 the north shore of Lake Ontario was thoroughly known. Though Fort Niagara soon became a French post of importance, it was seventy years before any attempt was made to establish a fort at Toronto. During that period the rivalry between the French colonists and the British settlements of New England grew ever keener. English-speaking frontiersmen and French *coureurs de bois* were in frequent collision. Outlying settlements were in constant danger, since the Iroquois were variable in their affections and doubtful as to their allegiance. A weak Governor in Quebec sent them trooping to the English. The presence of a man of action in the French fortress found them more friendly towards France. More than once four of the Five Nations were at peace with the French while the fifth tribe of the Confederacy was lying in wait along the St. Lawrence for the appearance of a lonely canoe with possible captives in it.

The fur trade was the source of the trouble. France was supreme along the Upper Lakes and as far as the Mississippi, discovered by Joliet and Marquette in 1672. The Hudson's Bay Company gave the English command of the North, and the New Englanders controlled the area between the Atlantic Coast and the Niagara River. It had been found that the Indians, like merchants of a later date, were willing to sell their furs to the first bidders. Therefore both parties sought to place trading posts at outlying points convenient to the junction of main trails and waterways.

Sieur de la Salle wrote in his Memoir of 1684 that almost all the peltries purchased by the English came by Lake Ontario, except such as were brought from the Illinois country by way of the Ohio River. He continued: "The English have attempted by means of the Iroquois to attract the Ottaouacs to themselves. They were to go to them by the route leading from Lake Huron to the village called Teiaiagon, and would have effected it had not M. de Frontenac interposed his Fort."

De Nouville wrote to the Ministry on October 9th, 1686: "M. de la Durantaye is collecting people to fortify himself at Michilimackinac, and to occupy the other passage at Toronto which the English might take to enter Lake Huron. In this way our Englishmen will find somebody to speak to."

Still there were no permanent fortifications in this region, although the route from Lake Huron, by way of Lake Simcoe and the Humber, was used more and more. The portages were short and easy and all the dangers of the stormy Lakes were eliminated. Not until after the English Fort of Choueguen (Oswego) was established did the French bestir themselves.

An official report from De la Jonquière and Bigot, dated October 1st, 1749, contained the following: "On being informed that the Northern Indians ordinarily went to Choueguen with their peltries, by way of Toronto, on the northwest side of Lake Ontario, 25 leagues from Niagara and 75 from Fort Frontenac, it was thought advisable to establish a post at that place and to send an officer, fifteen soldiers and some workmen to construct a small stockaded fort there. Its expense will not be great; the timber is transported there and the remainder will be conveyed by the barks belonging to Fort Frontenac. Too much care cannot be taken to prevent these Indians continuing their trade with the English and to furnish them at this post with all their necessaries, even as cheaply as at Choueguen. Messrs. de la Jonquière and Bigot will permit some canoes to go there on license and will apply the funds as a gratuity to the officer in command." Intendant Bigot supplemented this despatch as follows: "The King will reap great advantage if we can accomplish the fall of Choueguen by disgusting the Indians with that place, and this can be effected only by selling goods cheaply to them. Mr. Bigot will attend to this. He proposes to oblige those who will exploit Toronto to sell their goods at a reasonable price." The situation of the Fort was on the shore within the present Exhibition Park, and is marked by a monument. The name chosen was that of the French Colonial Minister.

Antoine Louis Rouillé, Comte de Jouey, was born on June 7th, 1689. He was Councillor in the *Parlement* of Paris in 1711 and Intendant of Commerce in 1725. He was placed at the head of the Royal Library in 1732 and gave his patronage to the translators of De Thou, Guichardini and other eminent writers. In 1744 he was appointed Councillor of State and Commissioner of the India Company, and on April 26th, 1749, succeeded Comte de Maurépas as Colonial Minister. He filled that office until July 28th, 1754, when he was transferred to the Department of Foreign Affairs, which he resigned in July 1757. He died at his country seat at Neuilly on September 20th, 1761.

The fort or post was a square of 30 toises to the side (191.7 feet) with flanks of 15 feet. The "curtains" formed the buildings of the fort. There must have been some notion that the fort might form the nucleus of a town, for the King of France approved of a proposed settlement at Toronto. The information was conveyed to M. Duquèsne, by a letter from the Colonial Minister dated June 16th, 1752. The growing tension between France and England probably made any such settlement impossible. The French were too much concerned in keeping the Indians loyal by presents and by brandy to consider any colonization project.

It must be remembered that the main object of Fort Rouillé was to undersell the English. Therefore supplies were brought to Toronto in great quantities and for the Indians who came paddling down the Humber every day was bargain day. The Abbé Picquet, a Sulpician who made a canoe-trip about Lake Ontario, in 1751, remarked in his journal on the excellence of his entertainment and upon the heap of stores assembled at the Fort.

In a Census of Indian tribes, dated 1736, and supposedly compiled by M. de la Chauvignière, it is said that the Mississaugas were found at Quinté, at the River Toronto and finally at the head of the Lake. There were about 150 in all. But the travelling Indians from the north and west, were perhaps more enterprising than the Mississaugas and they must have had their cupidity excited by a glimpse at this French treasure house.

De Vaudreuil, while Governor of Canada, wrote to the Colonial Minister on August 30th, 1752, declaring that the country was menaced by a general conspiracy as between the English and the Indians. "We must fear even for Toronto," he declared. He explained that the storekeeper of Toronto had written to M. de Verchères, Commandant at Fort Frontenac, expressing apprehensions over the actions of the Saulteux or Chippawa tribe. They had dispersed themselves about the head of Lake Ontario, and since the Post was surrounded he doubted not but that they had some evil design. De Vaudreuil continued: "My Lord, it is the English who are inducing the Indians to destroy the French. They would give a good deal to get the savages to destroy Fort Toronto on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Choueguen."

Six years later the question between the French and English in America was not the mere profit of this or that trading post, but the ultimate supremacy of one or other over a Continent. On Sept. 2nd, 1758, De Vaudreuil wrote to M. de Massaie "If the English should make their appearance at Toronto

I have given orders to burn it at once and to fall back upon Niagara." Pouchot, the French commander at Fort Niagara, relates in his Memoirs the story of an Indian project in 1757 to massacre the garrison: "The Mississakes (Mississaugas) who were to go to Montreal assembled to the number of ninety at Toronto, where there was a garrison of ten men; although there was a large supply of goods, the trade at this post being in the hands of Mr. Varrin. The Indians formed a plan of murdering this little garrison, and of pillaging the fort. Mr. de Noyelle, who commanded there, was notified by a French domestic among them that the Indians were only waiting news from Detroit to execute their design, and despatched a canoe with two men to Niagara, a distance of 30 leagues, to solicit help. Mr. Pouchot at once sent M. de la Ferte, Captain of Sarre, and M. de Pinsun, an officer of Béarn with sixty-one men, there being a swivel gun in each batteau."

The expedition reached Toronto at four o'clock on the evening of the next day and found the Indians in their huts near the fort. A volley of artillery fire and musketry above the heads of the Indians brought them into a better frame of mind. They confessed that a massacre had been contemplated but gave as a reason that some one had given them bad news, "how that the French troops were coming to kill them, that we had made a treaty with the Flatheads, their enemies, that the English had beaten us, that we were concealing ourselves and other stuff of the sort." In Pouchot's opinion the only real reason was that they felt themselves in force, and wanted to get a supply of brandy for nothing.

Fort Rouillé was never a military post. That distinction was reserved for Fort Niagara. When the long struggle between French and English approached its point of climax in the summer of 1759 an English expedition under General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson marched westward towards Fort Niagara. Pouchot, the French commander, following instructions, burned the Fort at Toronto, withdrew the garrison and put the Niagara fortress in posture of defence. The siege was long, but the French were vastly outnumbered and finally surrendered to Sir William Johnson, General Prideaux having been killed. Pouchot's map of Lake Ontario, afterwards published in his Memoirs of the War is a most interesting document. The Humber is clearly shown, with "Toronto" at its junction with the Lake. The Island appears as a peninsula and is so marked "presqu'isle." *

After the capture of Niagara Sir William Johnson detailed Lieutenant Francis with 30 men to cross the Lake and reconnoitre Fort Toronto. All they found were the charred remains of the building and stockade-posts. A Chippawa Indian chief returned to Niagara with Francis and accepted a British medal to hang about his neck in place of the French one he was wearing.

One year after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, General Amherst sent a force of 200 Rangers under Major Robert Rogers to take possession

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* Guillaume Delisle's map of 1703 shows an unnamed dot at the site of Toronto. A map by Herman Moll, dated 1720 names the present Lake Simcoe "Lake Toronto" and Machedash Bay as "Bay of Toronto." M. Bellin, a French engineer, published a map in 1755 which marked Lake Simcoe as "Lake Taronto," but gave no indication of a settlement at the mouth of the Humber.

of the Lake country. The expedition came up the St. Lawrence in fifteen whaleboats and on September 30th, 1760, was at the mouth of the Humber. The Journal of the officer in command reported that around the place "where the French formerly had a fort" there was a tract of about 300 acres of cleared land.

On December 3rd, 1767, Sir William Johnson wrote a long report to the Earl of Shelburne. An extract from that document follows: "Every step our traders take beyond the Posts is attended at least with some risque and a very heavy expense, which the Indians must feel as heavyly on the purchase of their commodities. Is it not reasonable to suppose that they would rather employ their Idle time in quest of a cheap market, than sit down with such slender returns as they must receive in their own villages? As a proof of which I shall give one instance concerning Toronto on the north shore of Lake Ontario, formerly dependant on Niagara, which, notwithstanding the assertion of Major Rogers 'that even a single Trader would not think it worth attention to supply a dependant Post' yet I have heard Traders of long experience and good circumstances affirm that for the exclusive trade of that place for one season they would willingly pay £1,000, so certain were they of a quiet market from the cheapness at which they could afford their goods their." Any woodsman of easy morals who could meet an Indian fur-train and display either French brandy or English rum was likely to do a profitable business, to the disadvantage of the trade-monopolist.

In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed, delimiting the boundaries of the Province of Quebec, guaranteeing to French Canadians the free exercise of their religion, establishing French civil law and English criminal law, and providing for the appointment of a Legislative Council. Two years later the Thirteen States were on the verge of revolt. Not the least of their grievances was the breadth of the concessions in this legislation. The boundary section of the Act declared that the Province of Quebec extended northward to the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, westward from Lake Erie to the Ohio River and along the Ohio to the Mississippi.

This is not the place for a review of the American Revolution, but the terms of peace signed at Paris on November 30th, 1782 and proclaimed on September 3rd, 1783, had an important bearing on the formation of Upper Canada and its history. The British commission surrendered without adequate reason to the United States that empire known to-day as the American Middle West, but secured as a make-weight an undertaking from the United States Government to recommend to each of the States the passage of a general amnesty Act. This suggested measure was for the benefit of Loyalists in the Republic, whose sympathies had been continually with the King. They had suffered many indignities, injuries and losses in the heat engendered by civil war; their property had been seized and many of them were under indictment as traitors to the winning side.

The request of Congress was flouted by all the States save South Carolina and the Federal authority was not strong enough to require the observance of the spirit of the treaty. The continued persecution of "Tories" forced thousands of them into exile, and under these circumstances Great Britain resolutely refused to implement the section of the Treaty fixing the boundary between Canada and the United States. For that reason Niagara remained a British Fort and red-coat garrisons still sat in Detroit, at Oswego and at Michilimackinac. Moreover, at the direct instruction of Lord Dorchester a British Fort was built on the Maumee River near the western border of the present State of Ohio. The Indians of the district south and west of Detroit insisted that no American settlers should come north of the Ohio River. The Americans were convinced that Dorchester would welcome a renewal of war and would let loose the Mohawks, now settled on the Grand River to scalp, burn and destroy. The British officials, on the other hand, were convinced that the aim of the Americans was to overwhelm Upper Canada, destroy British interests on the Continent and pursue the Tories to the ends of the earth. Thus the hostility between Monarchy and Republic was as bitter as it had ever been.

The Loyalists had a sore experience. Those of the Southern Colonies went to the West Indies. The "Tories" of New York and the New England States went to Canada. About 3,000 claimed compensation from the British Government. By 1790, 1,680 of these claims had been allowed with a total award of £1,887,548. By far the greater number made no direct claim, but emigrated to the Canadian woods and were given grants of money and land by the Government of Canada. It is estimated that the compensation for losses reached $18,000,000 and the land grants 3,000,000 acres.

Captain Bonnycastle, writing of this period said: "The western part of Canada, abandoned after the Conquest as an Indian hunting ground, or occupied at its western extremity on Lake Erie by a few French colonists began now to assume importance. Those excellent men, who preferred to sacrifice life and fortune rather than forego the enviable distinction of being British subjects, saw that this vast field afforded a sure and certain mode of safety and of honorable retreat; and accordingly in 1783, 10,000 were enumerated in that portion of Canada, who, under the proud title of United Empire Loyalists had turned their backs forever upon the new-fangled republicanism and treason of the country of their birth."

In those days Albany was on the frontier of the wilderness. Loyalists frequently went northward from Albany, by way of the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, thence by a portage to Oneida Lake and down the river to Oswego. Once on Lake Ontario there were three routes; to the Bay of Quinté, to the Niagara District and Burlington, and to the neighborhood of Long Point on Lake Erie. Many others took the land route by way of ill-trodden forest trails in the Iroquois country to Niagara. They had good friends in the Indians whose sympathies with the British set them at hot variance with the ungentle republican frontiersmen.

Many of the founders of prominent Canadian families made the toilsome journey into exile. One of the picturesque figures of the time was

Captain Lippincott of New Jersey, married to Esther Borden of Bordentown in the same State. During the war he had served in the British army, and his temper was not improved by the excesses of some American hotheads. A Loyalist named Peter White, a relative of Lippincott, had been killed by a Captain Huddy. Huddy was captured with two others and arrangements were made for an exchange of prisoners. Two of the men were duly exchanged, but Lippincott, on army orders, hanged Huddy at Sandy Hook near New York, on April 12th, 1782, and pinned on the clothing of the corpse this notice "Up goes Huddy for Peter White." Washington required of the British authorities the surrender of Lippincott. The demand was refused. Whereupon the Americans announced that Captain Asgill, a British officer-prisoner, would be hanged in Lippincott's place. Captain Asgill's mother went from London to Paris and besought the good offices of the Court of France with Washington to save the life of her son. As a result of diplomatic representation by the French Government the American decision was revoked.

Meanwhile Captain Lippincott escaped to Canada. In 1793 he was granted 3,000 acres in the Township of Vaughan. He lived and died in Richmond Hill, and his daughter, Esther Borden Lippincott, was married in 1806 to Colonel George Taylor Denison, the first of that distinguished name.

The system of land grants approved by the Governor of Canada for Loyalist army men provided that a field officer should receive 5,000 acres, a captain 3,000 acres, a subaltern, 2,000, and a private soldier, 200 acres. Generous grants were made also to loyalists who had not been in active service but whose dislike of republicanism drove them across the Canadian Border. Nine years after the close of the Revolutionary War the population of the present Province of Ontario was over 12,000, though as yet no permanent settlement had been established at Toronto.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDING OF UPPER CANADA

Scarborough Bluffs

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THE FOUNDING OF UPPER CANADA

MEN of sufficient character, resolution and endurance to journey for hundreds of miles on foot or in open boats merely because they were particular as to what flag sheltered them were the founders of Ontario. Though the journey from the States to Canada was long and toilsome, the immigrants coming from Europe had fully as much need of fortitude. They faced a voyage of two months in dirty cockle-shells, unnecessarily dignified by the name of ships. The peak of discomfort was reached in the steerage quarters of such vessels. The food was scanty and mean. The crews often consisted of brutish men, restrained from mutiny and robbery only by force, and generally speaking the officers had the smallest claim to gentility. Dr. Johnson, knowing the conditions, said on one occasion to James Boswell, his biographer, that no sane man would become a sailor "if he could contrive to get into a jail." His liberty was no less restricted in prison, and commonly the food was better. Yet the jails at that period were mere sink-holes of filth and fever.

The immigrant having arrived at Quebec found his troubles only beginning. The journey to Kingston against a swift current was full of hardships, and even on Lake Ontario travel in an open batteau for more than 200 miles must have lacked "the evanescent grace of charm" particularly during the stormy months of Autumn. Conditions at home must have been bitter to drive Englishmen, Scots, and Irishmen to Upper Canada. Only the most venturesome and determined men and women made the trial, but their hardihood and resolution helped to build this Province of Ontario and were transmitted to the second and third generation.

As the settlements began to rise Government officers perceived that it would be neither possible nor desirable to withhold from these pioneers a measure of self government. At that time Canada was ruled from Quebec by the Governor and an appointed Council of not fewer than 17 members and while that form of administration was not distasteful to the French habitants, wholly unused to the licentious excitement of elections, it was bitterly resented by English-speaking residents of Montreal and the Eastern Townships.

These folk, like the Loyalists who came to the shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, were for the most part Colonial-born. They had lived under the free institutions of the Town Meeting and the Assembly which were fully established in New England, and many of them had been convinced that the British Government in its dealings with the Thirteen States had been unduly harsh. They had parted company with their neighbors on the proper method to correct their grievances, rather than by denying that grievances existed. Moreover they had suffered in body, mind and estate because of their loyalty and had a right to expect a large measure of consideration from Great Britain.

Lord Dorchester, formerly Sir Guy Carleton, was no apostle of democracy, but he realized that the time had come for the organization of a new Province and of representative Assemblies. He informed the Government of his conclusion. Therefore in 1791 Parliament passed the "Constitutional Act" whereby Upper and Lower Canada were established. Seignorial tenure and French Civil Law actually obtained in the French settlements which were based on Montreal and Quebec, but the grants of land made to the Loyalists had been in fee simple following English practice. There was a clear division already existing between the "custom" of the French and that of the English settlements. The Constitutional Act made the separation legal.

It provided that each Province should have a Lieutenant Governor, an appointive Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly elected by the people and sitting for four years. The Governor of Canada continued to live in Quebec. In theory the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada was under his authority, but ultimately, distance and other considerations rendered the head of the English-speaking Province practically independent.

Many details of government, such as the relative powers of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor were not defined in the statute, but were left to the "King's pleasure" and no provision was made for the Legislative Assembly to have any vital influence on the course of the administration. The government was placed in the hands of the Executive. A vote of want of confidence in the Legislature could have only a moral effect.

It was a time when students of politics in all countries were won by the theory that there should be complete separation of the executive, legislative and judicial functions of government. The Constitution of the United States of America was written in the light of that theory, and to this day the President and his Council are not directly controlled by Congress. For two years after the Congressional elections the American Senate and House of Representatives may be in opposition to the President's administration, without the power of influencing that administration save indirectly. On the contrary, in British countries the Government must resign as soon as it ceases to command a majority in the representative House. That happy condition of affairs is the result of reforms which have come gradually. It would not be possible in our time for any British Government to have the broad and practically unreviewed powers which were exercised by George III. and his Cabinet—despite the Bill of Rights.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 had within itself the germs of decay, but at the time it made a fair appearance to English Parliamentarians, particularly since the Government contemplated for Canada the granting of hereditary titles and the supporting of an Established Church. It was said to be "no mutilated constitution, but the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain." This utterance was made by the first Lieutenant-Governor, Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe, with whom the separate history of Upper Canada begins.

Simcoe was born in 1752 and served the King in the 35th and 40th Regiments of Foot during the war against the American revolutionists. In 1777 he was a Major, in temporary command of the Queen's Rangers, and in 1781 he was gazetted Lieutenant-Colonel. A period of retirement followed. He was married in 1782 to Elizabeth Posthuma Gwillim, the daughter of one of Wolfe's brigade-majors at the Siege of Quebec, and in 1790 was elected to the British House of Commons. During the debate on the Constitutional Act he spoke in favor of the organization of another Province. His Parliamentary career was short, for in 1791 he was named as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada and sailed on September 26th in company with Mrs. Simcoe and two of their six children, Sophia and Francis Gwillim. On his arrival at Quebec the proclamation was made, dividing the colony into two Provinces, but since only one of the men selected for his Executive Council was in the country it was not possible for the Lieutenant-Governor to be sworn in. Not until June 8th, 1792, was he able to leave Quebec for Kingston. He and his party travelled in batteaux, On July 1st, Lt.-Col. Simcoe took the oath of office in the Protestant Church of Kingston. His Legislative Council consisted of William Osgoode, Chief Justice, Alexander Grant, Peter Russell, James Bâby, John Munro, Richard Cartwright, jr., Robert Hamilton and Richard Duncan. William Robertson was named but never served and in 1793 his place was taken by Captain Æneas Shaw. The Executive was made up of the first four named.

The Lieutenant-Governor with his family and a sufficient staff arrived at Newark, now Niagara-on-the-Lake, on July 26th, 1792. Newark was the most considerable community in the country, and Navy Hall, a large wooden building erected by Governor Haldimand for the comfort and convenience of naval officers serving on the Lakes, was considered suitable for the Government offices, and the Assembly Chamber. The Legislative Council needed less space since there were only nine members; a building formerly used as a barracks by Butler's Rangers, served the purpose.

While at Kingston the Lieut. Governor had issued a proclamation (July 16th, 1792) dividing the Province into nineteen counties for electoral purposes, and fixing the date for the election of members to the Assembly.

He had also appointed the following officials: Major Littlehales, Military Secretary; Col. Talbot, aide-de-camp; Robt. I. D. Gray, Solicitor-General; John Small, clerk of the Executive Council; William Jarvis, civil secretary; Peter Russell, Receiver General; D. W. Smith, Surveyor General; Thos Ridout and William Chewett, Assistants to the Surveyor General; Peter Clark, Clerk of the Legislative Council; Col. John Butler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

The members of the first Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, elected on August 27th, 1792, were as follows: GLENGARRY,: John Macdonell (Speaker) and Hugh Macdonell; STORMONT, Jeremiah French; DUNDAS, Alexander Campbell; GRENVILLE, Ephraim Jones; LEEDS and FRONTENAC, John White; ADDINGTON and ONTARIO, Joshua Booth; PRINCE EDWARD and ADOLPHUSTOWN, Philip Dorland (replaced by Philip Vanalstine); LENNOX, HASTINGS, and NORTHUMBERLAND, Hazleton Spencer; DURHAM, YORK and 1st. LINCOLN, Nathaniel Pettit; 2nd. LINCOLN, Benjamin Pawling; 3rd. LINCOLN, Parshall Terry; 4th LINCOLN and NORFOLK, Isaac Swayzie; SUFFOLK, (now Elgin) and ES-

SEX, D. W. Smith; KENT (2) Francis Bâby and William Macomb. Mr. Dorland, the member for Prince Edward, was a Quaker and refused to take the oath.* For that reason he was not counted "a fit and proper person." Conscientious objections were not too tenderly considered in those times.

Vanalstine was a loyalist from the neighborhood of Albany, who had seen military service. Indeed, the whole house was a nest of fighters. John Macdonell, elected Speaker, had been a Captain in Butler's Rangers, a corps distinctly unpopular in the United States. Hugh Macdonell, his brother, had been a lieutenant in the King's Royal Regiment of Foot of New York. Before the Revolution they had lived in the Mohawk Valley.

Jeremiah French, a Vermont loyalist, had served in the King's Royal Regiment. His wife, Eliza Wheeler, had been expelled from Albany and from New York because of her opinions. Ephraim Jones had been a Massachusetts loyalist, and Joshua Booth had lived in New York State until his opinions made it necessary for him to depart, and probably to fight. Hazelton Spencer marched from Vermont into the King's Royal Regiment. Nathaniel Pettit was a Pennsylvania loyalist, as also was Benjamin Pawling. The latter had been a Captain in Butler's Rangers.

Isaac Swayzie had been a scout, "the pilot to the New York army," as Dorchester said. The murder of his wife by Americans made him their implacable foe. His services to the "Tories" and to the King made him a marked man and he had many narrow escapes from capture. On one occasion he was concealed in a cellar when Americans burst into the house. Failing to find him they bayonetted his younger brother, and the blood dripped down on him. Parshall Terry had been a lieutenant in Butler's Rangers. D. W. Smith was a lieutenant in the Fifth Foot, in garrison at Niagara. William Macomb lived at Detroit and had a brother who favored the American side of the controversy. That brother's son, Alexander, was a United States General in 1812 and from 1828 to 1841 he was Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces.**

The Governor's Executive Councillors were all members of the Upper appointive House. Osgoode was the Speaker. The only representative of the Administration who had a seat in the Assembly was John White, Attorney-General, of Leeds and Frontenac. For the most part the members were of the settler class, a fact which disturbed Simcoe not a little. He would have been better pleased if the men elected had been of a higher social status. He wrote to the Secretary for the Colonies: "It was by good fortune that the temporary residence I made at Kingston created sufficient influence to enable us to bring Attorney General White into the House." Clearly the elective Chamber was only a debating society, and responsible government was yet a long way off.

The main business of the first session, which opened at Newark on September 17, 1792, and prorogued October 15th, was to declare that the laws of Quebec were without force in Upper Canada, to establish the laws of

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* Not until 1883 was it possible for a Member of the British House of Commons to substitute affirmation for the oath. The law was changed as a result of the noisy and unedifying Bradlaugh case.

** These personal details concerning the first legislators of Upper Canada were collected by the late Mr. C. C. James and appear in a paper read by him before the Royal Society of Canada.

England, to provide for the building of Court Houses and Jails in the four districts into which the Province was divided, and to establish trial by jury.

These districts as originally established by Lord Dorchester on July 24th, 1788, were named Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, their respective limits being from the Quebec border to Gananoque, from Gananoque to the Trent, from the Trent to Long Point, and from Long Point to Detroit. For three of them lay Judges had been named. Hon. Wm. Dummer Powell of Hesse was the first professional judge in Upper Canada. The first Legislature re-named the districts Eastern, Midland, Home and Western. A bill was introduced to validate marriages, which had not been solemnized by an ordained clergyman. Owing to the sparseness of the population marriages had been performed under a Quebec ordinance by magistrates and military officers. The Bill was withdrawn, after some discussion, that the Government might communicate with the Colonial Office. With minor modifications it was introduced and passed at the second session.

At the arrival of Col. Simcoe in Upper Canada the Fort of Niagara was still held by British troops; two companies of the Fifth Foot under Major Smith. But the Governor knew the terms of the Boundary Treaty with the United States and realized that in time that fortress would be evacuated and handed over to the Republic. Therefore he was convinced that Newark was not a suitable site for the capital of the new Province. One of his first tasks after meeting the Legislature in 1792 was to seek for a seat of Government which would be out of range of a possible enemy's guns. The scope of his preliminary journeys is indicated by the following extracts from Mrs. Simcoe's diary.*

"1793. Jan. 10. The Governor set out to walk to Burlington Bay, about fifty miles from here.

Jan. 17. The Governor returned at five to-day from his walk to Burlington Bay. He was delighted with the beauty of the country and the industry of the inhabitants. . . . He lodged every night in houses where he was accommodated with a clean room and a good fire."

During January Col. Simcoe and his staff made a more extended pedestrian tour, by way of the present cities of Brantford, London, and Chatham to Detroit.

Mrs. Simcoe wrote on March 10th: "The Governor returned. He found his expectations perfectly realized as to the goodness of the country on the banks of La Tranche (named The Thames by Col. Simcoe on July 16, 1792), and is confirmed in his opinion that the fork of the river is the most proper site for the capital of the country to be called New London, on a fine, dry plain, without underwood, but abounding in good oak trees."

Lieut.-Governor Simcoe recommended the selection of London as the capital, but the Governor of Canada, Lord Dorchester, did not favor the suggestion. He would have preferred Kingston. His choice of Toronto was due in part to the excellence of the harbor, but in part to a compromise.

On May 2nd, 1793, Col. Simcoe, accompanied by seven officers, coasted around the Lake in a batteau to inspect the north shore. On May 13th

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* Edited and published by Mr. John Ross Robertson.

Mrs. Simcoe wrote: "Colonel Simcoe returned from Toronto and speaks in praise of the harbor and a fine spot near it, covered with large oaks, which he intends to fix upon as the site for a town."

Arrangements were made for an official summer visit to the new townsite, and on July 20th one hundred men of the Queen's Rangers, in charge of Captain Shaw, crossed the lake in batteaux.* Two days later Captain Smith followed in the schooner "Caldwell." Within a week Mrs. Simcoe sailed on the "Mississauga" and at 8 o'clock on the morning of July 30th was in Toronto harbor. The Governor probably was a few days later in arriving. Mrs. Simcoe's entry in her Diary for July 30th here follows: "The Queen's Rangers are encamped opposite to the ship. After dinner we went on shore to fix a spot whereon to place the canvas house, and we chose a rising ground, divided by a creek from the camp, which is ordered to be cleared immediately." The "rising ground" was close to the present Queen's Wharf at the southern end of Bathurst Street, and the stream was Garrison Creek, long ago transformed into an underground sewer.

The "canvas house" which served as the Governor's residence, had originally belonged to Captain Cook, the circumnavigator. It was bought by Col. Simcoe in London, at a sale of the explorer's effects.

Mrs. Simcoe's enthusiasm never flagged. One day she was exploring the Peninsula, which did not become an Island until 1854, when the lake broke through the narrow sandbar. Another day she was going to the townsite, east of George Street, on the waterfront, where she met Mr. Alexander Aitkens, the surveyor who was laying out the first streets. Again she was in a small boat examining the remarkable heights to the eastward. "The shore is extremely bold," she wrote, "and has the appearance of chalk cliffs." She and her husband entertained themselves by the suggestion that they might build a summer house there and call it Scarborough. On another occasion they visited "the creek which is to be called the River Don." There was a little journey to the site of the old French Fort, but no buildings or remains of buildings were discoverable. Wherever she went the Governor's lady was charmed with the natural beauty of the forest and the shore, and she sketched indefatigably. She was younger than her husband, perhaps a shade less stately and serious, though not less courtly, and seemed to be wholly fascinated by the novelty of the wilderness.

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* The Queen's Rangers, originally known as Rogers's Rangers was raised in Connecticut and about New York by Colonel Robert Rogers, who had visited Toronto in 1760. It had a strength of 400 men. In 1776 Rogers was named Governor of Michilimackinac and was succeeded in command of the Rangers first by Colonel French, then by Major Weymess, and finally by Major John Graves Simcoe. The corps was disbanded in 1782, but was revived in Canada during 1791. The men enlisted were old soldiers of the regular regiments, strengthened by a draft of discharged English regulars which arrived in Canada in 1792. Lieut.-Col. Simcoe resumed the command and stationed the regiment at York where the men were used in clearing lands intended for public use and in opening military roads, such as Dundas and Yonge Streets. The regiment was finally disbanded in 1802.

The daily ration of the regular soldier consisted of 1 pound of flour, 1 pound of salt pork, 4 ounces of rice and a little butter. It was delivered at a charge of 6d. a day which was deducted from the man's pay. The regulations concerning the appearance of the regular infantry were very strict. The hair was powdered or made white by a slab mixture of whitening and pomatum, all belts were pipeclayed and all buttons made bright. The costume consisted of white trousers, a scarlet tunic, with cross belts and a cocked hat. This was for soldiers of the line, such as the Fifth Foot. The Queen's Rangers and other semi-irregulars were in dark green, and may be considered as the ancestors of the Rifle Brigade. Any regiment sent to Canada remained seven years in the country and did garrison duty for three years in one place.

Hon. Peter Russell, the Receiver-General, came to Toronto Bay at the end of August 1793, to attend a Council summoned by the Governor. While he was impressed with the excellence of the site for a town the crudity of all things appealed to his sense of humor. He wrote as follows to his sister at Newark under date of September 1st: "The Governor and Mrs. Simcoe received me very graciously but you can have no conception of the misery in which they live, the canvas house being their only residence, in one room of which they lie, and see company, and in the other end—the nurse, children squawling, etc. An open bower covers us at dinner and a tent with a small table and three chairs serves us for a Council Room. We had a Council of half-an-hour yesterday, and another to-day, after Church,* of three hours. But many more will be required before we can get through the multiplicity of important business that awaits our decision. I attended His Excellency yesterday up (the shore to) the Town, about two miles from our camp. Nothing can be pleasanter than this beautiful Bason, bounded on one side by a number of low, sandy peninsulas, and on the other by a bluff bank of 60 feet, from which extends back a thick wood of huge forest trees. The town occupies a flat about 50 yards from the water. The situation I believe healthy as the ground is perfectly dry, and consists for the present of four ranges of squares, each court containing five squares and each square two rows of houses, four in each row. The ranges of squares are bounded by board streets, and the front of the houses are to be 46 feet in length and to be built after a model, with columns, facing the water.

"When this plan is to be carried into execution the Lord only knows—for no attempt has been yet made by any intended inhabitants except Mr. Robinson, who is making preparations for erecting a small back house. His Excellency makes much difficulty about getting either Town or farm lots. I am in doubt whether I shall trouble him with an application for myself. I have reminded him of the Willcocks, and obtained front lots with a farm lot attached, of 100 acres each. Denison's farm lot I could not obtain because I could not promise that he would come to settle.

"His Excellency has fallen so much in love with the land that he intends to reserve from population the whole front, from the Town to the Fort, a space of nearly three miles, so that if we have a town on this principle, it must be fed from the Bay of Quinte instead of its fertile neighborhood. The air on the opposite side is clear and healthy, and (there is) a hard sand of several miles to ride or drive a carriage on. The Chief Justice and I are to return, I hope, on the 'Mississauga,' but fear she will not be unloaded these six days yet."

Hon. Mr. Russell's unfeigned enthusiasm over the site of the dream-town was expressed again in a letter to Mr. Gray of Montreal, dated September 16th: "I am charmed with the situation of the proposed city of York in the Bay of Toronto, and the fertility of the country round it; both which, for beauty, safety and convenience exceeds everything the most partial and prejudiced wishes can form."

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* The first record of a Protestant service. As there is no reference to the presence of a chaplain it is possible that Colonel Simcoe himself read the prayers, as the military officer in command.

It is not surprising that Mr. Russell soon mended his doubts as to the advisability of applying for land. On September 4th the Council granted the petition of the Hon. Peter Russell for a front town lot and for Lot No. 14 of the first concession (100 acres).

On August 26th, 1793, an official Order signed by E. B. Littlehales, major of brigade, was issued, to the effect that the Lieutenant-Governor, having received information of the success of His Majesty's arms under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, by which Holland was saved from the invasion of the French, had determined to change the name of Toronto to that of York. The order was effective from August 27th and on that date a salute of 21 guns was fired to commemorate the event.

In Europe the times were out of joint. On January 21st of the year 1793, Executioner Samson, *ci-devant* brewer, showed the Parisian mob the head of King Louis. In a few days England signified to Citizen Chauvelin, the French Ambassador, that he must quit the country within a week. Carlyle says: "England has donned the red coat; and marches with Royal Highness of York—whom some once spake of inviting to be our King. Changed that humor now; and ever more changing, till no hatefuller thing walk this Earth than a denizen of that tyrannous Island; and Pitt be declared and decreed with effervescence, *l'ennemi du genre humain*, the enemy of mankind."

It is not surprising that an English officer, fresh from a long wrestle with republicanism in America, and aghast at the depths of disloyalty to which France had fallen, should display enthusiasm at a victory over these regicides, however unimportant in the course of history that victory might be. Two days after the forest capital was named York the French Committee of Public Safety was putting all France under requisition for military purposes, and the Reign of Terror had begun. Marie Antoinette was guillotined on October 17th. The news did not reach York until the 1st of March. The world was a dim and doubtful place altogether before the time of the electric telegraph and the railway. We do not clearly appreciate the mystery of that darkness. The little Court at Newark gave orders for the wearing of mourning in honor of the Queen of France, and a dance that had been arranged was postponed.

The social pleasures of Mrs. Simcoe and her friends were not neglected. Writing to Mrs. Hunt who had charge of her children left in England, the Governor's lady said: "There are as many feathers, flowers and gauze dresses at our balls, which are every fortnight, as at a Honiton assembly, and seldom less than eighteen couples." While this entry had reference to the society of Newark the spirit of gaiety that made the ball so fine was transferred to the north shore of the Lake when Mrs. Simcoe finally moved to York. However rude were the surroundings, however stern the wilderness and the men who conquered it there was a centre of refinement and intelligence at the capital of Upper Canada in these early days.

With Great Britain and France at war the United States Government was in a difficult position. Washington's declaration of neutrality created two hostile parties, one in favor of the French Jacobins, the other opposed. The British naval proclamation concerning contraband of war, and the vigorous activity of privateers on both sides still further inflamed the French party in the Republic. Genêt, the ambassador from the "regicide State" became so active in fitting out privateers, with American crews, that he became a public nuisance, and his recall was demanded by Washington.

The singular state of American foreign relations at this period is explained with much clarity by Mr. Brooks Adams in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1911. "Washington performed (in 1795) an important service for his country which is unrecognized. This service was the establishment of a defensible frontier against the British which made permanent independence possible; for nothing can be more certain than that the union of these States would have been dismembered had the British in 1812 held the commanding positions along the Great Lakes which they held in 1789. Washington recovered for the United States the famous Western Posts, Oswego, Detroit, Niagara, Mackinac and the rest, the key to the valley of the Hudson and the Mississippi, from which the American flank could always be turned and their rear attacked. The price Washington paid for these posts was the abandonment of the French alliance which had been established by the Treaties of 1778. He paid the price by accepting the Jay Treaty in 1795. (This is more generally known in Canada and Great Britain as the Treaty of Amity and Commerce). In retaliation for this breach of faith the French made reprisals, and Washington's successor compensated the French for the abrogation of the Treaties by abandoning to them the claims of the American merchants whom they had robbed.

"After 1796, France did not pretend to search American ships as a belligerent visiting neutral vessels under certain well-established legal limitations and guarantees, for the purpose of restraining the smuggling of contraband of war from the neutral to an enemy. On the contrary she avowedly captured and confiscated them by way of reprisal for national injuries. The French complained that through the violation by America of her treaty obligations, France had sustained great injuries. The American Government declined to make compensation. France thereupon indemnified herself out of American commerce, and from the first insisted that she should either be allowed to keep the spoil she had taken, the United States assuming the payment of the losses which American citizens had sustained; or else that America, receiving compensation, should acknowledge her treaty obligations, and assist France in her war against Great Britain."

Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry went to Paris as American commissioners to discuss the question. On March 18th, 1798, Talleyrand summarily dismissed Pinckney and Marshall as persons hostile towards France, but offered to treat with Gerry who seemed more impartial. The answer of the American Government was to recall Gerry, and on June 20th, 1798, President Adams informed Congress that he would never send another Minister to France without assurances that he would be received, respected and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation. The depredations of French privateers at this time raised the rate of marine insurance at Philadelphia from five to ten per cent. The American Government authorized resistance to the privateers, and the climax of this state of mutual reprisals of armed neutrality came in the pitched battle off Gaudaloupe between the American ship *Constellation* and the French frigate *La Vengeance.*

Mr. Adams perhaps stresses too much the surrender of the western posts as a triumph of American diplomacy. Those posts were held because the Americans had not implemented their Treaty with Great Britain in 1783. Their importance in case of war was dependent upon naval control of the lakes, and it is more than doubtful if one responsible British statesman or one general officer ever considered them as the key to any valley whatsoever. They were forts of defence rather than outposts of attack, a fact which is fully corroborated by the erection in 1796, of Fort George to take the place of Fort Niagara and St. Joseph to take the place of Michilimackinac. The willingness of Jay to make the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was an assurance to Great Britain that the pro-French party in the United States had failed to influence the executive, and that immediate danger of an invasion of Upper Canada was over.

Meanwhile Great Britain, in the hope of clearing away some misconceptions, offered its good offices to conclude a treaty between the Republic and the Indians. The American Government, before deciding whether or not this offer should be accepted named three commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Indians at Sandusky, and these first came to Newark to confer with Governor Simcoe. They were Edmund Jennings Randolph of Virginia, General Benjamin Lincoln and Col. Timothy Pickering, both of Massachusetts.

Mrs. Simcoe's Diary has this entry on May 14th, 1793: "Three commissioners who are appointed by the United States to treat with the Indians at Sandusky, Ohio, are arrived here, and intend to stay at our house until they receive further orders from Philadelphia. Mr. John Randolph *—a political friend of President Jefferson**—is a Virginian, Benjamin Lincoln and Col. Timothy Pickering are both of Massachusetts, New England. Col. Simcoe calls the latter my cousin. His ancestor left England in Charles the First's reign, and this gentleman really bears great resemblance to the picture Mr. Gwillim has of Sir Gilbert Pickering."

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* Mrs. Simcoe was in error. It was not John Randolph the firebrand, only 20 years of age in 1793, but Edmund Jennings Randolph who was one of Washington's aides in 1775, a member of the Continental Congress, Governor of Virginia from 1786 to 1789, and at this time (1793) Attorney-General of the United States. In 1794 he became Secretary of State, but a year later left office under a cloud. Fauchet, the successor of Genêt as French Ambassador, accused him in a letter to the French Government, of asking for a loan for the benefit of four men who were indebted to English merchants and thus were precluded from aiding French interests. The letter was captured by a British man-of-war and was laid before President Washington. Randolph resigned.

* * Thomas Jefferson was not President but Secretary of State in 1793. Washington was just beginning his second term.

Benjamin Lincoln, after two years of active military service became a Major-General and was in command at the Battle of White Plains. In 1778 he was in command of the Southern army, was twice beaten, shut up in Charleston and forced to surrender to Clinton. Let it be remembered that Peter Russell, Governor Simcoe's right-hand man, had been Clinton's military secretary in this campaign. The meeting between these two war-dogs would be interesting. Still, Lincoln's feelings had been salved before this, for he was the officer chosen by General Washington to receive the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and he was Secretary of War from 1781 to 1783.

Colonel Pickering, in 1780, was Quartermaster-General of the Revolutionary Army. In 1791 he was Postmaster General and in 1795, Secretary of War. Under his administration, the famous military academy of West Point was established. He succeeded Randolph as Secretary of State.

Considering Governor Simcoe's rooted hostility towards the United States and its Government, one would not have been surprised if the meeting between him and the commissioners had been marked by coolness and extreme formality. Such was not the case. The Governor did not permit his political views to interfere with his duties as a host.

As soon as the American officials crossed the Niagara River they received a cordial invitation to be the Governor's guests. More, Colonel Simcoe wrote to Colonel John Butler and Alexander McKee, who had supervision of Indian affairs, earnestly recommending that every precaution be taken to assure the safety of the commissioners while at Sandusky conferring with the Indians. He detailed Captain Bunbury and Lieutenant Givens to accompany the Americans on the last stage of their journey.

General Lincoln kept a journal. He made the following entry on June 4th, 1793, describing an evening party given by the Governor in honor of the King's birthday:

"In the evening there was quite a splendid ball, about twenty well-dressed and handsome ladies, and about three times that number of gentlemen present. They danced from seven o'clock to eleven, when supper was announced, and served in very pretty taste. The music and dancing were good, and everything was conducted with propriety. What excited the best feelings of my heart was the ease and affection with which the ladies met each other, although there were a number present whose mothers sprang from the aborigines of the country. They appeared as well-dressed as the company in general and intermixed with them in a measure which at once evinced the dignity of their own minds and the good sense of the others. These ladies possessed great ingenuity and industry and have great merit; for the education they have acquired is owing principally to their own industry, as their father, Sir William Johnson, was dead, and the mother retained the manners and dress of her tribe. Governor Simcoe is exceedingly attentive in these public assemblies, and makes it his study to reconcile the inhabitants who have tasted the pleasures of society to their present situation in an infant province. He intends the next winter to have concerts and assemblies very frequently. Hereby he at once evinces a regard to the happiness of the people and his knowledge of the world; for while the people are allured to become settlers in the country from the richness of the soil and the clemency of the seasons, it is important to make their situation as flattering as possible." The "alluring" was sufficiently open and aboveboard. Col. Simcoe invited settlers from both the United States and Great Britain and the offer of free land attracted large numbers of sturdy and desirable people.

General Lincoln on his return to Washington wrote a letter of cordial acknowledgement for the attentions of the Governor and sent with it on behalf of the Commissioners a present of wine and candles. In reply Col. Simcoe said that he would have been happy had the wind allowed of seeing General Lincoln again before he had left Canada. He expressed surprise and regret that the conference with the Indians had brought no practical results, and wished for the termination of the war.. The present of wine and candles had been received, but as the Governor had already laid in his annual supply, he had made bold to transfer it to some gentleman "who will not forget to drink the health of the Commissioners around the winter fire." Col. Pickering sent a packet of garden seeds which must have been received by Mrs. Simcoe especially with much gratification.

An early sample of "immigration literature" is found in the Toronto Public Library. It is a tiny book entitled: A Letter from a gentleman to his friend in England, descriptive of the different settlements in the Province of Upper Canada. Philadelphia. Printed by W. W. Woodward, Franklin's Head, *New Sign,* South side Chestnut Street, 1795. The writer is enthusiastic concerning the beauty of the country and the fertility of the soil, and like other immigration agents of a later time neglects to mention the disadvantages of life in the backwoods. "At Newark resides the Governor, whose character is well-known in England and is deservedly held here in high estimation. Here are also most of the principal officers of Government, besides many other gentlemen of respectability who form a very intelligent and agreeable society. Besides Newark there are several important situations in this part of the Province which bid fair to become places of consequence; the most important of which are the landing-places at each end of the portage, Fort Erie, the head of Lake Ontario, and York, called by the *natives* Toronto......York, formerly Toronto, is situate on the best harbor round the Lake, opposite Niagara... A town is here in great forwardness, and should the seat of Government be removed from Newark thence, as is contemplated, it will soon become a flourishing place. From this, a road is cut across to Lake Simcoe, 33 miles.... There are still plenty of vacant lands of the best kind, and such as show a disposition to settle and improve them meet from the Governor every encouragement they merit."

Although Governor Simcoe had divided the Province into Counties for electoral purposes, the unit of organization and settlement was the township. A new-comer desiring a grant of land applied to the Land Board of the district, composed of three commissioners appointed by the Government. If he were a person satisfactory to the Land Board he received a certificate giving him leave to settle. With this certificate he appealed to a Deputy Land Surveyor for a "location" and a lot of 200 acres or less

Mrs. John Graves Simcoe
in her later days

was conveyed to him on his undertaking to perform the settlement duties; that is to say, he agreed to build a house and bring a portion of the land under cultivation within a specified period,

The regulations governing the settlement of each Township provided that two farm lots should be reserved for a minister of the Gospel, one for a school-teacher, and eight for the Crown. This was the beginning of the Clergy Reserves question which in later years caused a deal of agitation.

At first there were only five Deputy Land Surveyors in Upper Canada, but many came in with various groups of settlers. These, and even uninstructed persons of good reputation, got the right from the Government to open up new townships, frequently getting land in payment for their labor.

There seemed to be some reluctance on the part of the authorities to grant even the modified form of self-government based on the "town meeting." It is suggested by Mr. J. M. McEvoy and others who have written on municipal origins in Ontario that the town meeting may have been considered as a culture-bed of republican germs. Whether or not that be a fact, it seems clear that the insistence of the people of Adolphustown for the retention of the institution to which they had become accustomed in the United States had an effect upon early legislation.

At first all local authority was in the hands of the Justices of the Peace for each Judicial District. The magistrates assembled at the General Quarter-Sessions, controlled the erection and management of jails, court houses and asylums, the laying out and improvement of highways, the making of assessments, the appointment of constables, town-clerks, jailers, and poundkeepers, the supervision of weights and measures, the grant of licenses for the sale and manufacture of liquor, and had the right of granting to persons, not clergymen of the Church of England, the right to perform marriages.

The second session of the first Parliament marked the first move towards the building of our present system of municipal government.

The statute permitting the election of certain Township officers by town-meeting is known as 33 George III. Cap. 2, and was passed under discussion between May 31st and July 9th, 1793. It provided that any two Justices of the Peace might issue a warrant to the constable of "any parish, township, reputed township or place" authorizing the calling together on the first Monday in March annually of all ratepayers in the parish church, chapel or some convenient place for the purpose of nominating and choosing parish or town officers. The officers to be selected in this way were a town-clerk, two assessors, one tax-collector, from two to six persons as overseers of highways and fence-viewers, one poundkeeper, and two town wardens.

With respect to the wardens the statute said that as soon as a church was built according to the use of the Church of England, with a parson or minister duly appointed thereto, the householders should nominate one warden, and the minister one other, to serve as churchwardens and town-wardens; these being a corporation to represent all the inhabitants, with power to hold property and to sue, or to defend actions on behalf of the inhabitants.

That a Church Establishment for Upper Canada was considered as a thing settled is clearly shown by this legislation. The Act also provided a penalty of 40s upon any regularly elected person who refused or neglected to do the work for which he was elected; but a man who had served for one year could not be chosen again without his consent until three years had elapsed.

Four years after the enactment of this statute a special Act was passed permitting the people of the Township of York to hold a town-meeting on a date other than the first Monday in March, and authorizing any two magistrates to appoint one or more constables to serve in the Township. Evidently by this time enough settlers were found in the district to act separately. It is probable that before 1797 there were fewer than thirty householders in the Township of York. Under such circumstances the law of 1793 permitted those settlers to be attached for town-meeting purposes to that adjacent township which had the smallest population.

Since all magistrates were named by the Government, and were usually retired officers or other members of the "Court party," the actual settlers soon began to grumble. Practically they were under military administration and their civil rights were uncommonly slender. Gradually these powers of local government were transferred to representative bodies called Boards of Police, which were elected annually, but municipal government as we have it to-day did not really begin until Upper Canada had been in being as a separate Province for forty years. By 1800 the four original Judicial Districts had been subdivided into eight.

During this second session of the Legislature in 1793 an Act was passed to prevent the bringing of negro slaves into the Province, to limit the term of contract for binding a slave to nine years, and to decree that the children of slaves should become free at the age of 25. Chief Justice Osgoode, before this, had declared in a charge to a Grand Jury that slavery should not be permitted. Doubtless he had in mind Lord Mansfield's judgment in the case of James Somerset, a slave who had been brought into England in 1772. Said that eminent Judge: "Villeinage has ceased in England and it cannot be revived. The air of England has long been too pure for a slave, and every man is free who breathes it."

Lieut.-Col. Simcoe was in cordial agreement with Osgoode in the promotion of this legislation as he declared in a message to the Assembly. The Preamble of the Act read as follows: "Whereas it is unjust that a people who enjoy freedom by the law should encourage the introduction of slaves, and whereas it is highly expedient to abolish slavery in this Province so far as the same may gradually be done without violation of private property, be it enacted . . . that from and after the passing of this Act it shall not be lawful for the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of this Province to grant a license for the importation of any negro or other person to be subjected to the condition of a slave or to a bounden involuntary service for life, into any part of this Province."

It was stipulated that nothing in the Act could be construed to liberate any slave purchased or acquired before the passing of this legislation. A number of the more wealthy inhabitants were saved by negro-chattels, notably Hon. Peter Russell, as contemporary advertisements testify.

It is an important fact that Upper Canada was the first British country to legislate against slavery. The first European country to take such action was Denmark, in 1792. Whether or not the officials of Upper Canada were influenced by William Wilberforce is unknown, but it is a fact worth mentioning that in 1791 Wilberforce first moved in the British House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill to prevent further importation of slaves into British colonies. John Graves Simcoe was a member of Parliament at that time, and it is possible that he disagreed with the House in its refusal. Year after year Wilberforce pressed vainly for this reform until 1807, when the Fox administration adopted the measure. Slavery was not wholly abolished in British territory until 1833.

About the middle of October, 1793, a homestead of 200 acres on the Don was chosen by the Governor for his two year old son Francis. The land regulations provided that a house must be built on the property within a year. The site selected was on the brow of the hill that separates the present Rosedale Ravine from the Don Valley. The name chosen for the house, which was of small logs clapboarded, was Castle Frank. It was the scene of many social entertainments, although the interior of the building was never finished. Four tree-trunks served as pillars for the porch, and the façade had rather the effect of a sylvan Greek temple. The house was burned in 1829. The little lad whose name it bore put on the King's uniform when he was grown to man's estate, and marched away to the Peninsula. He was killed at the siege of Badajoz in 1812.

By 1794 Timothy Skinner had established a grist mill on the east bank of the Don below the present village of Todmorden. It ground the wheat of the neighborhood until 1826 and then was transformed into a paper mill, the first in the Province. The first bridge over the Don, at the east of Winchester Street, was a butternut tree, felled across the stream and provided with a rude handrail. Mrs. Simcoe thought that the task of crossing it might be easier if one wore moccasins.

On September 23rd, 1793, Captain Smith and a party of 100 soldiers began to open a road from the head of the Lake to the River Thames. It was named Dundas Street, in honor of the Secretary for the Colonies. The clearing for Yonge Street from York to Lake Simcoe began on December 28th, 1795, and occupied all winter. It was finished in April, 1796, and named after Sir George Yonge, Secretary of State for War, and M.P. for Honiton, near the Simcoe estate in Devonshire.

A daughter, Katherine, was born to Col. and Mrs. Simcoe on January 16th, 1793, but the child died on April 17th, 1794, and was buried in the military cemetery west of the Old Fort. The site of the grave was lost long ago.

The Legislature determined in 1793 that all retailers of liquor should pay £3 currency per annum each for their licenses, and that all persons keeping open shops for the sale of merchandise should take out a license, paying for it £2 5s currency per annum. The latter provision was aimed mainly at fur-traders of the independent sort.

The third session gave power to the Government to license proper persons to appear as lawyers before the Courts, there being only two qualified lawyers in the Province, and placed a duty on the manufacture of spirits, fifteen pence per gallon for every gallon that the body of the still contained.

John Graves Simcoe was never a Commoner in thought or action. He was as much an aristocrat as the proudest Duke in England, but, balancing his rigidities of prejudice and temper, he was a man of honor and of unfaltering belief in the necessity of doing his whole duty. To us in these days there is something mournfully comic in the Governor's attempt to transfer to the forest all the trappings of an English Government, to create an hereditary aristocracy, to found an Established Church. But it must be remembered that he lived in constant expectation of a renewal of the war with the United States. Republicanism meant for him all that was reprehensible and wicked. It was his duty to build a breakwater in Upper Canada against the seas of wrath surging in Philadelphia and Paris. For that reason he regarded every settler who came north from the United States as a brand plucked from the burning, and was too ready to consider every one as a loyalist. Some came because they could get 200 acres of magnificent land as a free gift, and probably the usual percentage of knaves were found amongst the immigrants. To the Governor all were desirable settlers since they had resolutely turned their backs upon Tom Paine and the "Rights of Man."

It was no time-server who made a personal exploration of the Province from Detroit to Penetanguishene. It was a great gentleman who hospitably entertained representatives of the Government he most despised. On the other hand, it was a pipe-clayed soldier who had the regimental band playing before Navy Hall during dinner, "the Marquis of Buckingham having very kindly provided the instruments." It was a soldier who named "Hanlan's" Gibraltar Point, because he considered that the position could be made impregnable. It was a soldier who inspired the remarkable Militia Act of 1794, gave authority to the Governor to appoint a Lieutenant in every County whose duty it would be to enrol the male inhabitants between 16 and 50, to name a Deputy-Lieutenant, and militia officers for the section of country over which he had supervision. These officers had to be approved by the Governor, and after such approval their commissions would issue.

In each district the Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant and one Justice of the Peace formed a Militia Board, meeting annually on June 4th (if on a week-day), and formally enrolling the male inhabitants liable for service. In each district or sub-district the militia were to be called together for exercise and instruction at least twice a year. Exemption was granted to civil officials, clergymen, sailors, physicians, teachers, ferrymen and to one miller for every grist-mill. Quakers, "Menonists," and Tunkers were excused from service, but were compelled to pay 20s per annum in time of peace and £5 in time of war for the recognition of their religious scruples. The penalties for neglect to enrol, for disobedience of orders or for other unmilitary practices, ranged from 10s to 40s, according to the rank of the offender. If there were neglect or refusal to perform duty during war, rebellion or any pressing exigency of the State, the penalty ranged from £20 to £50, and in default of payment from six months to one year in jail.

While authority was given to the Governor to employ the militia either alone or with His Majesty's regular forces, it was not to be marched out of the Province. Clear proof that a wholly distinct military force was contemplated appeared in the provision that in case a court-martial was constituted to deal with any grave offence by a militiaman, no regular officer should be a member of it. To make sure that the lieutenants and militia officers should have a personal interest in defence, it was provided that they should be landed proprietors within their districts. Every deputy-lieutenant had to have 500 acres clear of incumbrance, every colonel or lieutenant-colonel, 400 acres, every major or captain 300 acres, every lieutenant and ensign, 200 acres, and they were under obligation to take the oath of allegiance before the magistrate in quarter-sessions within six months of their appointment to office.

One section of the Act was particularly drastic. It provided that any action against a lieutenant or deputy-lieutenant to secure redress for some act performed in the course of duty must begin within six months after the offence had been committed. The defendant was given the right to plead "the general issue" and "give the special matters and this Act in evidence." In case the plaintiff should be non-suited or judgment should be delivered against him, the defendant should be entitled to "treble costs." This section was repealed in the Act of 1797, "for the further regulation of the Militia of this Province." Other provisions in the amending Act were that every enrolled man should provide himself with a sufficient musket, fusil, rifle or gun, with at least six rounds of ammunition, and should come provided with the same, when called out for review, exercise or actual service, that in case any person were wounded in action he should be taken care of and provided for by the public; that the money from fines and penalties should be used by the lieutenants for the purchase of drums, fifes, colors, banners, regimental books and incidental expenses. Any money left over should be given in prizes to the persons making the best shot at a target or a mark upon days of training. The final section declared that upon pressing occasions, in the time of war or insurrection, it should be lawful for the Lieutenant-Governor or administrator of the Province to march such part of the Militia of Upper Canada as he might think proper, to the assistance of the Province of Lower Canada.

A contemporary account of Upper Canada, the views and aspirations of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe and the appearance of the settlements in the late years of the eighteenth century, is found in the "Travels," by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, whose ancestor was a contemporary of Richelieu and produced the celebrated "Réflexions" and "Mémoires."

The Duke, who was a Girondin, or a polite revolutionist, in France, found the temper of the Jacobins too unreasonable and too uncertain to trust, and withdrew from a tempestuous country in order to travel philosophically. His book appeared in France after the Terror and was printed, in English translation, in London by 1799. The Translator's Preface, signed by H. Neuman, contains the following acute sentences: "The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, a man who, at all times, has been distinguished as one of the most amiable, the most virtuous, and the best informed of the French nobility, has made a journey for philosophical and commercial observation throughout a great part of North America, and has communicated the substance of his observations to the world in the valuable narrative which is here presented to the British public.

"Although a victim to the Revolution, he still approves those principles of political reform upon which the first movements towards it were made. Though an outcast from France, he still takes a warm patriotic interest in the glory of the French nation. Hence he inclines at times to encourage the milder class of those political sentiments which the sagacity of Government finds it prudent to discourage in Britain, as little adapted to promote the general welfare. And whenever the views, the interests, and the public servants of the British Government come to be mentioned, he usually speaks the language of a foreigner and a foe."

The tour of the Duke in Upper Canada began at Fort Erie on June 20th, 1795, in company with a Huguenot British subject named Guillemard, and a Frenchman named Dupetitthouars—pungently described by Mrs. Simcoe in her Diary as "democratic and dirty." It ended at Kingston on July 22nd by an order of banishment directed against the Duke by Lord Dorchester, a document that moved the noble author to indignation. He had been the guest of Colonel Simcoe at Navy Hall for eighteen days, and did not take the trouble to cross to York, taking a vicarious observation through the eyes of his two travelling companions. But his comments on things in general observed along the Niagara River are applicable to all Upper Canada, and reveal a seeing eye, a trained mind, and a striving towards accuracy which give the book great value. Whether or not he observed the decencies of social convention in reporting at great length all the opinions of Governor Simcoe, as expressed in the privacy of his home, is open to discussion. Probably no eminent Englishman of the period would have done so. Some years afterwards Hon. William Osgoode, in writing to Hon. Peter Russell, said: "I have not heard lately from General Simcoe, but have reason to believe he was much mortified at not being employed in the late unfortunate expedition to the Continent. He has a benevolent heart, without much discrimination. Have you read the Duke de Liancourt's Travels? They ought to teach him a lesson."

Extensive quotations from La Rochefoucault are not usually made by the writers dealing with the story of Ontario. Probably they have assumed that every well-informed person is familiar with the book. It is an assumption that may be questioned. The risk of giving an occasional reader a twice-told tale is probably overcome by the advantage of supplying the information the Duke assembles in his own words.

"Hard cash or specie is extremely scarce in this corner of the world. It can come only from Lower Canada, but they like to keep it in Quebec and Montreal. Nay, the paymaster of the troops, on pretence that the conveyance is dangerous, sends no specie for the troops, though he receives their pay in hard cash. He could most certainly not refuse it to the paymasters of the regiments, if for that purpose they proceeded to Montreal or Quebec, where he resides. But to undertake this journey at the expense of the corps would occasion too considerable a deduction from their money, which should reach its destination without the least diminution. He accordingly remits it in bills of exchange, which are paid in paper money, that every one makes to any amount he chooses, and which, nevertheless, is universally received with a degree of confidence equal to that which obtained in France in the second year of the Revolution. There are notes of this kind of only two pence in value. They are small slips of paper, either written or printed, frequently without any signature, and mostly effaced and torn."

It is probable that this statement was too general. Currency certainly was scarce and one of the first suggestions of Colonel Simcoe after his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor was that copper coinage and sixpences to the value of £500 of each sort should be put into circulation. Paper money in Canada had its beginnings in the French regime when playing-cards torn into quarters and signed by the Intendant were current. General Murray estimated in 1760 that in the colony of 60,000 people the outstanding "card-money," treasury notes and unpaid bills of exchange, might amount to 80,000,000 livres, roughly, $16,000,000. Only a minor fraction of this "money" was ever redeemed.

The American States during the Revolution followed the example set by Canada and issued paper-money in cartloads. By 1780 this Continental currency was worth about 1c on the dollar. It is not surprising that the phrase "not worth a Continental" became singularly expressive, and indicated a certain distrust of paper-money, which doubtless spread northward. The first bank-note issued in Canada appeared on August 10th, 1792, signed by the Canada Banking Company, but it is probable that army bills were considered more desirable, since they were issued freely in 1812 and had Government backing.

At Kingston, Captain Parr, of the Sixtieth Regiment, gave a dinner to which the French Duke and his friends were invited. The following quotation is of particular interest as throwing light on the social customs of the time: "The ingenuity of the English in devising toasts, which are to be honored with bumpers, is well-known. To decline joining in such a toast would be deemed uncivil; and although it might be more advisable to submit to this charge than to contract a sickness, yet such energy of character is seldom displayed on these occasions. Unwilling to oppose the general will, which becomes more imperious in proportion as heads grow warmer, you resort to slight deceptions in the quantity you drink, in hopes thus to avoid the impending catastrophe. But this time, none of us, French or English, had carried the deception far enough, and I was concerned to feel, the remainder of the evening, that I had taken too lively a part in the event."

"I am free, Heaven be thanked, from the rage against the English nation, which possesses so many Frenchmen, and cannot be justified by the still fiercer rage of some Englishmen against the French. The English are a gallant and great nation. I wish they might be sincerely allied with France.

"York, from its extent, security and situation, offers an excellent road (harbor). The communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron is facilitated by several rivers and small lakes. The surrounding country possesses a good soil and affords all possible means to improve the trade on the lake. Even in a military point of view its situation is very advantageous. The banks of Lake Ontario are likely to be first peopled by Americans, and to become most populous; and Lower Canada will always prove to them an object of jealousy and envy rather than Upper Canada. On this ground it is extremely important to choose a situation which renders it more easy to succour such points as are most exposed to an attack.

"From the readiness which Government displays in granting lands gratis, the Governor entertains not the least doubt of soon obtaining a numerous population. Many families who at the beginning of the American war embraced the royal cause, have since the conclusion of the peace settled on lands which were bestowed upon them gratis. The American soldiers who fought under the same unfortunate banners obtained also an indemnification in lands, on which most of them have settled. . . The Governor is also sanguine in his hopes of procuring many colonists from the United States. He relies on the natural fondness of these people for emigrating, and on their attachment to the English Government. There arrive, indeed, every year a considerable number of families from different parts of the Union; they do not all settle, it is true, but some remain in the country. He also reckons upon drawing numerous settlers from New Brunswick, who cannot endure the climate of that country. And lastly, the considerable emigration from Europe, which he fancies he foresees, affords him certain hopes of obtaining thence a very numerous population. Yet by his account the prevailing sentiments of the people render the admission of new inhabitants, who present themselves, rather difficult; especially of those who come from the United States. For this reason he sends such colonists as cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, into the back country, and stations soldiers on the banks of the lakes which are in front of them. He would admit every superannuated soldier of the English army and all officers of long service who are on half-pay, to share in the distribution of such lands as the King has a right to dispose of. He would dismiss every soldier now quartered in Canada and give him one hundred acres of land as soon as he should procure a young man to serve as his substitute. . . In the midst of these families of soldiers, which he intends to settle on the lakes and on all the frontiers towards the United States, he means to place all the officers who, as has already been observed, have any claim on the lands. He proposes thus to form a militia, attached to the King from habit and gratitude; and this he considers as one of the most certain means for suppressing the disturbances which might be excited by some disaffected new settlers, who inhabit the midland counties, and at the same time as one of the best measures of defence in case of an attack."

"But for his inveterate hatred against the United States, which he too loudly professes, and which carries him too far, Governor Simcoe appears in the most advantageous light. He is just, active, enlightened, brave, frank, and possesses the confidence of the country, of the troops and of all those who join him in the administration of public affairs. To these he attends with the closest application; he preserves all the old friends of the King and neglects no means to procure him new ones. He unites, in my judgment, all the qualities which his station requires, to maintain the important possession of Canada, if it be possible that England can long retain it.

"In his private life Governor Simcoe is simple, plain and obliging. He inhabits a miserable wooden house which formerly was occupied by the commissaries who resided here (at Newark) on account of the navigation of the lake. His guard consists of four soldiers, who every morning come from the fort, and return thither in the evening. He lives in a noble and hospitable manner, without pride; his mind is enlightened; his character mild and obliging; he discourses with much good sense on all subjects, but his favorite topics are his projects and war, which seem to be the objects of his leading passions. He is acquainted with the military history of all countries; no hillock catches his eye without exciting in his mind the idea of a fort, which might be constructed on the spot; and with the construction of this fort he associates the plan of operations for a campaign, especially of that which is to lead him to Philadelphia. . . . Mrs. Simcoe is a lady of thirty-six years of age. She is timid and speaks little; but she is a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, and fulfils all the duties of the mother and wife with the most scrupulous exactness. The performance of the latter she carries so far as to be of great assistance to her husband by her talents for drawing, the practice of which, confined to maps and plans, enables her to be extremely useful to the Governor."

"Regarding the frequency and punishment of crimes Mr. White, Attorney-General of the Province, informed me that there is no district in which one or two persons have not already been tried for murder; that they were all acquitted by the jury, though the evidence was strongly against them . . . . that the major part of lawsuits have for their object the recovery of debts; but sometimes originate also from quarrels and assaults; drunkenness being a very common vice in this country."

"The regiments quartered in the vicinity of the United States, it is asserted, lose much by desertion. Seeing everywhere around them lands either given away or sold at a very low rate, and being surrounded by people who within a twelve-month have risen from poverty to prosperity, and are now married and proprietors, they cannot endure the idea of a servitude which is to end only with their existence. The ennui naturally arising from the dull and secluded manner of living in garrisons, where they find neither work nor amusement, and the slight attention shown them by most of the colonels darken still more, in their view, the dismal picture of their situation. They emigrate accordingly into the United States, where they are sure to find a settlement, which, if they choose to work, cannot fail to make them rich and independent.

"To hold out to them the same hopes in the English colony of Canada would be the only means of rendering less dangerous the temptation offered by the United States. It is with this view that Governor Simcoe very wisely formed the project of dismissing every soldier who should find an able substitute in his room, and to give him one hundred acres of land;

but it is said that this project appears, in Lord Dorchester's judgment, to savor too much of the new principles, to obtain his consent."

"The Governor, who is also colonel of a regiment of Queen's Rangers, stationed in the Province, is attended in his house and at dinner merely by privates of the regiment, who also take care of his horses. He has not been able to keep one of the men servants he brought with him from England."

"The natural order of things at this moment, and the universal disposition of nations, announce the separation of Canada from Great Britain as an event which cannot fail to take place. I know nothing that can prevent it. By great prosperity and glory, by signal successes in her wars, and by undisturbed tranquillity at home, Great Britain may be able to maintain her power over this country, as long as considerable sums shall be expended to promote its population and prosperity; as long as it shall enjoy the most complete exemption from all the taxes and burthens of the mother country; in fine, as long as a mild government, by resources prompt and well-applied, by useful public establishments not yet existing, and by encouragements held out to all classes and descriptions of citizens, shall convince a people already invited and qualified by a wise constitution to enjoy all the blessings of liberty and the advantages of a monarchical government, which in its benevolent projects united wisdom of conception with rapidity of execution.

"But these conditions are and will hardly be fulfilled. In our time, perhaps soon, Great Britain will lose this bright jewel of her crown. In regard to Canada, she will experience the same fate as she is likely to share, sooner or later, respecting her possessions in India; as will befall Spain in regard to Florida and Mexico, Portugal in regard to her Brazil; in short, all European powers, respecting such of their colonies at least as they possess on this Continent, unless, enlightened by experience, they shall speedily change the colonial form of government."

"There have not been more than twelve houses hitherto built in York. They stand on the bay near the River Don. The inhabitants do not possess the fairest character. One of them is the noted Baty, the leader of the German families who according to the assertion of Captain Williamson, were decoyed away by the English, to injure and obstruct the prosperity of his settlement."

The settlement referred to was one in Northern New York, fronting on Lake Ontario, and bounded on the west by the Genesee River. Captain Williamson was colonization agent of Sir William Poulteney, of London, who bought 1,000,000 acres of land at one shilling an acre. The Captain transported eighty families from Germany. Says La Rochefoucault: "Being maintained from the first out of Captain Williamson's stores, they did not so much as work on the roads, which they were to finish; and their leader, the very agent who had selected and brought them over, after having rioted for some time in idleness, drunkenness and debauchery, at length ran away with the whole set to Canada, being gained over, if we may believe common fame, by the English."

This is an *ex parte* and slanderous reference to Captain Berczy, (not Baty), a man of great mental ability, an artist, and an energetic colonization agent, who became better known in Upper Canada two or three years later. Simcoe wrote to Secretary Dundas on Dec. 2nd, 1793, to the effect that Poulteney's agent Berczy was in jail, evidently in the Genesee country. The letter continued: "It is probable that the German settlers will emigrate from the Genesee to Upper Canada. It is reported that the inhabitants of the Genesee are to present a petition to New York to be created into a new and independent State, and that in case of failure these people have determined to place themselves under the protection of Great Britain."

Isaac Weld visited Upper Canada in 1796 and described it in his book of Travels. He did not see York, but he gave some interesting facts concerning navigation on the lake. "Belonging to His Majesty," he wrote, "there were on Lake Ontario when we crossed it, three vessels of about 200 tons each, carrying from eight to twelve guns, besides several gunboats; the last, however, were not in commission, but were laid up in the Niagara River; and in consequence of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and His Britannic Majesty, orders were issued shortly after we left Kingston for laying up the other vessels of war, one alone excepted. Subsequent orders, it was said, were issued during the summer of 1797 to have one or more of these vessels put again into commission."

"The naval officers of these vessels, if they be not otherwise engaged, are allowed to carry a cargo of merchandise when they sail from one port to another, the freight of which is their perquisite. They likewise have the liberty, and are constantly in the practice, of carrying passengers across the lake at an established price."

This price, from Niagara to Kingston, was two guineas, which Mr. Weld thought very reasonable. He believed the freight rate of 36 shillings a ton unnecessarily dear, until he learned that the ships were not too well-built, that Atlantic seamen were required to navigate them safely and that the season was short. The uniform of the naval officers was of blue and white, with large yellow buttons, stamped with the figure of a beaver, over which was inscribed the word Canada. In addition to the King's ships there were on Lake Ontario several decked merchant vessels, schooners and sloops of from 50 to 300 tons, and also many large batteaux. At that period the Americans had no vessels on Lake Ontario other than batteaux. That condition was soon mended, for La Rochefoucault Liancourt, about the same time, was taken from Kingston to Oswego on an American ship. Since all cordage for the British vessels had to be brought from England, the Government officials were encouraging the growing of hemp.

Concerning the removal of the capital of the Province from Newark to York, Mr. Weld said: "To remove the seat of Government to a place little better than a wilderness would be a measure fraught with numberless inconveniences to the public and productive apparently of no essential advantages whatever." At this time Newark had about 70 houses.

The fifth session of the First Legislature met at Newark beginning May 16th, 1796. The most important legislation passed had to do with the regulation of the currency, and the valuation of the motley collection of gold and silver coins circulating in the Province. It was enacted that the British guinea, weighing 5 dwt., 6 gr. Troy, should be valued at £1 3s 4d., the Portugese Johannes (18 dwt.) at £4; the Portugese moidore (6 dwt., 18 gr.) at £1 10s; the Spanish milled doubloon, (17 dwt) £3 14s; the French louis d'or (minted before 1793) and weighing 5 dwt. 4 gr., at £1 2s 6d; the French pistole (before 1793) weighing 4 dwt 4 gr., at 18s; the American eagle (11 dwt 6 gr.), at £2 10s. Of silver coins the British crown was to be worth 5s 6d., the shilling 1s 1d; the Spanish milled dollar, 5s, (equal to 4s 6d Sterling); the Spanish pistareen, 1s; the French crown (before 1793) 5s 6d; the French piece of 4 livres, 10 sols Tournois, 4s 2d; of 36 sols Tournois, 1s 2d; of 24 sols Tournois, 1s 1d; the American dollar 5s. Counterfeiting or uttering counterfeit money was declared a felony punishable with death.

As early as Oct. 27th, 1792, the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada had been formed, with Lt.-Col. Simcoe as Patron. A contemporary diarist declares that the Governor paid his ten guineas a year cheerfully. It is recorded also that he presented to the Society Yonge on Agriculture and a number of other books, as the nucleus of a public library. The Society held monthly dinners, and the President's sign of office was a great silver snuff-box, which was the main decoration of the table.

The Governor was deeply concerned lest the services of the loyalists should be forgotten. While in 1789 the Executive Council of the Province of Quebec had directed the Land Boards of the various districts to register the names of all those who had joined the Royal Standard in America before 1783, the instruction was honored chiefly in the breach of it. Accordingly, by proclamation dated April 6th, 1796, Col. Simcoe directed that the registration should take place at the Michaelmas Sessions of that year. From that time these loyalists were officially designated by the letters "U. E." following their names.

The official class of the population during Governor Simcoe's time consisted mainly of former military officers. It was a period of exalted courtesy and elaborate etiquette among the leaders of English society. The Prince of Wales and Beau Brummell cultivated a Castilian politeness, and the "London bucks" followed suit.

We drive po'chaise to a bloody mill
Or to executions on Tyburn Hill,
        Our skirts are betrimmed with laces.
We drink our Port with the best of men,
We shoot an enemy now and then
        At ten or a dozen paces.
And when we challenge a man to fight,
We're deyvilish cool and damned polite.

Since the officer had a guaranteed social status, and since to be out of the fashion was to be an exile, the manners of the drawing room, even in Niagara and York, were probably as stately as need be. It is said that Captain Cowan, of the Navy, and Staff Surgeon Fleming, of the Army, were the politest men in the Colony. On one occasion they met while crossing the old Chippawa Bridge. Each proceeded to the middle of the bridge, walking slowly, and pausing every few steps to bow. Then they shook hands in the approved manner, and parted with great cordiality. It is unlikely that the higher officials went to such lengths of courtesy. They had more important business.

There was Lt.-Col. Thomas Talbot, private secretary and confidential aide, an important member of Col. Simcoe's household. He was an ensign in the 66th Foot at the age of eleven, another proof that the Irish begin fighting early. From 1784 to 1787 he and a young man of great promise named Arthur Wellesley, were military aides of the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1790 Talbot joined the 24th Regiment at Quebec and was named two years later to accompany Governor Simcoe to Upper Canada. He remained at Niagara and York until 1794. By 1796 he was O. C. of the 5th Foot and in 1799 commanded the second Battalion of that regiment in Holland. Retiring in 1801 he returned to Canada, received some 300,000 acres of Crown Land in lieu of his pension and interested himself in colonization. He established the Talbot Settlement on Lake Erie, brought settlers from Ireland, and built one of the finest roads in the Province, while his friend Wellesley was storming through the Peninsula to the Dukedom of Wellington.

There was William Osgoode, an Oxford Master of Arts and a Barrister of Lincoln's Inn at the age of 23. At 38 being a court favorite (for reason) he was named Chief Justice of Upper Canada and was a close friend of the Governor and his lady. In August 1794 he became Chief Justice of Lower Canada and occupied that office until 1801 when he returned to England. He was a man of uncommon distinction.

There was Peter Russell, the Receiver-General. He had been military secretary to Sir Henry Clinton, the first Commander of the British forces during the Revolutionary war, and the only one showing any great measure of military intelligence. Consider also Æneas Shaw the very model of a Georgian officer, Captain John McGill, Major John Smith, commander of the fort of Niagara, and the officers of the 5th Foot on garrison duty. "Lieutenant Smith, his son," writes Mrs. Simcoe, "is married to a beautiful Irish woman. A great many of the officers of the 5th are married."

There was William Jarvis a determined Loyalist officer, considering Stamford, Connecticut, merely as the pit whence he was digged. There was Robert Pilkington, lieutenant in the Royal Artillery and later in the Royal Engineers, who accompanied Col. Simcoe on all his tours and was an amateur artist of much ability. There was Lieut. Col. Joseph Bouchette, the writer on Upper Canadian topography. There was Robert Hamilton, the rich merchant of Queenston and his many sons. There was Dr. Macaulay an army surgeon, whose first wife, Elizabeth Tuck Hayter, had "an air," and judging by her portrait, must have graced any assembly. All these and more were in the first flight of York society and their ladies drank tea with Mrs. Simcoe and helped to make up her parties.

It has been said that the first surveyor's plan of York was made by Alexander Aitkens in 1793 before a house had been erected. It showed three streets running east and west, and six, north and south. The position of the proposed town was between the present Ontario Street and the Don, and south of Queen Street. The reservation for the Government buildings was south-east of the town on the Bay shore.

In 1783 H. Laforce, of the Naval department, and Lewis Kotte, assistant engineer, made a plan of Toronto Harbor, which was signed in the course of official business by Captain Gothermann of the Royal Engineers at Quebec. Evidently this plan came to the personal attention of Lord Dorchester, for in 1788 Gothermann was instructed by the Governor to examine Toronto Harbor and the locality "with a view to the establishment of a settlement at that point." Gothermann's plan is prophetic. It shows a city stretching from Indian Road to two miles east of the Don, and from the Bay northward beyond St. Clair avenue. Garrison Common is retained as a park-area, even as Boston Common, and the effect is most impressive.

Augustus Jones, who laid out the first townships in 1791, made also a "Plan of the front line of Dublin" (the first name proposed for the settlement) and showed the present Queen Street as the base for the one-hundred-acre "Park" lots to be granted to settlers, but this also was theoretical. Lt.-Col. Joseph Bouchette surveyed the Harbor in 1793. His chart gave all soundings and marked the town, laid out by Aitkens, as half-a-mile long and one-quarter-of-a-mile wide.

Among the first houses in the new settlement was one built by Hon. Peter Russell at the southern end of Princess Street. This was burned in January, 1797. Then he built a commodious one-storey frame house, with a middle section and two wings, long known as Russell Abbey. The site was at the southwest corner of Princess and Front Streets.

Chief Justice Osgoode continued a familiar correspondence for some years with Hon. Mr. Russell. The spirit of these letters is delightful. Writing on January 2th, 1799, on general political affairs, he concluded as follows: "I hear that you are not snug, but actually magnificent at York in your palace (Russell Abbey) of which I trust the Princess Mary does the honors to admiration. Pray make my respectful obedience to her Serene Majesty, and accept of sincerest wishes for your health and happiness." The "Princess Mary" was Miss Russell, the Administrator's sister and housekeeper. Always some playful message to her was to be found in the courtly Osgoode's most sober communications to her brother.

The militia records of 1794 testify that there were 5,350 men capable of bearing arms in the Province. By that time probably the total population was about 25,000. York was in no hurry to grow, despite the opening of Dundas Street. The original plan of the town (as mentioned by Hon. Peter Russell) was drafted with the restriction that no lot was to be granted on the Front street unless the holder was prepared to erect a house 47 feet wide, two storeys high, and built after an approved design. The restriction was not operative in practice. Mrs. Breckenridge, sister of the Hon. Robert Baldwin, declared to Dr. Wm. Canniff, the author of the well-known book on the settlement of Upper Canada that when she arrived in York in 1798 with her father it was a dreary, dismal place, " not even possessing the characteristics of a village. There was no church, school house, or any of the ordinary signs of civilization. There was not even a Methodist chapel and not more than one shop. There was no inn, and those travellers who had no friends to go to, pitched a tent and lived in that."

Comfortable log buildings for the soldiers were erected soon after their arrival in 1793 and the Garrison or Fort was well established before the Town of York was anything more than a pleasant site. The original intention of the first Governor to forbid settlement along the shore was modified by the granting of twenty-eight "Park Lots" of 100 acres each to dependable persons. Lieut. James Givens and Hon. Æneas Shaw, being soldiers, established themselves on two of these lots near the Garrison, each building a spacious house. Captain Shaw's homestead was about 100 feet northwest of the present Trinity College. Shaw Street commemorates him and his home. Givens House was erected in 1802 and the present Givens Street was the roadway to the main entrance. "Caer Howell" was the country estate of Hon. William Dummer Powell, the first professional judge in Upper Canada, and was situated not far from the present head office of the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario. Captain John McGill's house was near where the Metropolitan Church stands to-day.

Denison Avenue was the roadway to the home of Captain John Denison, another dependable person. There is a family tradition to the effect that when Captain Denison was living in Kingston he was urged by Governor Simcoe to settle at the new Capital. He must have seen the early imaginaative plan showing a city called Dublin, for he said to the Governor: "If you call the place Dublin, I am d——d if I will." By calling it York the Governor smoothed the Captain's ruffled feathers, and he applied for 200 acres on May 22, 1793. Nevertheless, the first of the Ontario Denisons did not arrive at the capital until 1796, the summer of Simcoe's departure. Hon. Peter Russell allowed him to live for a time at Castle Frank, and afterwards housed him in a cottage near the corner of Front and Bay streets. Some years later Captain Denison bought an estate of 1,000 acres on the Humber and established a private grave yard, now known as St. John's cemetery. On September 24th, 1921, a memorial was unveiled there to the nine worthy descendants of the doughty and loyal Captain who were killed in the Great War.

Since most of the holders of the Park lots were officials of either civil or military character, and not dependent upon tillage for their subsistence, the bush between Town and Garrison was long a-clearing. Thomas Markland said years after: "The same cause which has surrounded Little York with a desert creates gloom and desolation about Kingston. I mean the seizure and monopoly of the land by people in office and favor."

It was not the fate of Governor Simcoe and his lady to see more than the beginnings of the community they founded. The instructions given by the King's Commission to Lord Dorchester as Governor of Canada, and to Simcoe as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, were never sufficiently clear. Dorchester was given every power; to assent to the laws passed by the Legislatures of both Provinces, to establish electoral divisions and proclaim elections; to appoint judges, magistrates, officers and ministers; to command the militia, "except in case of death or absence out of our said Province of Upper Canada or our Province of Lower Canada." In case of such death or absence the inhabitants were commanded to be obedient to "our Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-Chief of such Province, respectively, to whom we do therefore by these presents in case of your death or absence from such Province give and grant all and singular the powers and authorities herein granted to be by him executed and enjoyed during our pleasure or until your arrival within such Province respectively." Colonel Simcoe's Commission is here given in full:

GEORGE R.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc., To Our Trusty and Well-Beloved John Graves Simcoe, Esquire, GREETING:

John G. Simcoe to be Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your loyalty, integrity and ability, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Our Lieutenant-Governor of Our Province of Upper Canada in America. To have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said place and office during our Pleasure, with all rights, privileges, profits, perquisites and advantages to the same belonging and appertaining, and further in case of his death or during the absence of Our Captain-General and Governor-in Chief of our said Province of Upper Canada, now and for the time being We do hereby authorize and require you to exercise and perform all and singular the powers and directions contained in Our Commission to Our said Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, according to such Instructions as he hath already received from Us, and such further Orders and Instructions as he or you shall hereafter receive from Us, and we do hereby command all and singular Our Officers, Ministers and loving subjects in Our said Province, and all others whom it may concern, to take due notice hereof and to give their ready obedience accordingly.

Given at Our Court of St. James, the twelfth day of September, 1791, in the thirty-first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

Lord Dorchester assumed that Col. Simcoe was his subordinate in all things. Simcoe, recognizing the fact that while Dorchester was in Quebec he was certainly absent from the Province of Upper Canada, had the impression that the Lieutenant-Governor was supreme within the borders of the Province, and that he was under orders only in his military capacity. Even in this sphere of action he thought that his judgment on conditions in the Province and on the military needs of the moment were worthy at least of consideration. His recommendations concerning the establishment of fortified posts in Upper Canada were ignored, mainly because Lord Dorchester's policy was to concentrate his forces for the defence of Lower Canada, which he considered, naturally enough, as the heart of the country.

Dissensions between the two officials grew sharper and more frequent. Each complained to the Home authorities that the other was seeking to restrict his just authority, and finally there was an open quarrel. It is altogether probable that the British Government was not sufficiently clear on the merits of the question to make a ruling that would retain these two good men in office. The letters of the Minister were still indefinite, even when one "prancing pro-consul" * complained of the administration of the other.

Finally Dorchester applied for leave of absence on account of old age, and Simcoe, on account of ill-health. These were diplomatic reasons, since both men were employed elsewhere. The fact is that they found it impossible to work together. Simcoe left Upper Canada on July 9th, 1796. His final message to the First Legislature on the eve of its dissolution referred to the troublous nature of the times in these terms: "—during a period of awful and stupendous events which still agitate the greater part of mankind and which have threatened to involve all that is valuable in Court society in one promiscuous ruin." Simcoe could turn a period and swing a paddle. He could write a poem and build a fort. He could entertain at his home convinced republicans and organize a whole Province against republicanism. He could fight his way to a colonelcy in a fighting age, dance a minuet, and play an excellent hand at whist. But he could not depart from his standard of probity and duty.

Nor did his interest in the Colony cease with his departure. He wrote to the King on March 26th, 1798, urging him to watch over Upper Canada. "It will be," he believed, " with proper and honorable support, the most valuable possession out of the British Isles, in population, commerce and principles of the British Empire."

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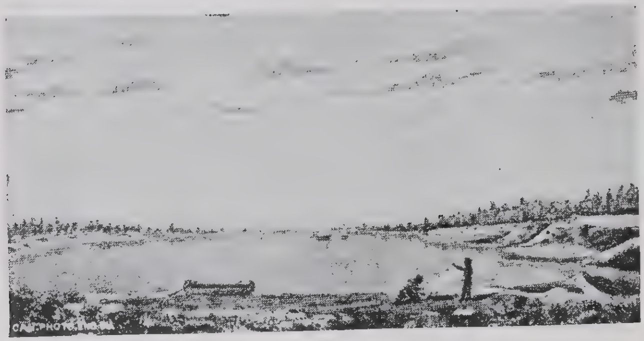
* The alliterative epithet is applied to Dorchester and Simcoe by Mr. Avern Pardoe.

CHAPTER III.

YORK AS A CAPITAL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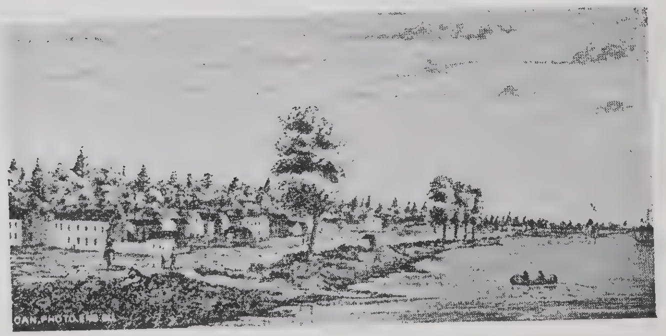
Toronto Harbor, 1793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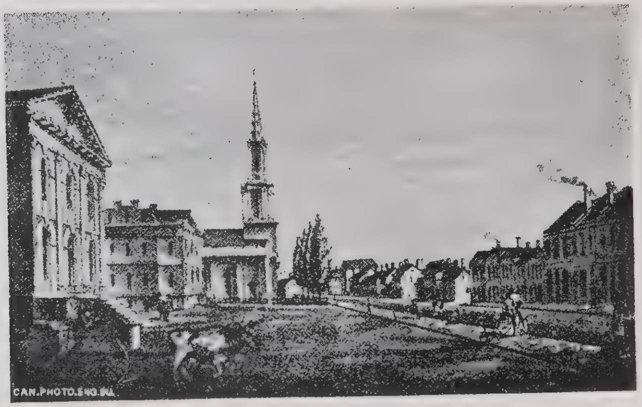
Toronto in 1803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King Street, 1834

CHAPTER III.

YORK AS A CAPITAL

ON the departure of Colonel Simcoe, Hon. Peter Russell became Administrator of the Government and President of the Council, an office which brought him no direct emolument and much additional responsibility. He still retained his position as Receiver General and his accounts showed no such peculiarities as those of the Province of Lower Canada about the same period. His task was to carry out the plans initiated by Governor Simcoe, to maintain harmonious relations with the Council and the Assembly, to guard against French spies getting a footing in the country, and to obey the instructions of the Home authorities when they were reasonable. Successive writers have hinted that Russell was a rapacious land grabber, and made use of his position to enrich himself. The only apparent basis for that hard judgment is found in the fact that during 1803 he offered for sale all his landed estate, situated in various parts of the Province, and amounting to about 9,200 acres. In view of the fact that the Government granted 13,400 acres to Benedict Arnold, who was intensely unpopular among the loyalists, and still larger tracts to others, perhaps the condemnation of Russell has not been wholly warranted.

It is certain that he did his best to improve such lands as he received His house at York was among the best, as it was one of the first, and the cost of fulfilling the settlement duties on his various farms must have been considerable. Every holder of the King's bounty in land was under obligation to clear five acres, build a house, and aid in the construction of roads. One barn which Russell built on his farm near York cost £250. There seems to be reason in the complaint which he made frequently to intimate correspondents that he had invested more than he could afford and saw no prospect of being recouped for his outlay, since the price of land continued low. He desired to spend his later years in England, but could not afford to abandon his investments in Upper Canada without reducing his resources too seriously to make that project possible.

Settlers were the great need of the country, as the Governor understood. Lieutenant-Governor Hunter said that Russell and the Council would have granted land to the Devil and all his family if they had the fees, but that statement proves rather the pungent temper of Hunter than the carelessness of Peter Russell. Whatever errors arose in following out the colonization policy of Governor Simcoe, and his immediate successor, were due first to looseness in surveying, and secondly to the fact that some of the the grantees had no taste for the work of a settler and sold out for a few shillings, a bottle of rum, or some other trifling consideration.

Russell was a man of high character and much ability. He was methodical and careful. His work as military secretary to Sir Henry Clinton during the trying times of the Revolution was sufficiently good to make Clinton his steady friend and patron at Court. He won the confidence of Governor Simcoe and of that clear-seeing young man, Hon. William

Osgoode, Chief Justice and Councillor. He accepted the office of Administrator with diffidence but had "a grateful sense of the honor done him."

On June 27th, 1796, David William Smith, Surveyor-General, was sworn in as a member of the Executive Council. Soon after, Osgoode retired to Quebec.

His successor as Chief Justice was John Elmsley, who came out from England with his appointment in the summer of 1796, just as Governor Simcoe was leaving. He came first to Newark and was among those who were vigorously opposed to the transfer of the capital. He wrote to President Russell on Feb. 2nd, 1797, urging the suspension of the order for removal of the Courts to York. The place, he said, was forty miles beyond the most remote settlement, at the head of the lake. There was neither jail nor court house, no accommodation for grand or petty juries, none for suitors, witnesses, or the Bar, and very indifferent for the Judges. Those attending Court had to remain in the open air, or to be crowded in tents and huts. Many of the jurors would be compelled to travel sixty or eighty miles and be absent from home at least ten days. Those who refused to come could pay the fine imposed more easily than the expense of the journey. The Chief Justice did not think that a jury could be secured at York. Even this complaint, which had a measure of sympathy from Russell, did not prevent the transfer. York became the capital despite its isolation from other settlements on account of bad roads, and the very meagre accommodation it offered for visitors. Its suitability, when these difficulties were overcome, was obvious to most officials, and particularly to those who had had a military training and experience in the field.

Not a house had been erected on the site of York when the place was chosen as the new capital of Upper Canada. Two years later, in 1795, only twelve houses had been built, and the residents of the thriving town of Newark were inclined to view the rival settlement with a measure of contempt. It was "Little York," and "Muddy York," in their eyes, for many years. But it was a good military post well removed from the dangers of the frontier and promised a safe anchorage for shipping.

The first task was to provide accommodation for Parliament and the public offices. Complete details of the plan or of the cost are lacking, since all official records were burned in 1813 by visiting Americans, personally conducted by General Dearborn. From fragmentary mention of the buildings by contemporary letter-writers, it is known that John McGill supervised the construction and engaged the carpenters. The mason-work was done by David Thomson, a Scot newly arrived in the country, who was the first settler in the Township of Scarborough. It is certain that the buildings were of brick. An account book kept by Thomson mentions that brick was used. "July 16, 1796. Begun to wall the Government brick houses. 55,500 brick at 17s 6d per thousand." There were two "elegant halls" each 40 feet long and 25 feet wide. The intention was to erect a central building in the space of 100 feet between them, but finally the two halls were connected by a modest covered way. The buildings stood on the Bay shore at the southern end of the present Berkeley street, then known as Parliament street, and the present Front street was named Palace street—the approach to the "Palace of Government."

The work was not fully completed by the end of 1796, as a letter from Hon. Peter Russell testified. Mr. Russell wrote on December 4th, 1796; "As the Legislature is to meet at York on the first of June, it becomes absolutely necessary that provision shall be made for their reception without loss of time. You will therefore be pleased to apprize the inhabitants of the town that twenty-five gentlemen will want lodgings and board during the Sessions, which may possibly induce them to fix up their houses and lay in provisions to accommodate them. Those two detached houses belonging to the Government House must at any rate be got ready—the one for the Legislative Council, the other for the Assembly. I beg likewise that you desire Mr. Graham to examine the two canvas houses and report the practicability of removing the best of them to the town, to be raised there for giving dinners in to the Members of the two Houses."

Throughout the United States and particularly in Vermont, settlement had been facilitated by the grant of townships to individuals. Each of these undertook to find immigrants enough to occupy the township, and gave a bond to guarantee specific performance of the agreement. The "padrone" made his profit in various ways; his own land grant was likely to be large and its value rose as the land about it was cleared and planted. Besides there must have been frequent occasions for profit in supplying the needs of the colonists. The "rake-off" was not unknown in those days.

The proclamation by Governor Simcoe and the various advertisements published in the United States and in Great Britain during 1792, 1793 and 1794 awoke the interest of colonizing agents. "Leaders" arose on all sides, ready to conduct parties of trustful colonists to the promised land. All that they needed was a few townships each. On March 18th, 1793, Andrew Pierce, Samuel Jarvis and others undertook to settle within four years 50 families in each of three townships on the north shore of Lake Ontario, and gave bonds of £18,000 sterling. Before any active preparation was made by this group, their interest was bought by William Berczy, a German, who was in partnership with Conrad Braner, a former officer of the Hessian, or Hanoverian corps, for bringing German families to Poulteney's Colony, in America. Then this group petitioned from New York on March 20th, 1794, for one million acres of Upper Canada land, preferably upon Lake Erie. The reason given was their attachment to the British Government, and the fact that German people were accustomed to "an executive power more energetic than that of the United States." The expression describes most justly the civil administration of Frederick the Great.

The Government would not consider a grant of one million acres, but on May 17th, 1794, ordered that 64,000 acres be granted. When that tract was settled the petitioners might ask for more. The allotment was the Township of Markham, and Berczy, no longer "in jail in Genesee," brought with him 74 families "from Europe and the United States." On July 16th, 1796, William Jarvis, the Deputy-Lieutenant of the County of York, named William Berczy a Captain of Militia.

There were difficulties about the title of the lands, and Berczy, according to his own statement, was hardly used. Something was to be said for the administrators also, since Berczy had pertinacities of temper and habit. Governor Simcoe had reported to the Home authorities that there were grave disadvantages in making large grants to "leaders" and by 1797 Royal instructions were received at York that no allotment should be made in future for more than 200 acres. Osgoode found Berczy "a wrong-headed, meddlesome fellow," but that opinion may have been formed because of his willingness to criticize the land policy of the Government both in Upper and in Lower Canada.

One cause of distress to all settlers was the policy of reserving farm lots in every settlement for the Crown and Clergy. A very clear statement of its disadvantages had been made as early as 1794 by Asa Porter and Nicholas Austin in a letter dated March 3rd, and addressed to Lord Dorchester. They held that the reserves should be in a separate block, away from the portions being settled; that in forming a settlement in a rugged, new country, great advantages were found in having the farms contiguous. The draining, ditching and fencing were made practicable. The roads could be constructed more easily and kept open through the winter. The people could more conveniently unite their strength, which was often necessary, to remove the many obstacles they had to encounter in subduing the wilderness. Further, wheat could not be grown near the woodlands on account of "the birds and the reptiles" with which they abounded. The shade of tall trees also injured the crops of the adjoining fields and meadows. Concentrated settlement made for the comfort and convenience of the settlers and made their situation less gloomy and dismal. The Government in reply said that Royal instructions required the Crown and Clergy reserves to be in detached parcels, and those instructions could not be departed from.

A general election to the Assembly of the Second Parliament took place on August 18th, 1796. Apparently the free and independent voters were convinced that it was "time for a change," for only two of those who sat in the first Assembly were returned, John Macdonell and D. W. Smith. Among those left at home was John White, the attorney-general, brought in to the first House by the influence of Governor Simcoe, Hon. Peter Russell requested him to stand for Addington and Ontario, and offered to pay his election expenses. "He was beaten," said Russell, in a letter to England, "but the expenses were paid, as promised." The amount was £23, 10s 3d, Halifax currency.

The result of the election follows: GLENGARRY, Richard Wilkinson and John Macdonell; STORMONT, Robert I. D. Gray; DUNDAS, Thomas Fraser; GRENVILLE, Dr. Solomon Jones; LEEDS and FRONTENAC, Edward Jessup; ADDINGTON and ONTARIO, Christopher Robinson; LENNOX, HASTINGS and NORTHUMBERLAND, Timothy Thompson; PRINCE EDWARD and ADOLPHUSTOWN, David McGregor Rogers; DURHAM, YORK and 1st LINCOLN, Richard Beasley; 2nd LINCOLN, Samuel Street; 3rd LINCOLN, Benjamin Hardison; 4th LINCOLN and

NORFOLK, David William Smith; SUFFOLK and ESSEX, John Cornwall; KENT, Thomas Smith and Thomas McKee.

Thomas Fraser was a New York loyalist who had served with McAlpine's Corps. Edward Jessup, who came originally from Connecticut, was mentioned in the New York Confiscation Act of October 22nd, 1799. Dr. Solomon Jones was surgeon's mate in Jessup's Loyal Rangers, and came originally from Connecticut. Timothy Thompson had been an ensign in the King's Royal Regiment of New York; Christopher Robinson, the ancestor of a distinguished Toronto legal family, had been an officer of the Queen's Rangers. He died in 1798 and was succeeded by William Fairfield, who also had seen service in the field. David McGregor was the son of an officer in the Queen's Rangers, and a loyalist of New Hampshire. Richard Beasley, who represented York, was the first settler on Burlington Bay, a merchant of some property. Samuel Street, of Connecticut origin, acted as Speaker during the Fourth Session of Parliament, while D. W. Smith, the elected Speaker, was absent from the country. Thomas Smith was a loyalist surveyor, who served in the Indian Department. Thomas McKee was the son of Col. Alexander McKee, Indian agent at Pittsburg during the Revolutionary war and later at Detroit. John Cornwall had been a Ranger. Captain Benjamin Hardison, as a young man, was a Massachusetts soldier on the Revolutionary side. He was captured and sent to Canada, where he revised his opinions and became a firm loyalist. R. I. D. Gray was the solicitor-general, a man of great ability.

Therefore, while the personnel of the Assembly had changed, it was still composed mainly of fighting loyalists who had good reason to hate republicanism. Hugh Macdonell, of Glengarry, who was not elected to the Second Assembly, was highly regarded by the Duke of Kent and on his recommendation was appointed in 1805 as Assistant-Commissary at Gibraltar. From 1811 to 1820 he was British Consul-General at Algiers.

By 1797 the public buildings were completed and the First Session of the Second Parliament met at York on June 1st. The first task before the members was to pass an Alien Enemy Act. Great Britain had entered upon the long struggle against the rejuvenated French nation and precautions were necessary. The Act provided that any person of whatever name, character, or description, owing allegiance or professing to owe allegiance to any country, kingdom, state or commonwealth, now at war against our Sovereign Lord the King, should not be permitted to "enter, remain, reside or dwell" in any part of the Province. In case such a person were discovered he should be warned to leave within 24 hours. If he neglected the warning he could be sent to jail for one month and then might be given a second opportunity to depart. If he still neglected or refused to go he was to be adjudged a felon, to suffer death "without benefit of clergy."

The 13th chapter of the Statutes of 1797 was entitled: "For Better Regulating the Practice of Law." It authorized the formation of the Law Society of Upper Canada. The declared object of associating the lawyers was "as well for the establishment of order among themselves, as for the purpose of securing to the Province and the profession a learned and honorable body to assist their fellow-subjects as occasion may require, and to support and maintain the Constitution of the said Province.'" The first Benchers were John White, attorney-general, R. I. D. Gray, solicitor-general, Walter Roe, Angus Macdonell, James Clark and Christopher Robinson. The Law Society has well fulfilled the hopes of its founders.

When the French Girondins, in protest over the execution of King Louis, talked loudly of fighting, General Wimpfen produced a leader, the Count de Puisaye, who was able and willing to "wage the war in Calvados." Carlyle, in a hot sentence, summarizes the result of this struggle. "The forces did meet, and, as it were, shrieked mutually and took mutually to flight without loss." Puisaye was roused from his warm bed in the Castle of Brécourt and had to gallop without boots, seeking "a hole in which to hide himself."

The "hole" chosen was London. He and some of his associates, hopeless of a wise revolution, and respectfully fearful of steel-hearted Jacobins, crossed the Channel to join that tumultuous company of "emigrés" which already had driven the British Government to the verge of distraction. Over 8,000 of them were in England, nobles and commoners of the "attached" variety, but few genuine workers were amongst them. Their hope continually was to co-operate with England against the unworthy "bosses" who were ruling France. Granted always that the emigrés had suffered and were in the despairing temper of most refugees, it seems odd that they rested all on the fighting of foreigners. Austria, Prussia and England were expected to spend blood and treasure unstintedly that the French nobles might get back their estates and take a red vengeance upon the politicians of "The Mountain."

De Puisaye's hope was to organize a landing in Brittany. The British Government provided that two divisions of emigrés should go first to Quiberon Bay, to be followed by a division of British soldiers and supported by the fleet. The expedition was a failure, and at the end of July, 1795, De Puisaye was again in London, with no prospects.

Emigration to Upper Canada! That would solve all difficulties. An unsigned, undated proposal to the British Government for the settlement on Crown lands in Canada of French refugees is found in the Canadian Archives. In the opinion of the late Mr. Douglas Brymner it was prepared by De Puisaye. The plan is remarkable in its detail but it was drafted, undoubtedly, without considering whether or not the proposed settlers had a taste for labor.

Finally the British officials consented to recommend to the Government of Upper Canada the grant of a suitable tract of land to De Puisaye and his company of forty persons, among them the Count de Chalus and his lady. They sailed on the "Betsy" and by November, 1798, arrived in Quebec. A year later the owners of the "Betsy" were suing for the passage money.

The Executive Council on November 22nd, determined that the Townships of Uxbridge, Gwillimbury, part of Whitechurch, and a township in the rear of Whitby, not yet named, should be appropriated for De Puisaye's party, the leader to have 5,000 acres. Apparently not all were pleased at the allotment, for in April, 1799, Chief Brant suggested a five-mile tract on the lake front between York and Burlington, and got into a quarrel with the Administration over the proposal. He was charged with influencing the Mississaugas to sell their reserved lands.

Meanwhile the Marquis de Beaupoil and a man named St. Victor asked for passports to return to England. They had found conditions in Upper Canada far from what had been represented to them. By September, 1799, sixteen had left the colony. Twenty were at the settlement called Windham, and five, including De Puisaye himself, were at Niagara. Finally the enterprise was abandoned. De Puisaye himself returned to England, became a naturalized subject, and died in poverty at Blyth House in Hammersmith.

The passport to success in the forests of this country was found in hard, continuous, back-breaking labor. There was something incongruous in the establishment of courtiers in these frowning townships, no matter what services they had rendered against the rise of republicanism. Remembering the social status of Royalist army officers at that period, the secret of the failure of the settlement may be found in the fact that the party of about 40 boasted one lieutenant-general, five full colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, three captains and two lieutenants. There were two Counts and one of them brought with him seven servants as an entourage suitable for his station as a landholder.

The Second Session of the Second Legislature meeting in 1798 passed an Act bounding the counties and readjusting the judicial districts of Upper Canada. The riding of East York was composed of the townships of Whitby, Pickering, Scarborough, York (including the peninsula), Etobicoke, Markham, Vaughan, King, Whitechurch, Uxbridge, Gwillimbury, "and the tract of land hereafter to be laid out into townships lying between the County of Durham and Lake Simcoe."

West York consisted of the Townships of Beverley, East and West Flamborough, the Six Nations Territory north of Dundas street and all land between it and the East Riding.

The Home District included Northumberland, Durham, York and Simcoe; say, from east of Cobourg to Brantford and northward to the ends of the earth.

During this same Session of 1798 an important amendment was made to the Marriage Act, whereby some clergymen other than those of the Church of England were grudgingly given the right to solemnize matrimony. The Act declared that it would be lawful for the minister or clergyman of any congregation or religious community of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, or Lutherans or Calvinists, to celebrate the ceremony of marriage between any two persons, not inhibited by consanguinity or other conditions, one of whom had been a member of that congregation for at least six months.

Before such a clergyman could secure the right he had to give proof before at least six magistrates of his proper ordination, and bring with him at least seven respectable persons, members of his congregation or community to vouch for him. A petition urging that this privilege be extended to the Methodists was denied by a vote in the Assembly of 8 to 2.

At the Third Session in 1799 the legislation was meagre. An Act was passed validating an agreement between Upper and Lower Canada governing the collection of duties on interprovincial trade, and the Alien Enemy Act was continued. The most striking record of that Session is a message from Honorable Peter Russell recording the first practical effect of the operation of the Militia Act.

"I am happy to inform you that the intelligence communicated by me in the beginning of the winter respecting a combined attack on this Province, said to be in preparation from the side of the Mississippi, turns out to have had little or no foundation. It has. however, had the very pleasing effect of evincing our internal strength to repel any hostile attempt from that quarter. For I cannot sufficiently applaud the very animated exertions of the Lieutenants of Counties and the loyal spirit and zeal exhibited by the militia of the several districts on this occasion, whereby 2,000 volunteers from the respective corps thereof were immediately put into a state of readiness to march with their army at a moment to wherever they might be ordered, and I am persuaded that the rest would have soon followed with equal alacrity, if their services had been wanted."

The occasion for this emergency call is explained in correspondence between Hon. Peter Russell and Governor Prescott, Lord Dorchester's successor at Quebec. On October 5th, 1798, the Governor wrote to say that Collot, a French republican general, formerly engaged in a plan for stirring up a rebellion in Canada, went into the western country in 1796 and 1797 to prepare the Indians of that region to make an attack on Upper Canada at the same time as a hostile force would be thrown into Lower Canada. When Collot left the Indian country he promised to return in 1799, and at the time Prescott wrote he was in France "concerting measures." The Governor suggested that Russell should ascertain what tribes had been tampered with, so as to prevent the mischief.

In answer to this communication Russell wrote on November 2nd that in his opinion a dangerous cloud was ready to burst over the Province. He had not been able to discover with certainty upon which tribes he could depend, as he had had no intelligence from Colonel McKee, the Deputy-Superintendent of Indian Affairs, stationed at Sandwich. He thought that should the western Indians be disposed to make an irruption on the back settlements, they might do mischief before their attack could be heard of. "There are so few farms between the Don and the Humber that it is probable the first news would be the Indians themselves." Russell had the most serious apprehensions of an attack by the Western and Lake Indians, even though the ones settled on the Grand River were faithful, as Brant said they were. He reported Brant's opinion that the Caughnawagas and other Canadian Indians were in the French interest.

Troops and at least one field piece were needed, Russell continued, to enable him to establish posts between York and Lake Simcoe. At this time all the regulars were in Lower Canada. (The Fifth Foot, after the Fort at Niagara had been surrendered to the Americans on August 11th,

HON. PETER RUSSELL
Receiver-General, and Administrator of Upper Canada. (Robertson Collection)

1796, had been transferred to Quebec.) The few militia in Upper Canada would be instructed to co-operate with the regular troops. Mr. Russell added that Colonel Shaw had had for some months 100 stand of arms, with ammunition, and orders to ballot for a like number of men, to be in constant readiness to embody and march. Similar orders had been given to the other lieutenants, and arms had been supplied from the store sent by Prescott in the previous year. In the neighborhood of Detroit the militia under McKee and Bâby had been reduced by the secession of those settlers who had become subjects of the United States, but there seemed to be still about 150 men who could be depended upon. The Long Point settlement might turn out 150 men, and the County of Lincoln about 800, all consisting of staunch old soldiers. The Eastern and Midland Districts reported only 2,683 men available. It would not be wise to count on more than 1,000 men for the field, to be drawn without domestic interference, in the Home District.

Colonel McKee, of the Indian branch of Government, died about this time, and his secretary, F. Selby, wrote to Acting-Governor Russell on January 23rd, 1799, sending the last suggestions of the veteran of Pittsburg. In his opinion there was no danger from the Indians of the southwest, unless the white settlers of Kentucky and Ohio joined them. He proposed collecting early in Spring a body of friendly Indians and posting them about Michilimackinac and St. Joseph, to bar any hostile incursion. Meanwhile the Sacs and Foxes (of Wisconsin) should get presents to stop an advance through their country. He thought also that the Government should seek a treaty with the Sioux and the Folles Avoines, of the Mississippi country.

On April 25th, 1799, Russell reported to the British authorities that the alarming information brought from the westward by Brant's runners had proved to be totally unfounded.

One cannot but feel that the Home authorities were not sufficiently seized of the value of Russell's services. He had shown himself active, alert and fully competent, as the substitute for the Lieutenant-Governor, and had served Lieutenant-General Hunter, the successor of Simcoe, with undiminished energy. Yet in 1800, when he appealed for an increase of salary from £200 to £400, the Lords of the Treasury "did not think it expedient to comply: "With a touch of grim humor he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton: "I was honored with His Majesty's fullest approbation of my conduct while I represented him in this Province. I am now sorry to observe that this is all I am likely to reap from my labors and zeal."

Hon. David William Smith, Surveyor-General,* was the author of A Short Topographical Description of Upper Canada, printed in London in

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* Hon. David William Smith, born in 1764 was the son of Lieut.-Col. Smith of the Fifth Foot who died as Commandant of Fort Niagara in 1795. He himself was an officer in the Regiment and on the testimony of Mrs. Simcoe, was married to a beautiful Irish woman. He was a member of the first three Parliaments of Upper Canada and twice was Speaker of the Assembly. Besides serving as Surveyor General, he was one of the trustees for the Six Nations, and was highly regarded as a capable and just man. He returned to England in 1802, was created a Baronet in 1821 for his public services in Upper Canada, and died in 1837. He had four daughters who survived him. His only son was killed at Quiberon Bay in 1811 on board the frigate **Spartan.**

1799 by W. Faden, Geographer to His Majesty. The notes were made "at the desire of Major-General Simcoe." The following quotations have value as contemporary references:

Toronto. Lake le Clie, (sic) was formerly so called by some; others called the chain of lakes from the vicinity of Machedash towards the head of the Bay of Quinte the Toronto Lakes, and the communication from the one to the other was called the Toronto River.

Toronto River. Called by some St. John's River, now called the Humber.

Simcoe Lake. Formerly Lake aux Claies,* named by Lieut-Col. Simcoe in respect to his father, the late Captain Simcoe, of the Royal Navy, who died in the River St. Lawrence on the expedition to Quebec in 1759. In the year 1755 this able officer had furnished Government with the plan of operations against Quebec which then took place. Captain Cook, the celebrated circumnavigator, was master of his ship, the "Pembroke."

Re *Yonge Street.* Merchandise from Montreal to Michilimackinac may be sent this way at ten or fifteen pounds less expense per ton than by the route of the Grand or Ottawa River.

York. On the extremity of the peninsula, which is called Gibraltar Point, are commodious stores and blockhouses which command the entrance to the harbor. On the mainland, opposite to the Point; is the garrison, situated in a fork made by the harbor and a small rivulet, which being improved by sluices affords easy access for boats to go up to the stores. The barracks being built on a knoll are well situated for health and command a delightful prospect of the lake to the west and of the harbor to the east. The Government House is about two miles above the garrison near the head of the harbor, and the town is increasing rapidly. The River Don empties itself into the harbor a little above the town, running through a marsh, which, when drained, will afford most beautiful and fruitful meadows. This has already been commenced in a small degree which will no doubt encourage further attempts. The long beach or peninsula which affords a most delightful ride is considered so healthy by the Indians that they resort to it whenever indisposed, and so soon as the bridge over the Don is finished, it will, of course, be most generally resorted to, not only for pleasure, but as the most convenient road to the heights of Scarborough. The ground which has been prepared for the Government House, is situated between the town and the River Don, on a most beautiful spot, the vicinity of which is well suited for gardens and a park. The oaks are in general large, the soil is excellent and well watered with creeks, one of which, by means of a short dam, may be thrown into all the streets of the town. Vessels of all sizes may be conveniently built here, and a kind of terrace or second bank in front of the town affords an excellent situation for a rope-walk. The remains of the old French Fort Toronto stand a little to the westward of the present garrison, and the River Humber discharges itself into Lake Ontario about two miles and a half west of that.

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* Claies—hurdles of basket-work. The Huron Indians were in the habit of putting such hurdles in the Narrows between Lake Couchiching and the larger lake in order to catch the herring which even yet are very plentiful at certain seasons.

On this river and the Don are excellent mills and all the waters abound in fish."

There is an interesting footnote to the book, indicating the movement of immigration: "Nineteen covered waggons came in to settle in the vicinity of Lincoln about the month of June last, and the facility with which some of these people travel, particularly in crossing the small rivers, deserves to be noticed. The body of their waggons is made of close boards, and the most clever have the ingenuity to caulk the seams, and so by shifting off the body from the carriage, it serves to transport the wheels and the family." *

Major-General Peter Hunter was appointed Commander of the Forces and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, on April 12th, 1799. He was in Quebec on June 13th and arrived at York on August 15th, taking over the Government on the following day. He was a soldier, with the military merit of speaking his mind, as was apparent in his first official communication to the King. Concerning Prescott, the Governor of Canada, he said: "I did not know Prescott before. From his conduct I would not hesitate to pronounce him mad." The wholesale grants of land since the beginning of the Colony, he considered the main cause of all slowness of development, and he vigorously criticized his predecessors in office. Between August 16th, 1799, and December 31st, 1800, 30 persons received 11,899 acres in York Township alone. Few of the grantees had either the funds or the time to clear the land, and thus there were great bush areas under private ownership besides the Crown and Clergy reserves of one-tenth and one-seventh in each township. So the population was sparse and there was no possibility of building roads, save by Government expenditure. That meant a grant from the British Government or else the sale of some townships in a well settled area.

At the session of 1800, the Fourth of the Second Parliament, the Criminal Law was amended by the abolition of the penalty of burning in the hand. Two years before a prisoner had been branded in open court in the presence of Mr. Justice Powell. There was a Representation Act providing that persons elected to the Assembly must have resided in the Province for four years previous to the date of the polling, or in some other British Dominion for seven years. Provision was made for the summary conviction of persons selling liquor by retail without a license.

The Legislative Assembly of the Third Parliament elected on July 9th, 1801, was as follows: GLENGARRY and PRESCOTT, Alexander Macdonell and Angus Macdonell; STORMONT and RUSSELL, Robert I. D. Gray; DUNDAS, Jacob Weager; GRENVILLE, Samuel Sherwood; LEEDS, William Buell; FRONTENAC, John Ferguson; PRINCE EDWARD, Ebenezer Washburn; LENNOX and ADDINGTON, Timothy Thompson; HASTINGS and NORTHUMBERLAND, David M. Rogers; DURHAM, SIMCOE, and EAST YORK, Henry Allcock; WEST YORK, 1st LINCOLN and HALDIMAND, Richard Beasley; 2nd, 3rd and 4th

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* Rev. Dr. Scadding reprinted the text of the second edition of this Gazetteer with his own annotations, in the Journal of the Royal Canadian Institute, Series II., Vol. XIV.

LINCOLN, Isaac Swayzie; NORFOLK, OXFORD and MIDDLESEX, Hon. D. W. Smith; KENT, Thomas McCrae; ESSEX, Matthew Elliott, and Thomas McKee. Hon. D. W. Smith was the Speaker. He and five others were the only survivors of the Second Parliament; namely, R. I. D. Gray, Timothy Thompson, David McGregor Rogers, Richard Beasley and Thos. McKee.

The impropriety of electing a judge to the Legislative Assembly was noted by the petition of Samuel Heron, Archibald Cameron and Elisha Beaman to void the election of Mr. Justice Allcock, member for Durham, Simcoe, and East York. They lamented the early necessity of complaining against an infringement of the Constitution "meditated by a few individuals and partly perfected by their artifices," and declared that Henry Allcock had been improperly, untruly and unjustly returned. On June 11th, 1800, a committee of the House determined that Henry Allcock had not been duly elected and on the following day the Speaker's writ issued for a bye-election. Mr. Angus Macdonell was chosen in Mr. Allcock's place.

In 1801, on August 15th, the Bishop of Quebec was sworn in as an Executive Councillor. Mr. Justice Allcock became a member of the Executive on Feb. 20th, 1802, in succession to John Munro, deceased, and on May 31st of the same year, became Chief Justice, Judge Elmsley having succeeded Osgoode as Chief Justice of Lower Canada.

The war against France spurred British officers everywhere to incessant vigilance. In Upper Canada special care was taken to prevent French subjects gaining admission to the country to collect military intelligence, or to buy lands from the Indians for secret storehouses. The fact that France was heartily supported by a large body of the American people whose hostility towards Great Britain was still bitter and unreasoning, made it necessary for the officials to consider the possibility of invasion by irregulars at vulnerable points along the frontier.

Fort George, near Newark, had been built after the surrender to the United States of Fort Niagara on the East side of the river. Thither came one fine morning in the autumn of 1800, Mr. Pierre Le Couteulx, an amiable civilian, with a letter of introduction from Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Washington. He was on his way to Detroit with a quantity of merchandise and was filled with a vast surprise when he was detained. His letter of introduction to Major Rivardi, of the Fort, was of no advantage to him. Colonel Macdonell wrote to Major Rivardi on October 6th to say that Mr. Couteulx was a gentleman without a passport, and must be held to know the pleasure of the Commander-in-Chief. In due course orders came, and in consequence of those orders M. Le Couteulx was politely escorted to Quebec. There he was held while two magistrates and the law officers of the Government made an examination of his papers.

He complained that the arrest was irregular because he was a naturalized American, and had lived in the United States for fourteen years. In that position he was supported by Alexander Hamilton and other American friends. Attorney-General Sewell of Quebec was not impressed by this argument. He gave an opinion that Le Couteulx could legally be detained as a prisoner of war.

Since 1794 this same Le Couteulx had been "an object of very great suspicion" to the military officers and it may be presumed that they were well satisfied that Mr. Sewell's law happened to coincide with the necessity of the case. It seemed that the man. under cover of his American citizenship, was in continual correspondence with other friends and agents of France, to discover an occasion for striking Great Britain in her North American possessions. One of his letters to Rodolph Tellier, expressed the desire of seeing ten ships of the line in the St. Lawrence as an escort to 5,000 or 6,000 troops. "Nothing," he said, "would please the Canadians better." He had written to Liancourt advising that French forces should seize the port of Hamburg, and also should send into England forged banknotes to the value of £50,000,000, that the enemy's credit at home might be destroyed.

In a word, it was clear from his papers, as well as from secret intelligence, that Le Couteulx was an alien enemy. If the Liancourt mentioned were the philosophic traveller, La Rouchefoucault de Liancourt, the reason for that careful observer's deportation from Kingston at the order of Lord Dorchester may be guessed. The secret service may have had a glimpse at his private correspondence.

The fact that Le Couteulx had been an American subject for fourteen years removed him from the jurisdiction of the Alien Enemy Act, but he had committed the fatal error of travelling without a passport, and became a prisoner of war despite all protests.

This specific case may indicate the tumult and danger of the times, and the burden which lay upon all the authorities of Upper Canada. The Lieutenant-Governor and his Councillors were perpetually looking four ways; towards Napoleon flitting from Egypt to Marengo, and his multitudinous spies in the United States; towards the hostile republican leaders across the border; towards the doubtful Indians; and towards the grumbling settlers at home. It was no sinecure to govern Canada at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

Three distinct classes of people were in Upper Canada at this time, the coterie of officials and military officers, active or retired, the discharged soldiers who had taken up land, and the civilian settlers. The first group was an aristocracy wholly English in thought and outlook, and sufficiently well-to-do to create and maintain a society given to polite entertainment and impolite gossip. There was a "court" in Newark and subsequently at York, which was an odd miniature of St. James's.

Hon. Peter Russell wrote to Hon. William Osgoode at Quebec on January 9th, 1800, describing the circumstances which led up to the famous White-Small duel, and its fatal termination. The letter throws into light the gossiping tendency of the "court." Mrs. John Small and Mrs. Elmsley saw fit to disapprove of Mrs. White, and "cut" her at a public assembly. This conduct exasperated White, the Attorney-General "to such a degree that in the violence of his consequent agitation he communicated some circumstances to the prejudice of Mrs. Small's character to Mr. David Smith, with permission to repeat, which he did, to Mrs. Elmsley. Mr. Smith had the very great imprudence to tell it, about six months after, not only to the Chief Justice and Mrs. Elmsley, but to Mrs. Powell, and three or four others." In course of time the story came to Mr. Small's ears. Immediately he called upon Mr. White and insisted that he declare at once whether or not he was responsible for the scandal. The letter continued: "Mr. White answered that, it being possible that Mr. Smith might have said more or less than he was authorized to do, Mr. Small had better write to Mr. Smith to know from himself whether it was true or false, but taken so by surprise he could not immediately give him the answer he required. Mr. Small replied he must then give him immediate satisfaction. It was in consequence agreed that they should meet the next morning in the park behind the Government House, Mr. Small, accompanied by Mr. Sheriff Macdonell, and Mr. White by Captain de Hoen (a former Hessian officer and a Baron). Mr. White previous to his going out declared to Mr. Weekes, a barrister, and to his second, that having no wish to hurt Mr. Small on this occasion he should not fire at him, but whether he had altered this resolution, or the (appearance) of his antagonist . . . convulsed his finger to pull the trigger, both pistols were fired nearly at the same instant, but Small's with (better) aim, as the ball passed between Mr. White's ribs, and striking the spine, caused an instant palsy of the lower extremities. My poor friend, being at his own desire brought to my house, I hurried him into my own bed. . . There he continued in the greatest torture until the usual mortification set in a few hours before his death. He was buried in a summerhouse on his own land adjoining the town on Tuesday, the 7th instant.*

"Mr. Small was tried at the last Court of Oyer in this town and acquitted, through some neglect in the prosecution to produce evidence of Mr. White's being killed by him, for neither of the seconds were subpoenaed and no one else was privy to the transaction. The verdict of the jury has consequently excited some apprehension that this decision may lessen the dread of punishment."

The soldier settlers were good and bad. Those with ambition to solve the secrets of wilderness life found wives from among their neighbors and fought their way through. The first white child born in York (in 1794) was John Graves Simcoe Wright, the son of Edward Wright, a retired soldier of the Queen's Rangers. His opinion of his former commanding officer may be judged by the name he gave his son. Then as now the efficient and just officer had the admiration of his men, although it is probable that the ordinary officer of the period regarded a private soldier as a being infinitely lower than himself.

The more careless type of discharged soldier devoted himself and his freedom to riotous days and nights, for it was a hard-drinking age. As for the settlers, the Court group hardly knew what to think of them, Colonel Simcoe, in one of his despatches, had spoken with uneasiness of the election to the Legislative Assembly of men who ate at a common table with their servants, a fault akin to the unpardonable offence among members of the "nobility and gentry."

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* Years afterwards the body was exhumed and buried in St. James's Cemetery.

These men, inured to pioneer life, first in "the States" and then in Canada, drew no artificial distinctions. Jack was as good as his master,—if Jack could fell a tree as well, if he had strength of arm and willingness to work. It was a matter of course for the "hired man" to lose his heart to the daughter of the house, brave in her deerskin petticoat and her broad-brimmed sunbonnet, for she was a worker too. It was a matter of course for the young couple, married by a Justice of the Peace, according to law (but not according to social custom in England) to take up land of their own, build their own ingle and found a family as good as the best. Physical strength was a necessity to clear underbrush, chop hardwood and pine, grub out stumps, reap the wheat with sickles and thresh it with a flail. But physical strength alone was not sufficient. The pioneers had need of patience, contentment and a whole galaxy of spiritual virtues which made them strong and notable in their generation. They may have been lacking in the knowledge that comes from books, but in the solitudes they learned to think as well as to strive. So also the women toiled and endured, washing, cooking, spinning, weaving, patching, quilting, making soap, making clothes, and serving the needs of a whole succession of babies. We who regard with affection the noble landscapes of this Ontario, the rolling fields, the clumps of bush, the gentle streams, the orchards embowered in bloom, think too seldom of the broad-shouldered men and the broad-hipped women who commanded the wilderness to blossom, who reaped a forest and made a garden in its place.

They were simple folk, "mostly dissenters," as Bishop Mountain testified. Came the saddle-bag preachers, mainly Methodists, with the simple gospel of right living, shorn of the trimmings of ritual which a more cultivated society desires. Came the lonely school teacher, perhaps with a volume of *The Spectator* and *Rasselas* as a complete library. Came the wandering Indians always friendly, with instructions for the making of maple sugar, or for the gathering of healing herbs. Came the pedlar with a pack full of baubles and a head full of gossip. Save for these came none. Each settlement was self contained in work and play. And yet each settlement had a lively loyalty to the King and a keen interest in the King's business. There were some republicans, some agitators, but the majority of the people were of a Tory strain and had memories of bitter experiences among the devotees of The New Freedom.

Many of the settlers had no money on their arrival, and were dependent at first upon Government relief, for axes, for other tools, for seed and even for bread. In 1794 Niagara and York bought from Kingston dealers 1,624 bushels of wheat, 356 barrels of flour and 2,500 pounds of gammon (or bacon). The wheat was 3 shillings a bushel, the flour 24 shillings a barrel and the bacon 8 pence a pound.

The first production of a settler was ashes for the making of potash. The trees, now so valuable, were enemies in those days, to be attacked without quarter. While the first clearing was made with the axe, fire was used afterwards. The dried underbrush was set alight and the hardwood was thus charred and killed. The dead trees were brought down by the axe or the winds of winter and then followed the logging bee. All the neighbors assembled with chains and oxen and made enormous piles of the dry logs. These were fired and the ashes saved for sale. There was a social side to these logging bees, with whiskey only 2 shillings a gallon, and with a dance beginning at nightfall. The official fiddler in each settlement had a busy time and did not escape rebuke. The downright theology of the Methodist "saddle-bag preachers" impelled them to regard the fiddler with disapproval. Dr Carroll in "Case and his Co-temporaries" says that Nathan Bangs had a set contest with a fiddler of the neighborhood of York, who announced that so long as the Methodist continued his "revival meetings" he would fiddle free at all dances. Finally one Sunday morning Bangs was preaching from Galatians V., verses 19 to 21. When he came to the word "revellings" he applied it to the frolics of the fiddler and his friends. "I do not know that the devil's musician is here today. I do not see him anywhere," said Bangs. "Here I am," cried the offender in a roar of laughter. The rebuke that followed was so direct and so stern, if not savage, that the early disciple of Art was fully cowed, and gave no further trouble.

This imperious Puritanism was sometimes buttered by a pretty wit. "Scolding Dunham," as one of these itinerants was called, had a fancy for a good horse and rode a veritable charger. For this he was rallied by a newly-appointed magistrate who was not too popular among the settlers. "You are unlike your humble Master," said the Magistrate. "He was content to ride upon an ass." Dunham replied in his usual measured and heavy tone, and with imperturbable gravity: "I agree with you perfectly, and I would assuredly imitate my Master in that particular but for the difficulty of finding the animal required, the Government having made up all the asses into magistrates."

Colonel John Clark's recollections of this period are published in the Reports of the Ontario Historical Society. He was the brother of the Clerk of the Legislative Council appointed in 1792 and killed at Kingston three years later in a duel with Captain Sutherland of the 24th Regiment. The following sentences in the Colonel's narrative show the social enjoyments of the settlers in a prettier light:

"When the settlers used to assemble at each other's houses to enjoy their social evenings, the greatest hospitality and good humor prevailed. A circle was formed of the young men, and the girls were furnished with knee-cushions which they laid down before the young men they wished for partners at the dance, thus betokening their choice. If agreeable to both parties they would clasp their arms around each other's necks and give a kiss. It was then considered a match."

Ague and intermittent fever were persistent ills in all sections of Upper Canada. Thus rose the superstition concerning the deadliness of "night air" and the unwholesomeness of undrained land. Mr. Justice Riddell has pointed out, very acutely, that the mosquitoes were legion, as scores of travellers testified. Our great-grandfathers did not know the worst of these pestiferous insects. They never dreamed that "feveranagur" and all malarial infection were obligingly brought by the mosquitoes and by them alone. The draining of the swamps and low places merely destroyed their breeding-grounds—save for the rainwater "bar'l" at the corner of each house.

Yet despite the hardships, ills and toils of pioneer life it had its attractions. Land for the asking was a novelty in those times, particularly to people of British birth. The spice of adventure added to the pleasures of independence. They worked like slaves but they were working for themselves instead of for a landlord. Many of them came to positions of importance in their communities and in the country. Many more saw their sons and daughters prosperous and their grandsons rich. The virgin soil of this Province repaid cultivation.

Long before Simcoe had reached Upper Canada he was making recommendations to the British authorities concerning provision for education in the new Province. On April 28th, 1792, he wrote to Dundas to the effect that while primary education might be secured, by the sale of school lands, facilities for higher instruction could be provided only by the liberality of the British Government. Owing to the cheapness of education in the United States, the gentlemen of Upper Canada would be likely to send their sons across the border, which would tend to pervert their British principles. He proposed that two school-teachers at £100 per annum each should be sent to Kingston and Niagara, and that a university with a Head and professors, should be established in the capital. All members of the staff, "the medical professor, perhaps, excepted," should be clergymen of the Church of England.

On November 4th, 1797, the Duke of Portland wrote to Hon. Peter Russell declaring that the King was anxious to promote education in Upper Canada, first by the establishment of free Grammar Schools wherever they were needed and called for, and secondly by the establishment in course of time of seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature "for the promotion of religious and moral learning, and the study of the arts and sciences."

Russell reported on February 12, 1799, that a house at Newark, built by D. W. Smith, had been offered for sale to the Government to serve as a free Grammar School for the Home District. In due time the authorities in England intimated that the purchase might be advisable and suggested that the money be taken from the "school and college fund." It was thought desirable also by the British Government that the school should be administered by a Board of seven trustees. Four of these should be the Lieutenant-Governor, the Lord Bishop of Quebec, the Chief Justice of the Province, and the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

By the time this letter, dated March 18th, 1800, had reached York, General Hunter, the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor, had arrived in Canada and had taken over the administration. He wrote to the Duke of Portland on September 1st, 1800, declaring that there were two objections to the purchase of the Smith house for a Grammar School; first, that it would be under the guns of the American Fort at Niagara, and secondly that there was no money in the "schools and college fund." Lands had been set aside for this purpose but the price was so low that sales at this time would not be advisable. In view of these circumstances the project was abandoned. Almost a year later, on August 1, 1801, Smith wrote to Governor Hunter expressing his disappointment that the house had not been bought as a school, and intimating that he might reduce the price quoted. Ultimately the Government acquired the building at a cost of about £2,250 for officers' quarters, but education was no further advanced.

As a sidelight on the low sale-price of land the case of Mrs. White may be cited. Her husband was the Attorney-General killed in the duel with John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council. For two years Mrs. White sought a grant of land in recognition of her husband's services to the Province. The petition finally was granted. A year later she applied for an allowance of money instead, "since the land could neither be let nor sold."

One cause for the difficulty of realizing on land reserved for educational purposes was found in the "homestead regulations" as they would be called to-day. Any reputable person willing to become a settler was welcomed and given 200 acres. (If he were a United Empire Loyalist even the fees were remitted.) There were times when the sale-price of a farm was not much greater than the amount of the regular fees of survey and transfer. Conditions varied in different parts of the Province, of course, but around York there seemed to be a perpetual "slump" in land-values. When the Danforth Road was projected in 1799, by Asa Danforth, an American contractor, the Government raised the money by the sale of two townships in the Long Point settlement, Dereham and Norwich. The Mississauga Indians offered to sell 69,120 acres of their reserve for the DePuisaye colony of French emigrés at 1s. 3d. per acre, Halifax currency, about 25c. of our money. The Government declined to purchase, "at such a high price!"

It was not surprising, therefore, that education languished, particularly as the majority of the colonists were not greatly interested, and as those who had a turn for higher learning were too poor to make adequate contributions. By 1880 the only secondary school in the Province was found at Kingston. It had been begun at Simcoe's encouragement by Rev. George Okill Stuart, the son of Rev. Dr. Stuart, and had some reputation.

In 1799 a young Scot arrived in Kingston to become the tutor of Richard Cartwright's children. His name was John Strachan, a man of some importance in the history of Upper Canada. Teaching was his profession and it is doubtful if at first he had ever considered taking Holy Orders. Perhaps the widespread need for religious teaching impelled him, after two or three years of residence in the Province, to revise his plans.

On March 31st, 1801, he wrote to a friend in Glasgow: "Our provincial politics are hardly worth notice. The little Parliament, however, do not seem unanimous. The servants of the Crown have used their opponents too imperiously, stigmatizing them with an opprobrious name. Nor do they agree among themselves. At Kingston we are free from these little cabals."

To the same friend he wrote in 1802: "There is a probability of a church becoming vacant by the time my engagement expires, with about £200 currency, or £180 sterling. If that happens I shall accept of it. If not, I shall first go to the Lower Province to learn to speak French. From Lower Canada I shall go to the States, where if I do not think I can easily succeed, it is probable that I shall re-cross the Atlantic and try my fortune in Britain."

The church became vacant, Mr. Strachan was appointed rector by Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, and in 1803, October 27th, he wrote from Cornwall: "I have taken orders. My parish lies between Montreal and Kingston on the banks of the St. Lawrence, about 120 miles nearer you than I was before, which we only think a stage in this country. A great part of my parish belongs to the Lutheran persuasion. A greater has no religion at all. A number of the people are Catholics, and (there are) plenty of Presbyterians, with a few Methodists, etc. You see I am in a pickle." Yet he was willing to teach as well as preach. Rev. Mr. Strachan's school, opened in Cornwall during 1803, became popular. Among his boys of York, who rose in after time to positions of dignity and honor were John Beverley Robinson, R. C. Anderson, George Ridout, J. C. Chewett, Samuel Peters Jarvis, J. B. Macaulay, Thos. C. Ridout, Robert Stanton, W. Macaulay, G. H. Markland.

There was a primary school in York conducted by a Mr. Cooper as early as 1798. The first opportunity for more advanced study was offered by Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the son of Robert Baldwin, who had emigrated from Cork in 1789 and settled in the Township of Clark. The Doctor lived and practised in York, where he found his wife, Margaret Phoebe, second daughter of William Willcocks.

On December 17th, 1802, the following advertisement appeared in *The Upper Canada Gazette and American Oracle:* "Dr. Baldwin, understanding that some of the gentlemen of the town have expressed some anxiety for the establishment of a classical school, begs leave to inform them and the public generally that he intends on Monday, the 1st of January next, to open a school in which to instruct twelve boys in writing, reading and classics and Arithmetic. The terms are for each boy eight guineas per annum, to be paid quarterly or half-yearly. One guinea entrance, and one cord of wood to be supplied by each of the boys on the opening of the school.

N.B. Mr. Baldwin will meet his pupils at Mr. Willcocks' house on Duke Street."

Since there is no known record of this private academy, it may be that sufficient pupils did not make their appearance. A year after this notice Dr. Baldwin was living in his own house at the corner of Front and Frederick Streets, where his distinguished son, Hon. Robert Baldwin was born, in 1804.

Though Dr. Baldwin made no particular name as an educator, he was himself a learned man. He practised both medicine and law and was a prominent figure in the community until his death, in 1844, at the "Baldwin Mansion" on the corner of Front and Bay Streets.

Not until June 1st, 1807, was there a permanent secondary school at York. On that date the Home District School was opened by the Rev. George Okill Stuart at the corner of King and George Streets. The first pupils were John Ridout, William A. Hamilton, Thos. G. Hamilton, George H. Dettor, George S. Boulton, Robert Stanton, William Stanton, Angus

Macdonell, Alexander Hamilton, Wilson Hamilton, Robert Ross and Allan MacNab.

On March 3rd, 1806, the Legislature passed an Act to procure certain apparatus for the promotion of Science, by which £400 was appropriated for the purchase of "a collection" of instruments suitable and proper for illustrating the principles of Natural Philosophy, Geography, Astronomy and the Mathematics, to be used as the Governor should direct. His Excellency was given the power to deposit the instruments under such conditions as he should deem proper and expedient in the hands of some person employed in the education of youth, in order that they might be as useful as the state of the Province might permit.

In the next year, on March 10th, 1807, £800 per annum was granted for the establishment of Public Schools at Sandwich, Townshend Township, Niagara, York, Hamilton Township, Kingston, Augusta Township and Cornwall. The grant was £100 for each teacher. The Act provided for the appointment of Trustees by the Lieutenant-Governor, and each Board could appoint its teacher, if the man selected were satisfactory to the Governor. The Trustees were permitted to make rules and regulations for the government of the school, the teacher and the pupils.

Just as the foundation of proper schools had been hampered by the difficulty of selling land, the attempts of the Local and Home Governments to provide an establishment for the Church of England seemed destined to failure. Governor Simcoe's efforts were seconded by Hon. Peter Russell while in office as President of the administration. In 1797 he appealed to the Duke of Portland for money to aid in the erection of churches at Newark, York, Cornwall and the chief town in the Western District, namely, Sandwich. "Mr. Raddish, a good clergyman, had been placed at York," and occasional services were held in the new Parliament Buildings. He thought the fact that no churches existed in the Province, save the one at Kingston, was disgraceful to the inhabitants, therefore he recommended that £500 be appropriated for the building of a handsome church at York.

In October Portland replied that £500 was granted by Parliament in 1795 and a similar amount in 1796 towards building churches in Upper Canada. On February 20th, 1798, Russell informed the Duke that "the other day" the Bishop of Quebec had consented to the expenditure of £500 towards building a church at York. There was no indication so far of co-operation among the residents.

At the time of the opening of the first Legislature a sermon was delivered by Rev. Robert Addison, one of the three Anglican clergymen in the Province. The others were Rev. John Stuart, a Loyalist from Pennsylvania and Rev. John Langhorn who had been sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Rev. John Bethune, of Glengarry, was the first Presbyterian Minister and he soon was at variance with the Governor. Bishop Mountain of Quebec had visited the Province in 1794 and had reported the presence of a few "itinerant and mendicant Methodists" who were a danger to public order.

Rev. Mr. Raddish retained his appointment as Anglican minister of York until March 9th, 1799, when he wrote to President Russell as follows from

London: "From the favorable accounts of York and its increasing population, the residence of a clergyman must now be highly necessary. I think it therefore my duty to inform you that I will not trespass longer on your goodness, but am ready to resign in favor of any person you may be pleased to nominate. I wish it were more lucrative, but the pittance is too inconsiderable, and sorry I am to observe that the salary is very irregularly paid." Rev. George Okill Stuart was appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Hunter as Anglican rector of York. The Governor reported the fact to the Duke of Portland on September 4th, 1800, stating that Mr. Raddish had taken a living in the Province of Lower Canada.

There is no doubt that some of the officials were inclined to despair of the inhabitants generally because of their nonconformist tendencies. Colonel Talbot in a letter under date of October 27th, 1802, wrote: "The population consisting of refugees from all parts, principally from the United States, may be thus classed: 1. Those enticed by a gratuitous offer of land, without any predilection on their part to the British Constitution; 2. Those who have fled from the United States for crimes, or to escape their creditors; 3. Republicans whose principal motive for settling in the country is in anticipation of its shaking off its allegiance to Great Britain. These three descriptions of persons, wth a few exceptons, comprise the present population."

Talbot was of a peppery disposition and probably was extreme in his statements, yet he was not alone in the belief that loyalty to the Constitution predicated loyalty to the Established Church, while Dissent indicated a doubtful and even dangerous condition of mind. Probably the fact that the Methodist missionaries, who were cordially received in many settlements, were Americans and therefore "suspect" had some influence in forming the official opinion.

In the latter part of 1802 some of the more prominent residents of York began to contemplate the building of an Anglican Church on the plot of six acres set aside in 1797 for that purpose, and bounded by Church Street, Newgate (Adelaide) Street, New (Jarvis) Street and Duke (King) Street. On Jan. 8th, 1803, a meeting of the subscribers was held when William Allan and Duncan Cameron were appointed Treasurers. The Building Committee consisted of the Treasurers, with Hon. Peter Russell, Hon. Captain McGill, Rev. Mr. Stuart, the newly-appointed rector, Dr. Macaulay and Mr. Chewett. It was announced that £800 was available, but the Committee was warned not to make commitments of more than £600 at first. The final appropriation from British moneys in the hands of the Bishop of Quebec was £300, so the subscription list had reached about £500, a sum wholly creditable to the inhabitants. The Committee was instructed to spend enough to permit divine worship to be conducted decently in the church, and to consult Mr. Berczy "respecting the probable expenses which will attend the undertaking." Mr. Berczy, despite his quarrel with the administration of the Province, was an artist and a man of sound judgment.

The church when completed was 50 feet long and 40 feet wide, and stood east and west. There were two rows of square-topped windows on each side and the construction was of wood. A list of the first pew-holders included all the officials of government and the responsible people of the community.

A market-place was established in York by Executive Proclamation on November 3rd, 1803. The land set apart measured five-and-a-half acres and was bounded by Church Street, New Street (now Jarvis), King Street and Market Street. Here the stocks and the pillory were set up for the correction of offenders, and here occasionally some incorrigible was publicly flogged. The criminal law of the period was vigorous and the punishments merciless, even as they were in England.

The first jail, at the corner of Berkeley and Front Streets, was a small log building enclosed by a stockade of cedar posts sharpened and set close together. On December 1st, 1803, the Sheriff of the Home District complained to the Executive Council that he was under the necessity of using his private credit to maintain the prisoners. It was ordered that 5s. a day for a jailer, and 1s. 3d. a day for the maintenance of each prisoner should be appropriated from the public funds.

The Session of 1803 lasted from January 27th to April 15th and produced a violent quarrel between the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The Assembly had appointed a Committee to report a revised table of fees taken in the various Courts of Judicature, and this Committee summoned the Clerk of the Crown, the Clerk of the Peace, the Clerk of the District Court, the Clerk of the Court of Requests and William Weekes, a barrister, to attend and give evidence concerning the fees they received. All attended but David Burns, Clerk of the Crown, who declined under advice.

Alexander Macdonell, Chairman of the Committee, moved in the House that the Sergeant-at-Arms have the body of David Burns at the Bar of the House to answer for his contempt of the rights and privileges of the Assembly. On February 7th, the Speaker issued his warrant and the Sergeant-at-Arms took Mr. Burns into custody, releasing him on parole that he would attend at the Bar on the following day.

Mr. Burns did not appear, whereupon the Sergeant-at-Arms was directed to go to the Legislative Council and fetch him. He went, but came back with a report instead of with the body. That report here follows:

"In obedience to the order I received from Your Honor yesterday, to take into my custody David Burns, Esquire, Clerk of the Crown and of the Pleas, I attended the house of Mr. Burns this morning at ten o'clock and delivered to him a copy of the order I received, upon which Mr. Burns gave me his word that he would surrender himself to me at twelve o'clock this day. At half past one o'clock p.m., by your Order, Mr. Speaker, I was sent to bring to the Bar of the Commons House Mr. Burns; but upon the application at the door of the Honorable the Legislative Council—where Mr. Burns sits as a Master in Chancery—I was informed the House was then sitting, but would soon break up. I accordingly withdrew myself and waited without the doors until the House should adjourn. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, the Usher of the Black Rod came to me, saying that the Chief Justice, the Honorable the Speaker of that House, had sent for me directing me to come in. Upon my appearance at the Bar of that House, the Honorable the Speaker asked me what was my business; I answered that Mr. Burns being in my custody by virtue of a writ from the Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, I attended to conduct him to the Bar of that House. The Honorable the Speaker of the Legislative Council them asked me if I had the audaciousness, the effrontery to come there. I replied that I only obeyed the orders that I received. He then said I would do well to consider in what manner I conducted myself. I then withdrew."

The Legislative Council made a formal complaint to the Assembly of the insult offered the Upper House by the visit of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the Assembly suspended him *pro tempore* naming Mr. Charles Willcocks in his place. Meanwhile the Committee on Privileges of the Lower House met and determined that the House of Assembly was a Superior Court of Record and that every disobedience of its orders was a case of high contempt and misdemeanor punishable at its own discretion.

Despite the protest of the Legislative Council Mr. Burns appeared at the Commons Bar and declared that it was far from his intention to do anything that should wear the slightest appearance of insult, but a servant of the Crown declined answering any questions except through the medium of the person who represented the Sovereign. When asked if he would express contrition for his offence, Mr. Burns said that he would not.

On February 12th, a joint Committee of the two Houses recommended that in future when either of the Houses of Parliament might have occasion for the attendance of any Member or Officer of the other, application by message should be made.

At the request of the Committee the Sergeant-at-Arms, Mr. Thomas Ridout, was "rebuked with severity" by the Speaker of the Assembly and ordered to resume his place.

During the session of 1804 Angus Macdonell submitted a petition to bring in a Bill for restoring the former name of Toronto to the Town, Township and County of York, "since it was more familiar and agreeable to the inhabitants." Nothing further was heard of the matter. The same Mr. Macdonell moved on March 8th, 1804, that a humble address be voted to the King's Most Excellent Majesty humbly beseeching His Majesty to accept the warmest assurances of the Assembly's unalterable attachment to His sacred person and Government, expressing regret that "our remote situation excludes us from participating with our fellow-subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the glorious contest which at present engages His Majesty's Arms, and stating our hopes that His Majesty will aid our feeble efforts towards the construction of such Public Buildings as the administration of public justice and the preservation of Public Records require." "Which was ordered accordingly," says the Journal of the House.

General Hunter forwarded on April 10th, 1804, an Address to the King from the Legislature praying for aid towards the erection of proper buildings in York for the preservation of the Public Records, for the accommodation of the Legislative Council and Assembly, for the Courts of Justice and the transaction of other public business. While an Act, to be submitted, charged £400 a year on the Provincial Revenue for the erection of such buildings the sum was totally inadequate. The Address continued: "There is not a single building for any one public office. The different offices are in the private houses of the officers filling the different situations, and the Executive Council meets in a small room in the Clerk's house, where their discussions may be overheard. The houses are all built of wood, and afford slender security for the records. The public pays £350 annually for rent. The building appropriated for the meeting of the two houses of the Legislature, for the Court of Appeal, Court of King's Bench, District Court and Quarter Sessions consists of two rooms, erected eight or more years ago as part of one intended for a Government House. The building is also used for a church." It was estimated that the cost of the necessary buildings would be £15,120.

General Hunter, like most military men, was a good administrator and not averse from speaking out when displeased. On one occasion a group of Quakers from up Yonge Street complained to him that they could not get the patents for their lands. The Governor summoned Secretary Jarvis to give an explanation. He gave the usual one, of press of business, whereupon General Hunter said: "If these men do not get their patents today, by George, I'll un-Jarvis you." They got them, and the Secretary continued "Jarvis-ing" for some years.

Elections for the Fourth Parliament were held on July 2nd, 1804, when the following members were chosen: GLENGARRY and PRESCOTT, Alexander Macdonell and W. B. Wilkinson; STORMONT and RUSSELL, Robert I. D. Gray; DUNDAS, John Chrysler; GRENVILLE, Samuel Sherwood; LEEDS, Peter Howard; FRONTENAC, Allan McLean; LENNOX and ADDINGTON, Thomas Dorland; HASTINGS and NORTHUMBERLAND, David McG. Rogers; PRINCE EDWARD, Ebenezer Washburn; DURHAM, SIMCOE and YORK, (East Riding) Angus Macdonell; WEST YORK, 1st LINCOLN and HALDIMAND, Solomon Hill and Robert Nelles; 2nd, 3rd, and 4th LINCOLN, Isaac Swayzie and Ralfe Clench; NORFOLK, OXFORD and MIDDLESEX, Benajah Mallory; KENT, John McGregor; ESSEX, Matthew Elliot and David Cowan. Alexander Macdonell was elected Speaker of the Assembly and Hon. Richard Cartwright, of the Legislative Council.

Benajah Mallory's election was contested by petition of Samuel Ryerse, the defeated candidate, presented to the Assembly on February 21st, 1806, A quotation from this petition may serve to keep the Methodists of Ontario humble, in this the day of their prosperity and influence: "Your Petitioner therefore comes forward to state to Your Honorable Body that the said Benajah Mallory has been illegally and unduly returned, being by the 31st of His present Majesty, rendered ineligible to a seat in the Parliament, having both before and since the election been a preacher and teacher of the Religious Society or Sect called Methodists, all of which Your Petitioner is ready to verify and is ready to give any security Your Honorable House may deem necessary." The hearing was traversed to the next Session, when two material witnesses failed to appear. In consequence the petition was dismissed by a vote of 6 to 4.

Writing to Sir Henry Clinton on October 26th, 1804, Mr. Russell said: "We have lately suffered a most serious misfortune to the Province in the loss of one of the King's vessels, which sailed from hence on the evening of the 7th instant, with Mr. Justice Cochrane, the Solicitor-General, a member of the Lower House of Assembly, a magistrate of this district, a merchant of the town, and four other responsible persons, with their clerks and servants, for the town of Newcastle, about 100 miles down the lake, in order to try an Indian (who likewise was on board) who had murdered a white man in that district. And as she did not arrive at her port and nothing has been heard of her since, it is concluded that she must have foundered in a violent storm which happened on the 9th following, and that every person on board perished."

The vessel was the *Speedy,* Captain Thos. Paxton. Those on board besides Mr. Justice Cochrane were Angus Macdonell, Sheriff and Member of the Assembly for York; Mr. Robert I. D. Gray, Solicitor General, Mr. Fishe, the High Bailiff, two interpreters, Cowan and Ruggles, Mr. Herchmer, a merchant of York, and the prisoner, named Ogetonicut. The Indian's brother some time before had been killed by some unknown white man. Following the old-time natural law of blood-vengeance, Ogetonicut killed John Sharp, of Ball Point, on Lake Scugog, and took refuge with his tribe. The whole tribe paddled to York and the Chief handed over the offender for trial.

Since the offence had taken place in the Midland District, the trial had to be held at Newcastle, and the Lieutenant-Governor insisted that there must be no delay. All those directly concerned in the case, save Mr. Weekes, the barrister, sailed on the "Speedy," and were never again heard of. Judge Cochrane was only 29 years of age and had proved himself thoroughly active and efficient in the performance of his duties. Mr. Gray was one of the really distinguished men of the Colony.

At the bye-election occasioned by the death of Mr. Macdonell, Mr. Weekes was returned for York, but did not serve long. On October 10th, 1806, he was killed at Niagara in a duel with a Mr. Dickson. His successor was Mr. Justice Thorpe, a pushing, energetic lawyer recently come to the Province, and soon named to fill Judge Cochrane's place on the Bench. Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor, General Peter Hunter, died in Quebec on August 21st, 1805, and Hon. Alexander Grant was appointed on September 11th, 1805, as Administrator. The Council which named Grant was called at the motion of Hon. Peter Russell. Mr. Russell wrote to the Minister reporting the choice and reminding him that he himself had filled the position for four years, but he was prepared to forward the King's service to the utmost of his ability, though naturally feeling the mortification at being called to act in a situation so subordinate to that he formerly had exercised.

Technically Grant was the Senior Councillor, since Russell had abandoned his seniority to serve as Administrator. Actually, if age and experience were to be considered, the position was Russell's by right. Thorpe, in a letter to Mr. Cooke dated October 11th, 1805, said: "In the province there is no Governor, no General, no Bishop, no Chief Justice. The Council have made a President, but owing to a cabal have appointed a man who does not appear to be the oldest member and is inefficient."

Judge Thorpe's election to the Assembly was protested by William Allan, the unsuccessful candidate, on account of the manifest impropriety of blending in one person the conflicting powers, authority, and jurisdiction of the Legislative and Judicial functions, but the petition failed, despite the Allcock precedent. During the session of 1807 some surly and ill judged public references by Judge Thorpe to the Government drew upon him the arrows of criticism.

A letter from Downing Street dated April 4th, 1806, announced the appointment of Francis Gore as Lieutenant-Governor, and declared that he had been desired to proceed from the Burmudas with all convenient despatch. He reached York and took over the administration on August 25th.

The first official census held in 1805 showed that in the Town of York there were 119 men, 82 women, 29 children over 16 years of age, 189 under 16, and 55 servants, a total of 474. In Scarborough there were 22 men, 12 women, and 68 children—102; in York Township, 111 men, 82 women, 277 children and 24 servants—494; in Etobicoke, 18 men, 17 women, 44 children and 5 servants—84. In the Toronto region the rural and urban population was only 1,154, of which 607 were minors.

So far as the Town of York is concerned this interesting list is given in full. It was first printed by Mr. John Ross Robertson in the "Landmarks of Toronto," and there are some obvious errors, due either to the writer of the manuscript copy or to the proofreader. For instance, "Tonsaint" should surely be "Toussaint." "Gefferries" looks like a mistake, and "Badcherow" may be "Badgerow," a well-known surname in Toronto. Nevertheless the list is here printed as it appears in the "Landmarks."

Heads of Families	No. of men	No. of women	Male Children		Female Children		Servants	Total
			Over 16	Under 16	Over 16	Under 16		
William Allan, Esq.	1	–	–	1	–	–	2	4
John Alsworth	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Aise	1	1	–	2	–	1	–	5
David Burns, Esq.	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
John Beikie, Esq.	1	1	–	–	2	–	2	6
Alex. Burns, Esq.	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Wm. Warren Baldwin	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
John Bennett	1	–	–	1	–	–	1	3
John Basil	1	1	–	–	2	–	–	4
Tousaint Bellow	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Joseph Berton	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
William Bailey	1	1	–	3	–	3	–	8
Lewis Bright	1	1	–	3	–	4	–	9
Dien Badcherow	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	4
John Batties Stitte	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
William Chewett, Esq.	1	1	–	2	1	2	1	8
William Cooper	1	1	–	2	–	2	1	7
Hugh Carfrae	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Arch. Cameron	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Cameron	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	3

Heads of Families	No. of men	No. of women	Male Children		Female Children		Servants	Total
			Over 16	Under 16	Over 16	Under 16		
D. Cameron, Esq.	1	1	–	1	–	–	1	4
John Clark	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
George Cutter	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Philip Clinger	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	4
Jacob Clayton	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Luke Caryl	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Conn	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Isaac Columbus	1	1	–	2	–	2	–	6
Joseph B. Cox	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
James Crawford	1	1	1	1	–	1	–	5
Collin Drummond	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Debtter	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John De Savern	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
Wm. Demont	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Edgell	1	1	–	2	–	1	–	5
Francis Freder	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Nancy Forbes	–	1	–	1	–	–	1	3
Thadyus Gilbert	1	1	1	1	–	3	–	7
John Gefferries	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Joseph Hunt	1	1	–	1	2	1	–	6
Wm. Hunter	1	1	–	–	2	2	–	6
John Hunter	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Eliphatel Hale	1	1	1	1	–	3	1	8
Henry Hale	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
Robert Henderson	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	4
Thomas Hamilton	1	1	–	4	–	1	–	7
Caleb Humphreys	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Mrs. Herchmer	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	3
Stephen Heward	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Hugh Heward	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Thomas Hind	1	1	–	2	–	3	2	9
Wm. Halloway	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	4
John Howell	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Wm. Jarvis	1	1	–	2	2	2	3	11
Samuel Jackson	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	3
Joseph Kendrick	1	1	–	2	–	3	1	8
Hiram Kendrick	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Peter Kuhn	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
N. Klingenbrunner	1	1	–	4	–	–	–	6
Daniel Laughlin	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Alexander Legg	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Lyons	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Hon. John McGill	1	1	–	–	–	1	3	6
Geo. Crookshank	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	3
Allan McNab	1	1	–	1	–	3	1	7
Alex McDonnell	1	1	1	–	–	–	2	5
Dr. Jas. Macaulay	1	1	–	3	–	2	–	7
Hugh McLean	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Paul Merrian	1	1	–	2	–	1	3	8
James McBride	1	1	–	3	–	2	–	7
Christian Mires	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	4
John McDonell	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John McBeth	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Thomas Mosley	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
Donald McLean	1	1	–	2	1	2	–	7

Heads of Families	No. of men	No. of women	Male Children		Female Children		Serv-ants	Total
			Over 16	Under 16	Over 16	Under 16		
Andrew Mercer	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John McIntosh	1	1	–	4	–	4	–	10
William Nott	1	1	–	1	–	3	–	6
William Night	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	4
Gideon Orton	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Russell Olmstead	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Samuel Olmstead	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Samuel Osburn	1	1	–	2	1	2	–	7
Hon. W. D. Powell	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	11
George Purvis	1	1	–	2	–	1	–	5
Jordan Post	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	2
Ezekial Post	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	3
John Pinkerton	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2
Francis Pollard	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
Hon. Peter Russell	1	1	–	–	1	–	5	8
Thomas Ridout, Esq	1	1	–	4	–	4	1	11
Samuel Ridout	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Ross	1	1	–	4	–	1	–	7
Peter Robinson	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Wm. Robinson	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	3
James Robinson	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	4
John Rablin	1	1	–	3	–	3	–	8
Att'y Gen. T. Scott	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Rev. G. O'Kill Stuart	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	4
Mrs. Small	–	1	1	3	1	–	–	6
Wm. Smith	1	1	–	1	2	1	–	6
Wm. Smith Jr	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Quetton St. George	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	3
Thos. Stoyells	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	3
Mrs. Fly	–	1	–	4	–	1	–	6
Daniel Tiers	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	3
John Thorn	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Joseph Thornton	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
John Vanzantee	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	2
Garret Vanzantee	1	1	–	1	–	2	–	5
Wm. Wilcocks, Esq	1	1	–	–	1	–	1	4
Charles Wilcocks	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Sheriff J. Wilcocks	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Wm. Weekes, Esq	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Alex. Wood, Esq	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2
Edward Wright	1	1	–	4	–	3	–	9
Patrick Ward	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	4
William Waters	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
James Wilson	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Mrs. Williams	–	1	-	1	–	–	–	2
Elizabeth Lewis	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	2
Catharine Davis	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Francis Belcour	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	4
Isaac Mitchell	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	4
George Fox	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	4
Thomas R. Johnson	1	1	–	3	–	2	–	7
	119	82	8	108	21	81	55	474

A few of the more prominent families of York County are here given also:

Heads of Families	No. of men	No. of women	Male Children		Female Children		Serv-ants	Total
			Over 16	Under 16	Over 16	Under 16		
Parshall Terry	1	1	1	2	–	6	1	12
Col. Æneas Shaw	1	1	4	3	1	3	2	15
John Denison	1	1	–	1	–	1	2	6
Mrs. Givens	–	2	–	3	–	2	3	10
Jesse Ketchum, jun	1	1	–	1	–	2	3	8
John McGill, Esq.	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	4
George Playter	1	1	1	–	1	–	–	4
John Playter	1	1	–	2	–	2	–	6
Ely Playter	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1

CHAPTER IV.

THE WAR OF 1812-14

MAJOR GEN. SIR. ISAAC BROCK. K.B.
Acting Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada.
1811. — 1812.
"HOLLAND" "COPENHAGEN" "DETROIT" "QUEENSTON."

SIR ISAAC BROCK
From the painting in the John Ross Robertson Collection

CHAPTER IV.

THE WAR OF 1812-14

ANY system of Government, honestly conceived and faithfully administered, will be good, for a time. Whether it be democratic or autocratic in spirit makes no difference. If the system is plastic and can be moulded to serve the progressive requirements of the people it may continue good. Unfortunately, administrators are governed unduly by precedent, and soon become mere creatures of use-and-wont. Only a man of uncommon distinction can perceive the temper of the times, read the popular mind, and administer public affairs in the light of that knowledge, as well as according to law. Some men never can "drive easily over the stones."

The first Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada were faithful servants of the King and honest Englishmen. They were resolute and careful. Perhaps also some of them were dull. Certainly they did not understand that the coming of many thousands of settlers made a difference. They followed to the letter the instructions of British Ministers whose knowledge of local conditions could not have been other than hazy. It is worth remembering that in 1812 the Admiralty provided apparatus for condensing salt water, to be installed on the frigates built at Kingston to sail on the lakes. If the shipbuilders had insisted upon putting them in, they would have shown a spirit comparable to that of more than one Governor of Upper Canada.

The officials under Government and the members of the Legislative Council belonged to one class—the retired officers of property, whose training had been military rather than civil, and whose soldier's *brusquérie* did not soften with the years. They were anti-American to a man. Most of them had suffered heavy losses in the Revolution and some had memories of mob-law and even murder in which the Sons of Liberty were not blameless. They had a suspicion that many of the immigrants who had come from the United States to secure free land were tinged with republicanism. Consequently, they were quick to resent any criticism of their administration. Nevertheless, there was occasion for criticism, and soon was found in the popular Assembly a group of men who presented grievances and stood in constant opposition to the Governor's party. If sometimes these critics were heady and unreasonable, they believed that there was room for reforms, and had courage to say so. Governor Gore, in his private correspondence, referred to them as "rascals" and "creatures," "demagogues" and "rebels." More than once strong measures were taken. Mr. Justice Thorpe and Surveyor-General Wyatt, were removed from office by the British Government on request of Governor Gore. Later both sued the Governor in the English courts and secured damages for wrongful dismissal. Sheriff Joseph Willcocks was sent to jail in a high-handed manner.

In 1809 there appeared in England a pamphlet by John Mills Jackson, entitled "A View of the Political Situation of the Province of Upper Canada in North America, in which her physical capacity is stated, the means of diminishing her burden, increasing her value, and securing her connection to Great Britain, are fully considered. With notes and appendix. London, Printed for W. Earle, No. 43 Albemarle Street, 1809." When this brochure arrived in York it caused a political tempest. Mr. C. Wilson moved in the Assembly, seconded by Mr. MacNab, that the pamphlet contained "a false, scandalous and seditious libel, comprising expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely toward His Majesty's Government in this Province." It was ordered that the pamphlet be preserved in the Records of the House—possibly as a horrible example of the lengths to which human depravity would go.

This pamphlet is found today in the Library of the Ontario Legislature, and can be read without a shudder. The author says in his introduction: "I shall now undertake to show that from the inefficient conduct of the Colonial Government, the beneficent intentions of the King have been defeated, the wisdom of the British Parliament frustrated, the civil officers and people oppressed, and even the salutary efforts of the Provincial Assembly overturned; the most loyal, attached and determined people are becoming so aggrieved, enslaved and irritated, that they view with delight the prospect of hostilities with America, in the hope of being freed from that Government to which they had once looked for security, liberty and reform."

John Mills Jackson was an Englishman who had visited the Province to administer some of his property. He was a friend of Mr. Justice Thorpe and possibly through him was enabled to collect the documents which he printed in the appendix of his pamphlet, and which justified in large measure the vigor of his protest. He was wrong in generalizing from too little data. It was unfair to picture the whole population as longing for an American invasion, although beyond doubt some were in that state of mind, or assumed to be.

Jackson charged that the officials had taken all the best land, and continued as follows: "These gentlemen, when glutted with land, became anxious for fees, until they raised the expense of the deed of grant to nearly $40 for 200 acres, and then apportioned them most unfairly. In laying out townships the most favorable, fertile and salubrious places were reserved, that future favorites might be enriched or convenient persons gratified, whilst the remote, barren and unhealthy parts were selected for such as were entitled to the bounty of the King, to grants free of every expense. Thus compensation for the U. E. Loyalist and reward for the military claimant was frittered away or retarded by a location of land he could not cultivate, by suppression of papers, or by fictitious delays of office, until he was harassed into the payment of these fees, or (if destitute of means) driven to purchase from these great land monopolists, and compelled to give bond for such sums as he was seldom able to pay except by the forfeiture of the land with all the improvements. At length all claims were silenced by a proclamation declaring that no one should obtain any grant without fees who had not settled in the Province before 1798. By these means the original intention has been defeated, the Royal promise broken, the faith of the Government disgraced, the settlement of the Colony retarded and partiality, prejudice and avariciousness so apparent in the distribution of land that discontent and disgust were diffused throughout the whole body of the people."

Possibly Mr. Jackson did not know what the officials knew—that a plan of peaceful penetration by American republicans was being followed, although the first condition of the King's bounty was that the settler should be a proved Loyalist. There is no evidence to corroborate Jackson's belief that the Government was a nest of thieves, nor to support Governor Gore's opinion that all critics were rascals and rebels. The Administration was too thin-skinned and too near to military arrogance. The Opposition was too ready to impute improper motives.

That there was an element of stupidity in high places appeared in the facts assembled by Jackson with respect to the cultivation of hemp. The British Government had granted a bounty on hemp production for the Navy. When the Canadian farmer produced it there was no Government store to receive it, and no market. The small merchants objected to it as a basis of barter and in many cases it was turned back to manure the soil. An agricultural and commercial society organized by Mr. Justice Thorpe and others to encourage the growing of hemp was called a Jacobin Club. The conclusion of the pamphlet follows: "I call for investigation as a duty I owe my King and Country."

A fervent address of congratulation to King George III. on the completion of the fiftieth year of his reign was unanimously passed by the Assembly at the Session of 1810. It read, in part, as follows: "Let it not be considered ostentatious from the humble Commons of Upper Canada to offer their prayers for the life endeared to the subjects of this Province by the most Parental Affection: Your Majesty having offered your loyal subjects of this Province an asylum in the hour of distress, when nothing was left them but their loyalty to their King, their lives and their honor. Permit us, Sire, to assure Your Majesty, that none of Your subjects are animated with a more fervent zeal of loyalty and attachment to Your Sacred Person and Government than Your Majesty's subjects of Upper Canada."

There was no unanimity in the passing of an address of congratulation to Governor Gore, the Opposition consisting of J. Willson, Howard, Willcocks and Rogers. The essence of this address was a repudiation of the Jackson pamphlet "We should not intrude upon Your Excellency at this time to express the general sentiment of the people of this Province, did we not feel ourselves called upon and impelled by a sense of that duty which we owe to our constituents, His Majesty's loyal subjects of this Province, to you, Sir, as administrating the Government thereof; and to that August Sovereign whom we regard as the Father of his people, only to express our abhorrence and indignation at a pamphlet now before us, addressed to the King, Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, containing in almost every page the most gross and false aspersions on Your Excellency and His Majesty's Executive

Government, the House of Assembly, and the loyal inhabitants of this Province, under the signature of John Mills Jackson, tending to misrepresent a brave and loyal portion of His Majesty's subjects."

Yet Jackson had a well-documented case which deserved investigation. To ignore his charges and denounce the author as a mere mischief-maker was surely an unwise policy.

French sea-power was crushed by Lord Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar on October 21st, 1805. On the day before that notable victory Napoleon was at Ulm, accepting the surrender of 23,000 Austrian soldiers. On December 2nd he won the Battle of Austerlitz against allied Austrian and Russian troops. In October, 1806, Prussia declared war against France. By the 25th November the battles of Jena and Auerstadt had been fought, and Napoleon was in Berlin signing the Berlin Decrees—his answer to the victory of Nelson.

These declared a "paper blockade" of the British Isles. No British ships were to be allowed in French ports or in the ports of the allies of France. Thus any ship afloat bound for England or outward bound to some remote part of the world became fair prey for the French privateer or sea-raider. Most of the countries of Europe had been forced into alliance with France. The only considerable neutral was the United States, and its commerce was continually harried.

Great Britain had answered the Berlin Decrees with a series of Orders-in-Council forbidding all trade with Europe save through British ports. Because the British Navy had mastery of the seas neutral traders had more difficulty over the Orders-in-Council than over the Berlin Decrees. It was not uncommon for an American barque to be seized by a French privateer and re-seized by a British frigate, the cargo, of course, being "condemned" at the first convenient British port. The result was to inflame American opinion against Great Britain, particularly since one of the American political parties of the period had been consistently pro-French and anti-British since the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Further, the British Navy since Cromwell's time, had claimed the right to search merchant vessels of all nations for deserters from the service. The application of that time-honored principle at this time was bitterly resented by the Americans. Even when James Monroe and other American commissioners had secured the draft of a Treaty whereby Great Britain offered to respect all American rights and to give adequate reparation for every case of wrongful seizure of a vessel, President Jefferson refused to accept it because the "right of search" was not abandoned.

Then occurred an "incident" which widened the chasm between the two nations. A boat-load of deserters from the British sloop "Halifax" at Hampton Roads, Va., took refuge on board the American frigate "Chesapeake." A formal demand by the British naval officer in command for the arrest of these men was made upon the municipal authorities, who declined to interfere. On this refusal the British frigate "Leopard" followed the "Chesapeake" to sea and called upon her to stop. The order being ignored she fired a broadside into the "Chesapeake" and the American ship struck her flag. Two of the deserters sought were killed, two more jumped over-board and were drowned, and four were seized and brought back to the "Leopard" for trial.

As the right of search did not extend to foreign war vessels, Admiral Berkeley, of Halifax, who had issued the orders, was superseded and the British Government offered to pay damages, but Jefferson ordered all British armed vessels to leave American ports and put an embargo on all export trade.

It was believed that war was inevitable, particularly since many American newspapers and politicians were clamoring for the seizure of Canada. The militia was called out by the Government at York during August, 1808, and the capital town provided two companies of armed men. The war was delayed for four years, but not with the consent of Kentucky and the States which formed the frontier of the wilderness.

Settlers who opened up the newer States seemed surprised that the Indians resented the advance of civilization and traced that resentment to the counsel of the English. Thus grew up a legend of a Den of Ogres established at Quebec, with an advanced post at York, whose chief aim in life was to urge the savages to slay, burn, and destroy the innocent and peaceable Americans. Make sure that the politicians profited by keeping that legend alive! The Federalist Party was in trouble, since it disliked and distrusted Napoleon. The Democratic Party being resolutely anti-English, was at the peak of its political fortunes. Congressmen who fanned the prejudices of the people were certain of re-election. Mr. Grundy, of Tennessee, explained to Josiah Quincy, the House leader of the Federalists, the necessity of attacking him as vigorously as possible. He said: "Except Tim Pickering there is not a man in the United States so perfectly hated by the people of my district as yourself. By —— I must abuse you, *or I shall never get re-elected.* I will do it, however, genteelly. I will not do it as that d——d fool Clay did it—strike so hard as to hurt myself—but abuse you I must."

The body of politicians "wanting to be re-elected" taught, and pretended to believe, that the British were deep in a conspiracy of murder directed against the frontiersmen and their families. They also taught and believed that Canada could be seized at any moment, almost without the firing of a shot. The same Henry Clay, despised by Mr. Grundy of Tennessee, said: "It is absurd to suppose that we will not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's Provinces. I am not for stopping at Quebec or anywhere else. I would take the whole Continent from them, and ask them no favors. I wish never to see peace till we do. God has given us the power and the means. We are to blame if we do not use them." Thomas Jefferson himself, the Patriarch of Anglophobes, said that the acquisition of Canada would be "a mere matter of marching."

It is hard to square this hard and reckless willingness to devastate the country of a peaceable neighbor with the exalted sentiments of the Declaration of Independence. Still the times were rough in all countries, and the veneer of civilization was woefully thin. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in writing upon this period, said: "The tone of society in Washington had undoubtedly some of the coarse style which then prevailed in all countries.

Men drank more heavily, wrangled more loudly and there was a good deal of what afterwards came to be known as 'plantation manners.' The mutual bearing of Congressmen was that of courtesy tempered by drunkenness and duelling." Upper Canada was not much different.

The Americans were right to complain about the impressment of seamen. Too frequently the search for deserters under the supervision of a petty officer resulted in the capture of American citizens. It is said that between 1797 and 1801 more than 2,000 applications for the release of American sailors were made through the American Minister in London. Only one-twentieth of the men seized were proved to be British subjects. In many cases proof was lacking but the men were taken nevertheless. If only one American citizen had been taken the Republic would have had a right to protest and even, at extremity, to fight. The complaint against the Orders-in-Council was less reasonable, especially considering the fact that they were passed in reprisal after Napoleon's Berlin Decrees. The passion to conquer Canada was mere covetousness, and frontier barbarism, although republican idealists thought that American methods of government were infinitely better than British colonial methods. The vote in the American House of Representatives on the question of declaring war was as follows:

	Yea	Nay
New Hampshire	3	2
Massachusetts	6	8
Rhode Island	0	2
Vermont	3	1
Connecticut	0	7
New York	3	11
New Jersey	2	4
Pennsylvania	16	2
Delaware	0	1
Maryland	6	3
Virginia	14	5
North Carolina	6	3
South Carolina	6	0
Georgia	3	0
Kentucky	5	0
Tennessee	3	0
Ohio	3	0
	79	49

The die was cast on June 18th, 1812. The Prince Regent, when he heard the news, gave out a statement which contained the following pungent sentence: "From their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny."

Brock as Administrator called the Legislature for July 27th to pass such emergency measures as a state of war demanded. The final paragraph of his speech was as follows: "We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils and by vigor in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson; that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and constitution can never be conquered." There was neither unanimity nor despatch in the councils and in disgust the administrator dismissed Parliament and prepared to put the country, if necessary, under martial law.

President Madison had no illusions concerning the effects of war. He maintained a bold front against the Orders-in-Council and impressment because that had been the policy of his predecessor and of his party, but probably he believed that England would yield because of pre-occupations in Europe. If so, he was disappointed. The respectable and learned lawyer found himself forced to declare war in order to retain the confidence of his party and put the Federalists in a wrong light before the people of the Republic. "The ablest men in his Cabinet," says Mr. T. W. Higginson, "Pickering and Gallatin, were originally opposed to the war." They knew that the merchants of Salem and Boston had goods worth $20,000,000 either on the sea or in British ports and that the property would certainly not be yielded to the United States as a belligerent, or to the owners, nationals of that belligerent.

When war was declared there was only one regiment of British Regulars and seven companies of veterans in all Upper Canada, and no troops at all in the district between Kingston and Montreal. For four years there had been grave danger of trouble with the United States, yet in the two Provinces only about 4,000 effectives were found. One cause, of course, was the struggle in the Peninsula which was of primary importance, and yet one wonders if the Government of Upper Canada which fancied itself to be so uncommonly efficient, that any criticism was construed as a heinous libel, had done its whole duty. Of course, the militia was called out, but the strength "on paper" was considerably greater than the strength in the field. There were 63 flank companies of really first-rate men, three companies of artillery, and five troops of militia cavalry.

Lieutenant-Governor Gore went to England after the Session of 1811 and the administration was taken over by General Brock, Commander of the forces in Canada since 1807. His speech at the opening of Parliament in 1812 contained the following spirited sentences: "The glorious contest in which the British Empire is engaged, and the vast sacrifice which Great Britain nobly offers to secure the independence of the other nations, might be expected to stifle every feeling of envy and jealousy and at the same time to excite the interest and command the admiration of a free people; but regardless of such generous impressions, the American Government evinces a disposition calculated to impede and divide her efforts.

"England is not only interdicted the harbors of the United States, while they afford shelter to the cruisers of her inveterate enemy, but she is likewise required to resign those maritime rights which she has so long exercised and enjoyed. Insulting threats are offered, and hostile preparations are actually commenced; and though not without hope that cool reflection and the dictates of justice may yet avert the calamities of war, I cannot, under every view of the relative situation of the Province, be too urgent in recommending to your early attention the adoption of such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression."

When war was declared an emergency Session was called, but internal politics and mutual jealousies prevented the suspension of Habeas Corpus and only £5,000 was granted for military purposes. The militia as a whole was not adequately trained, but in each regiment were groups of enthusiasts drilling six times a month, who formed the "flank companies." There were three regiments of York Militia; the First, recruited in the upper part of the County, with a rifle company under Captain Peter Robinson, a troop of cavalry under Captain John Button, and a flank company under Captain Thomas Selby; the Second, recruited about Burlington Bay, and the Third, raised in the Town of York and its environs, with flank companies under Captain Cameron and Captain Heward. William Graham was the commander of the 1st Yorks, and William Chewett was Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 3rd Yorks. His chief officer was Major William Allan.

On August 5th, 1812, Brock called out the York militiamen and reviewed them on Garrison Common. He intimated that he was about to lead an expedition to Detroit to meet General Hull, who had invaded the Province, and he asked for 100 volunteers. All the officers and more men than could be taken offered for service. Captain Heward was named to command the York contingent. The other officers were Lieutenant John Beverley Robinson, afterwards Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Lieutenant Jarvie, (not Jarvis) of Cameron's Company, and Lieutenant Richardson, of Selby's Company of the First Yorks. Captain Peter Robinson and his riflemen were anxious to go, but there was no transport for them. The General, however, gave them permission to take the overland route—no common journey that, 250 miles through a dense forest, a succession of swamps, broken country and plentiful rivers.

The main expedition started from York on August 6th. Going first to Burlington Bay the General picked up 100 men there, and then went overland to Port Dover, where another hundred militiamen joined. Six batteaux carried the whole "army" until a junction was formed with Captain Hatt's company sailing up from Fort Erie.

A volunteer named William McCay, of Hatt's Company, kept a diary of the journey up Lake Erie, which was published by the Toronto *Globe* in 1911, and is cited by Major A. T. Hunter in his history of the 12th York Rangers.

"August 9th, 1812.—Arose early and about sunrise were joined by General Brock and six boatloads of troops. . . . . Had a fair wind till 1 o'clock, then rowed till night, when we landed at Kettle Creek, six miles below Port Talbot.

August 10th.—Wet and cold last night. Some of us lay in boats and some on the sand. Set off early, but wind blew so hard we were obliged to put into Port Talbot. Lay here all day.

August 11th.—Set off early with a fair wind, but it soon blew so hard that we had to land on the beach and draw up our boats, having come twelve or fifteen miles. Rain poured down incessantly. Some of our men discovered horse-tracks a few miles above us, which we supposed were American horsemen, for we were informed they came within a few miles of Port Talbot.

August 12th.—We set off before daylight and came on until breakfast time, when we stopped at Point (aux Pins) (now Rondeau), where we found plenty of sand cherries. They are just getting ripe, and very good. We continued our journey all night, which was very fatiguing, being so crowded in the boats we could not lie down.

August 13th.—We came to a settlement this morning, the first since we left Port Talbot. The inhabitants informed us the Americans had all retired to their own side of the river, also that there was a skirmish between our troops and them on their own side, that is, the American side, of the river. We made no stop, only to boil our pork, but kept on until two o'clock, when we lay on the beach until morning. Some of the boats, with the General, went on.

August 14th.—We landed at Fort Malden (Amherstburg) about 8 o'clock, very tired with rowing and our faces burned with the sun till the skin came off. . . . Our company was marched to the storehouse, where we took our baggage and dried it and cleaned our guns; were paraded at 11 o'clock, and all our arms and ammunition that were damaged were replaced. We then rambled about the town until evening, when all the troops that were in Amherstburg were paraded on the commons. They were calculated at 800 or 900 men."

In later years Chief Justice Robinson said of this anabasis from York to Detroit: "It would have required much more courage to refuse to follow General Brock than to go with him wherever he might lead. This body of men consisted of farmers, mechanics and gentlemen who before that time had not been accustomed to any exposure unusual with persons of the same description in other countries. They marched . . and travelled in boats, nearly six hundred miles in going and returning, in the hottest part of the year, sleeping occasionally on the ground and frequently drenched with rain, but not a man was left behind in consequence." Brock said of the militiamen: "Their conduct throughout excited my admiration."

On June 26th General Brock had sent orders to Captain Roberts at St. Joseph to take Michilimackinac. The American fort surrendered on July 17th. General Hull, with 2,500 men, had landed at Sandwich on July 12th, issuing a magniloquent proclamation which still remains one of the humorous documents of history; it was serious enough at the moment. "If, contrary to your own interest and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages let loose to murder our citizens and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke with the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner. Instant destruction will be his lot." Hannibal Chollop could not have been more severe.

A few settlers threw in their lot with the Americans and two Members of the Assembly, Willcocks and Markle, cast their oath to the winds and crossed the Niagara frontier, but the majority of the people, even in the Essex peninsula, held firm to their allegiance. Hull's men had foraged and ravaged from the Rivière Canard to Moraviantown, but a Job's post from Michilimackinac and the news of Brock's approach had sent the American General and his army back to Detroit on August 8th.

As long before as July 2nd Lieutenant Rolette, a French Canadian naval officer, who had been with Nelson at the Nile and at Trafalgar, had captured an American schooner full of militiamen and discovered in the spoil Hull's official plan of campaign, which came into Brock's hands on his arrival at Amherstburg. A five-gun battery at Sandwich was opened on Fort Detroit on August 15th. That night the British force crossed the river and on the following day Hull surrendered at discretion without a fight. The whole army became prisoners of war and the Territory of Michigan was no longer American soil.

Sir John Beverley Robinson wrote in after years a memorandum of his part in the event. "I was sent with a party of the York volunteers and an officer of the 41st Regiment with a party of his men, to take possession of the Fort, and substitute the British flag for the American. In being relieved from duty the next morning I had the pleasure of breakfasting with Sir Isaac Brock and with Tecumseh at an inn at Detroit . . "

For many years the Indians in the region to the north of the Ohio River had felt and resented the pressure of advancing white settlement. Lands which they had always regarded as their own were disposed of by State Governments without reference to their needs or their feelings, and when any tribe or individual Indian, under a sense of wrong, tried resistance, the vengeance of the frontiersmen was swift and complete. Tecumseh, a Shawanee chief, sought to establish an Indian confederation of tribes to make face against American encroachment, but at the moment when he believed the work complete, his brother, known as "The Prophet," with a small following of Indians, was beaten by General Harrison at Tippecanoe.

When war was declared between Great Britain and the United States Tecumseh came to the British and offered his services. He had with him only about 30 warriors, but the capture of Michilimackinac raised British prestige in the minds of the tribesmen, and soon the Chief was backed by several hundred warriors. Tecumseh was a man of uncommon mental powers, and a born soldier. He and Brock were friends after their first meeting. They entered Detroit together. They exerted their joint authority to prevent outrages upon the prisoners, and from the day General Hull surrendered until the Battle of Queenston, Brock wore over his tunic a sword-sash of Indian workmanship given to him by Tecumseh. The Chief was killed later at the Battle of Moraviantown when Proctor's force was swept away by the mounted Kentuckians.

Lieutenant Robinson's share of the prize money by the capture of Hull's stores was £90. A few days after the surrender the Lieutenant and the men of York sailed for Fort Erie in the King's ship "Queen Charlotte," bearing General Hull, 12 other officers, 134 privates, 8 women and 4 children as prisoners of war. Most of the men were of the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry. Peter Robinson's Rifle Company, which had been permitted to go to Detroit overland, arrived in ample time for the surrender, despite the difficulties of the journey. It was specially honored by returning as General Brock's guard in a sloop.

Among the papers of Sir John Beverley Robinson, preserved in the Ontario Archives, there is a partial list of the York volunteers who were present at the surrender of Detroit: The sergeants were Edward Thompson, Thomas Humberstone, John Ross, William Knott, and George Bond. The privates named are Andrew Hubbard, Abraham Stoner, Bernard Glennon, Cornelius Anderson, Charles McDonell, Calvin Davis, Charles Cold, Edward Wright, George Carey, George Moore, John McIntosh, John Wells, Joseph Lecomte, John Stoner, Robert Wells, Samuel Sinclair, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Adams, William Moore, William Meyers, Peter Pilkey, Cornelius Plummerfelt, Andrew Thompson, Richard Thompson, Thomas Simpson, Simcoe Wright,* Isaac White, John Cawthra, John Matthews, Peter Stoner, Andrew Kennedy, Robert Bright.

The York Volunteers in this first campaign of the war had won the high commendation of the Commander-in-Chief and doubtless also the warm approval of their fellow citizens. They were at home only a few days when the detachment was considerably augmented and was sent to the Niagara frontier under Captain Duncan Cameron, as senior officer commanding, Captain Heward and Captain Selby from East Gwillimbury. The subalterns included J. B. Robinson, McLean (afterwards a Judge), G. Ridout S. P. Jarvis and Stanton. They were stationed at Brown's Point between Niagara-on-the-Lake and Queenston, and had charge of two batteries of artillery, the men being drilled in the use of the guns by a bombardier of the Royal Artillery.

So the autumn slipped by until the night of October 12th, when General Van Rensselaer began sending troops across the river to seize Queenston Heights and cut the small British force in two. The vanguard of the American army was nearly 700 strong, and was composed of picked men. Another 700, mostly regulars, formed the first reserve, and the remainder, 4,000 militiamen, stood ready to follow. The total available British force in Queenston consisted of 300 regulars of the 49th regiment. At Chippawa, nine miles away, were 150 men. At Brown's Point and Fort George, about 300 more were fit for service.

The American landing was resisted and a considerable number of men were killed, but Captain Wool succeeded in gaining a footing on a fisherman's path which wound up southward to the top of the cliff. Thus he was enabled to gain the heights without the knowledge of the British. There was a battery of 24 guns on the Lewiston side, engaging the single British eighteen-pounder half way up the heights. The sound of the cannonade brought Brock and his aides from Fort George and the York volunteers from Brown's Point. The General at full gallop passed the militiamen on the march.

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*Simcoe Wright was the first white child born in York, as has been mentioned before.

Arrived at Queenston, Brock immediately mounted the hill to see how the gunners were getting on. He had scarcely reached the artillery-post when Wool's men came streaming over the crest. "Spike the gun and follow me," he cried. In a few moments the British were at the bottom of the hill and Wool had the gun. Immediately Brock collected 100 men and directed a charge which overran the artillery-position and pressed the Americans back. Just as success seemed certain an American rifleman stepped from behind a tree only thirty yards away and shot the General dead. The British retired bearing the body of their thrice-gallant leader to the shelter of a house in Queenston.

D'Arcy Boulton, the acting Attorney-General of Upper Canada, had gone to Europe in 1810, but did not reach the destination he intended. He hoped to land in England, but was taken prisoner by a French privateer and found himself in the fortress of Verdun, where he remained for four years. During his absence the work of his office was performed by John Macdonell, who had been appointed by the Executive Council, subject to confirmation by the Home authorities. Macdonell was ardent in militia affairs and had been selected by General Brock as his personal aide-de-camp.

When the York militiamen arrived at Queenston they were assembled, in company with some regulars of the 49th Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell led them in a charge up the hill. Again the gun was re-captured, but at the moment of success Macdonell was killed and the British force retreated. On the day of his death, word was received from London that his appointment as Acting Attorney-General had been confirmed.

Since it was now clearly apparent that the main attack of the Americans was on Queenston, General Sheaffe, commanding at Fort George, brought every available man with him, seized the Heights two miles from the river, made a junction with the 150 men from Chippawa and then, with a cloud of Indians on his right flank, marched due west along the escarpment towards the American position. At that moment the Americans discovered that they had a serious battle to fight. The inexperienced militia on the Lewiston side found constitutional objections to the crossing of the river. The boatmen, mostly civilians, deserted their posts, and the men on the Heights suddenly realized that they were in a desperate position. The American left became entangled in the woods. Confusion and indecision appeared, which the intelligence and gallantry of General Winfield Scott were powerless to correct. Sheaffe came on with the bayonet, the York militia with the light company of the 49th in the centre. There was one scattering fusilade from the Americans. Then they broke and fled, some to pitch headlong over the cliff, some to climb down and attempt to swim the river, the rest to cluster at the verge of the precipice and surrender at discretion. The American loss was about 100 killed, 200 wounded and nearly 1,000 taken prisoner. The British casualties were 150 in all, but Brock, incomparable as a leader, was dead.

Major Allan and a guard of York militia convoyed the prisoners across the lake to York on the first stage of their journey to Quebec, and by the middle of December all the survivors of the Queenston fight were back at home.

Rev. Dr. Stuart, the Minister at Kingston, died early in 1812, and was succeeded by his son, Rev. George Okill Stuart, who had been serving in York. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of Rev. John Strachan, who had made a reputation in Cornwall as a teacher, a preacher and a resolute leader. He had been honored the year before by the University of Aberdeen with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

On November 22nd, at the instance of Dr. Strachan, a group of gentlemen met in the church at York to subscribe towards the purchase of comforts for the militia. About £150 was secured and on the recommendation of Lieutenant Peter Robinson two flannel shirts and a pair of stockings were provided for every man of the York Company.

War had been in progress for five months before the people fully realized the debt they owed to the fighting men. Then a public meeting was called in York to establish the first Canadian "Patriotic Society." Here follows an extract from the Minutes:

"At a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the Town of York and its vicinity, held at York on the 15th day of December, 1812, Hon. Chief Justice Scott being Chairman, it was resolved:

1. That a select society be established by annual subscription throughout the Province to be called The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada for the following specific purposes:
    i. To afford aid and relief to such families of the militia as shall appear to experience particular distress in consequence of the death or absence of their friends or relations employed in the militia service for the defence of the Province.
    ii. To afford like aid and relief to such militiamen as have been or shall be disabled from labor by wounds or otherwise in course of the service aforesaid.
    iii. To reward merit, excite emulation and commemorate glorious exploits by bestowing medals or other honorary marks of public approbation and distinction for extraordinary instances of personal courage and fidelity in defence of the Province by individuals either of His Majesty's Regular or Militia forces.
2. That the Society shall continue during the present war with the United States of America and shall be under the special protection and patronage of His Honor Major-General Sheaffe, or the person administering His Majesty's Government in this Province for the time being.
3. That every person throughout the Province whose annual subscription shall amount to one pound or upwards shall be admitted to the honor of being a member of the Society, and have the privilege of recommending objects of its charitable bounty."

A list follows of the subscribers to the Fund who engaged to pay annually during the war, and their residence in the Province, the sums opposite their respective names:

	£	s	d
Hon. Chief Justice Scott	50	0	0
Judge Powell	50	0	0
Judge Campbell	25	0	0
John Small	10	0	0
William Chewett	15	0	0

	£	s	d
John Beikie	10	0	0
William Allan	15	0	0
John Strachan	37	10	0
William W. Baldwin	10	0	0
George Crookshank	20	0	0
Peter Robinson	10	0	0
John B. Robinson	20	0	0
Alexander Wood	10	0	0
D. Boulton, Jr.	10	0	0
Donald McLean	5	0	0
P. Selby	50	0	0
John McGill	25	0	0
Jordan Post	1	0	0
John Murchison	1	10	0
Henry Drean	5	0	0
Captain Fish	2	0	0
Miss Russell	5	0	0
Stephen Jarvis	2	10	0
Thomas Bingle	5	0	0
Jordan Post Jr.	2	0	0
D. Tiers	2	10	0
J. Cameron and the printing	5	0	0
John Denison	2	0	0
Andrew O'Keefe	1	5	0
Hugh Carfrae	2	10	0
Francis Purvis	2	0	0
Grant Powell	10	0	0
John Endicott	1	10	0
Maj.-Gen. Sheaffe of U. C.	200	0	0
Edward McMahon	6	0	0
William Stanton	6	0	0
Thomas Ridout	15	0	0
Quetton St. George	25	0	0
Lieut.-Col. Bishoppe	100	0	0
Captain Gleg., 49th Regt.	20	0	0
Stephen Heward	10	0	0
Lieut.-Col. Smith	5	0	0
Jesse Ketchum	5	0	0
Robert Nichol, Q.M. Gen.	25	0	0
J. Givens	10	0	0
William Jarvice (sic.)	5	0	0
Duncan Cameron	10	0	0
Captain Derency	10	0	0
Peter Reeson	5	0	0
Alexander Legg	2	10	0
Captain Long, A.D.C. to Gen. Sheaffe	20	0	0
From Mr. Mercer, on account of the York and Durham Militia. Muster 24th Dec., 1912	24	0	8½
From Mr. Mercer, 24th Jan. 1913	11	6	6
John Dennis by Mr. John Cameron	5	0	0
Lieut.-Col. Hughes	5	0	0
Dr. McAulay	10	0	0
Lord Bishop of Quebec	50	0	0
James Irvine	25	0	0
Dr. Holmes	20	0	0
Mr. Hariott	25	0	0

	£	s	d
From Mr. Mercer, on account of the York and Durham Militia	51	19	3
From Mr. Crookshank, the money advanced by the Society for the use of the Hospital	158	5	3
General Drummond in all	500	0	0
General Shank	20	0	0
Halifax Currency	£1,808	6	8½

As the war proceeded interest in the fund increased, and the Report of 1815 showed a total subscription, including contributions from London, Eng., Jamaica, Montreal and Quebec, of £10,556 14s. 4½d. Most of the subscriptions from Jamaica had a liquid sound:

"Geo. Kinghorn, 2 puncheons of Rum.
John Jacques, 1 puncheon of Rum
James Laing, 1 puncheon of Rum, etc."

The total contribution of Montreal was £3,210 15s. 3d., of Quebec, £2,724 5s. 9d., of London, Eng., £3,333 6s. 8d.

In the appeal which was made to the general public of London, Chief Justice Thomas Scott said of the Upper Canada militia: "Many, though exempted by age from military duty, scorn to claim the privilege, and it is not uncommon to see men of seventy leaving their homes and demanding arms to meet the enemy on the lines. Others too feeble to bear arms themselves are seen leading their sons to the military ports, and so strong is the spirit of patriotism among the people that it infects the greater number of those who have recently come to settle in the Province from the United States, and makes them efficient soldiers."

After a year of warfare the belligerents discovered an elementary fact—that land fighting in Upper Canada was useless without control of the Lakes. All useful communications were by water, since the roads were mainly bottomless quagmires, and the garrisons of outposts were dependent even for their daily bread and pork upon the success of some captain in tacking through. Sir James Lucas Yeo commanded the naval force on Lake Ontario and Commodore Isaac Chauncey was the American leader. The respective bases were Kingston and Sackett's Harbor. The forces were small, mainly composed of converted trade-schooners. But both sides established ship-yards and built competitively with green timber. Chauncey's fleet is described by Mr. C. H. J. Snider as follows:*

"He had that old waggon the *Oneida* a brig that crawled like a tortoise going free, and slid sideways like a crab when she tried to beat to wind'ard. But she had sixteen twenty-four pounders and that made her a tough nut to crack. She was better at fighting than running away and that suited Melancthon T. Woolsey, of Sackett's Harbor, the lieutenant who commanded her, to a knock-down. Chauncey built a twenty-four gun ship the *President Madison* in fifty-eight days from the day the timber was felled in the bush. Later on he built another fine ship-rigged corvette, the *General Pike*, and a smart schooner, called the *Sylph*. And he had a whole menagerie of little fore-'n-afters of stonehooker size, from a hundred tons down. They were coasters bought up when the war broke out and loaded with deck-jags of cannon. They were slow as molasses and tippy as soda-water bottles. All they were good for was long-range work in smooth water. Then they were terrors. The guns they carried were all long-uns, twice as powerful as the caronades our fleet had, meant for nigh-hand broadside work. In light weather, at long range, those schooners lived up to their names — *Scourge, Asp, Pert, Growler and Conquest.* In a sailing breeze they were as harmless as might be expected of *Ontario, Julia, Hamilton, Fair American, Governor Tomkins* or *Lady of the Lake.* All told Chauncey had fifteen vessels that summer.

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* "In the Wake of the Eighteen-Twelvers."

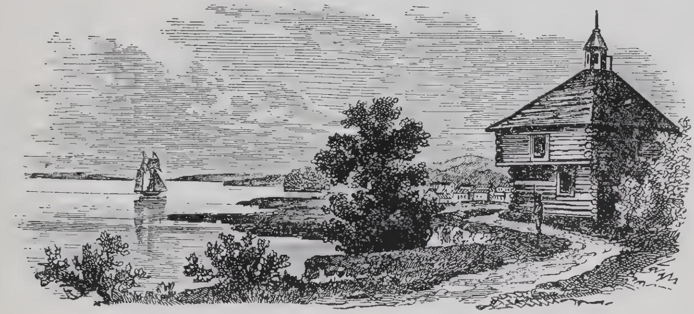
"Yeo had only eight at the most. There was the *Wolfe,* not quite as big as either the *Pike* or the *Madison;* and the *Royal George,* ship-rigged like the *Wolfe* but smaller. Then there were the brigs, the old *Earl of Moira* and the *Lord Melville* — about half the size of the two ships; and the schooners, *Sir Sydney Smith, Beresford, Simcoe* and *Seneca,* none of them much bigger than the larger Bay of Quinte traders to-day.. The last two were kept for transport duty or harbor work."

The story of the lake warfare of that summer is spirited and romantic. Chauncey had been commissioned in September, 1812, and had used the winter to good purpose. Yeo did not arrive at Kingston until May 7th 1813 and found the situation anything but comforting. There had been a lack, on the northern side of the Lake, of co-ordinating intelligence. General Sir Roger Sheaffe, who had succeeded Sir Isaac Brock as commander of the forces and acting Lieutenant-Governor was a better fighter than an organizer. He and Governor Prévost permitted the establishment of a shipbuilding yard at York as well as at Kingston. Thus supplies of all sorts which should have been concentrated at an arsenal behind heavy batteries were "all over the place" and invited raiders. On the ways at York was a thirty-gun frigate half-planked. Beside her in the frozen mud of the dockyard lay the guns of her prospective armament. Chauncey wanted that frigate. Therefore the moment the ice went out of Sackett's Harbor he brought out his fleet, and sailed westward, bearing besides his seamen an army of 2,000 men under General Dearborn and General Zebulon Pike, the discoverer, six years before, of Pike's Peak in Colorado.

On the morning of April 27, 1813, in a light east wind the fleet hove to just outside the present Western Gap and began to shell the Garrison, while boatloads of men made for the shore. Forty Indians and a few militiamen under Colonel Givens disputed the landing but the Americans got ashore at the site of the old French Fort. Their riflemen scattered into the near-by woods in chase of the Indians, killed a chief who had climbed into a tree and secured the flank of the infantry now forming on the shore. Not half-a-dozen effective guns were found in the whole place. The Western Battery, half a mile west of the Garrison, was armed with two old eighteen-pounders, without trunnions, which had been clamped to pine logs. Two companies of the 8th Regiment, three companies of militia, a few men of the 49th, of the Royal Artillery, and some of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles formed the garrison, not over 700 strong. The progress of the Americans was opposed from point to point, with severe loss to the defenders until the Garrison had to be yielded. General Sheaffe had laid a fuse for the destruction of the 500 barrels of gunpowder and the explosion killed over 200 Americans. Previously forty British soldiers had been killed by the explosion of an ammunition truck. With the remainder of the regular forces Sheaffe marched through the town and east-

ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE.

HENRY DEARBORN.



YORK IN 1813, FROM THE BLOCK-HOUSE EAST OF THE DON.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

JAMES LUCAS YEO.

ward along the road to Kingston, first setting the frigate and dockyard on fire, and leaving the militia to deal with the invaders, who were in no gentle temper.*

They thought that the explosion of the magazine was a meditated bit of treachery, since the fight was practically over. Only the vanguard of the American force had reached the vicinity of the Fort when the explosion occurred. Among those mortally wounded was General Pike. He was taken aboard the flagship *President Madison* and died on her quarter deck in the presence of Commodore Chauncey.

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* Among those who were in York when the Americans came was a young Irish boy who had lately come to the town with his parents and was living at the garrison. In later years he wrote a curious little book entitled "Journal of a Voyage to Quebec in the year 1825, with Recollections of Canada during the late American war in the years 1812-13. By P. Finan." Newry was the place of publication. "Printed by Alexander Peacock, Telegraph Office, 1828." Some extracts from the book which may be found in the Legislative Library here follow:

"On the 25th of April the Grenadier Company of the 8th Regiment arrived in batteaux from Kingston on their way up the country. They were allowed to remain during the 26th to refresh themselves after the long journey, and were to have proceeded on the 27th. We returned to the garrison (from the town) on the evening of the 26th. When we arrived all was bustle and activity. The American fleet had appeared off the harbor, and from its manoeuvres it was supposed that York was the place of its destination. The troops were under arms....but little apprehension was entertained for the safety of the place, which was rather surprising, since the whole amount of the regular forces including the grenadiers of the 8th Regiment did not exceed 300; the militia, etc. composing a few hundred more.

Early in the morning of the 27th the enemy's fleet appeared steering directly for the harbor....The morning was very fine, the lake quite calm, and the fleet had an elegant and imposing appearance."

After speaking in general terms concerning the landing; Finan continues: "The Grenadiers consisted of 119 as fine men as the British army could produce, commanded by the brave and elegant Captain McNeile......I saw him and the most of his little band return no more. Thirty alone escaped the havoc of the day."

Finan's description of the first, and the accidental explosion has special importance: "While part of our force was contending with the enemy in the woods an unfortunate accident occurred at the battery opposed to the fleet, which proved a death blow to the little hope that might have been entertained of a successful issue to the proceedings of the day. A gun was aimed at one of the vessels, and the officers desirous of seeing if the ball would take effect ascended the bastion. In the meantime the artillery man waiting for the word of command to fire, held the match behind him as is usual under such circumstances. The travelling magazine, a large wooden chest containing cartridges for the great guns being open just at his back, he unfortunately put the match into it....Everyone in the battery was blown into the air, and the dissection of the greater part of their bodies was inconceivably shocking. The officers were thrown from the bastion by the shock but escaped with a few bruises; the cannons were dismounted and consequently the battery was rendered completely useless."

Since the American vessels were firing on the garrison the women and children were sent away to a place of safety. Finan and his mother were in the woods at the house of a militia officer, but the boy slipped away to see the progress of the battle. As he approached the clearing he felt the earth tremble. Then followed the noise of the second explosion, when a "cloud like a vast balloon rose into the air." Finan declares that he saw the flag pulled down at the Fort and the American flag substituted by a sergeant who had deserted from the British army.

There is a letter of Sheaffe's written from Haldimand, April 30th, 1813, to the Governor-General of Canada corroborating Finan's account of the accidental explosion and referring to the heavy loss of "Captain W. Neale" and the grenadiers of the 8th Regiment. It ends with the following sentence: "I caused the grand magazine to be blown up, and have reason to believe that the new ship and naval stores were destroyed."

By this explosion 52 Americans were killed and 180 wounded. The flag pulled down, and the mace were carried away and may be seen today in the American Naval Academy at Annapolis.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA—SERIES Q. 317-p 140

Nominal List of the Killed, Wounded Prisoners & Missing of the Troops engaged at York, under the Command of Sir Roger H. Sheaffe on the 27th Ult. Kingston 10th, May, 1813.

No.	Killed	No.	Wounded	No.	Wounded & Prisoners	No.	Prisoners	No.	Missing	Regiments
1	Pe. Wm. Jenkins	1	Wm. Tumulty Driver			1	Bomb'n. Wm. Needham	1	Gunner, Jno. Boynon	Royal Artillery
2	Edward Murphy					1	Gunner John King			
3	John Isaac					2	Gunner James Lang			
						3	Gunner Thos. Hollyrood			
1	Capt. Neal McNeal	1	Serg't. Jno. Softley	1	Serg't. Geo. Horn	1	Priv. Jno. Wale	1	Priv. Edw. Blackman	8th or King's Regiment
1	Sgt. Mjr. Rob. Beveredge	2	Rt. Gray	1	Corp. Rich'd. Fatton	2	Priv. Felex Douelly			
1	Sgt. Arch'd Robinson	1	Cpl. Don. McIntosh	2	David Barry					
2	Sgt. Jos'h Rawson	1	Priv. Jos'h Bradshaw	3	Chas. Ogden					
3	Sgt Wm. Shaw	2	Peter Campbell	1	Priv. Step. Adams					
1	Corp. Wm. Lisk	3	Nich. Furlong	2	Thomas Dee					
2	Corp. Thos. Pemberton	4	Joseph Gough	3	Thomas Downs					
1	Priv. Robt. Boyde	5	Hugh Healy	4	Sam'l Henshaw					
2	" David Bridle	6	Richard Hewett	5	James Martin					
3	" Nich. Callighan	7	John Lee	6	Wm. Martin					
4	" Wm. Carter	8	Wm. Nichol	7	Michel Murphy					
5	" James Cowing	9	Jon. Radley	8	John Pearson					
6	" Robt. Darnelle	10	Thos. Sewell	9	Daniel Seary					
7	" Sam. Furnace	11	Pat. Sutton	10	Jos'h Whettan					
8	" Benj. Haydon	12	Jno. Ward	11	Thos. Walker					
9	" Martin Hefran	13	Jno. Watters	12	Geo. Dixon					
10	" Thos. Henderson	14	Wm. Woodcock	13	Rob't. Ireland					
11	" Jas. Ireland	15	Wm. Yates	14	Squire Ackroyde					
12	" Jos'h Giddens	16	Wm. Crawford	15	Jos'h Ellis					
13	" Mack. Kearns	17	Jas. O. Hare	16	Thomas Pope					
14	" Mich. McGuire	18	Jas. Stephenson	17	Ruben Miller					
15	" Robert Meighan	19	Wm. Bennett	18	Henry Branwhite					
16	" Alex'r Mills	20	Jas. Cartredge	19	Thomas Taylor					
17	" Jas. Mitchelle			20	Henry Oxford					
18	" Alex'r Mullony			21	Jos'h Dagg					
19	" Geo. Pealing			22	Thomas Singleton					
20	" Andrew Pringle									
21	" Wilcox Ruddock									
22	" James Rudd									
23	" Rod'c Limley									
24	" James Suppen									
25	" Lucky Ward									
26	" Jos'h Westbroom									
27	" John Williams									
28	" Jos'h Woodcock									
29	" Wm. Ayres									
30	" Pat'k Barker									
31	" Peter Carroll									
32	" Thomas Clemett									
33	" Peter Dealey									
34	" John Healey									
35	" Henry Nowlan									
36	" Thomas Quinn									
37	" Henry Hickman									
38	" James Weakly									

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA—SERIES Q. 317-p 140 (*Continued*)

Nominal List of the Killed, Wounded Prisoners & Missing of the Troops engaged at York, under the Command of Sir Roger H. Sheaff on the 27th ult. Kingston 10th, May, 1813

No.	Killed	No.	Wounded	No.	Wounded & Prisoners	No.	Prisoners	No.	Missing	Regiments
1	Serg. Wm. Simons	1	Drum'r Alex'r Seaton	1	Serg't. John Chesney	1	Christopher Hughes	1	Priv. N. Hill	Royal Newfoundland Fencibles.
1	Corp. Jno. Fannon	1	Priv. Alex. Miller	2	Serg't. Wm. Campion	2	Wm. Gardener	2	Priv. Jno. Bryan	
1	Drum'r. Wm. Sogood	2	" Arthur Clark	3	Serg't. Dr. Maj. T. Kelly					
1	Priv. Step. Head	3	" Pat. Hogan	1	Serg't. Dr. David Kiley					
2	" Edward Morgan	4	" James Hawkins	1	Priv. Com'e's Feely					
3	" W. F. Anderson	5	" John Walsh 2	2	" Richard Beck					
4	" John Walsh	6	" George Aldridge	3	" Thos. Clark					
5	" John Justins			4	" Wm. Maher					
6	" James Milner			5	" Jos'h Lannigan					
7	" Mat'h Moyarty			6	" John Sparrow					
8	" Samuel Hussey			7	" Alex'r McDonnell					
9	" Thomas Gleeson			8	" Thomas Casey					
1	Priv. Wm. Harris	1	Ensign Robins					1	Priv. Jos'h Gould	Glengary L. Inf'y.
2	" David Studevant	1	Priv. M. Gollinger					2	" Jno. Bedel	
		2	Jesse Brown					3	" Arch. Carseallen	
		3	Samuel Taylor							
				1	Thomas Reid	1	Thomas Gallahan			49th Regiment
				2	John MacLean	2	Flawrence Laery			
				3	Thomas Boyde					

RICHARD LEONARD,
A. D'y Ass't Adju't Gen'l

The casualties of the British regulars were 62 killed, 35 wounded left on the field, 41 wounded and taken prisoner, 10 unwounded and taken prisoner, and 7 missing, a total of 155 off a strength of fewer than 700. Details of these casualties are given herewith, from the official report preserved in the Dominion Archives. Apparently no record of the militia casualties is available. Assuming that the percentage was considerably lower than among the regulars, perhaps 50 would not be an unreasonable estimate. That is to say, the total losses were probably about 200.

The Upper Canada Militia Return for the year 1805 gave a strength on paper of 16 colonels, 21 lieutenant-colonels, 21 majors, 171 captains, 202 lieutenants, 169 ensigns, 4 cornets, 3 chaplains, 21 adjutants, 12 quartermasters, 6 surgeons, 516 sergeants, 29 drummers and 7,402 rank and file. The total militia strength of York was given as 705 men, which leads one to believe either that the return was "padded" or else that the census was incomplete.

The commissioners who surrendered the town were Colonel Chewett and Major Allan of the Militia, and Lieutenant Gauvreau of the Provincial Marine. The American officers accepting the capitulation were, Colonel Mitchell, Major Connor, Major King and Lieutenant Elliott. Ratification of the surrender was delayed by the Americans and Rev. Dr. Strachan sought General Dearborn to make protest. He was not well received whereupon he turned to Commodore Chauncey and said: "A new mode, this, sir, of treating people clothed in public character. I have had the honor of transacting business with greater men without meeting with any indignity. It is easy to see through these miserable subterfuges for delaying the ratification of the capitulation. Perhaps the General, after allowing his troops to pillage the town, may be induced, forsooth, to ratify terms, so that when he returns home in triumph he may have it in his power to say he 'respected private property.' We have been grossly deceived already, sir, but we shall not be duped and insulted. If the conditions are not complied with immediately there shall be no capitulation. We will not accept it. You may do your worst, but you shall not have it in your power to say, after robbing us, that you respected our property."

The protest was effectual. General Dearborn ratified the articles of capitulation, paroled the militia and allowed the sick and wounded to be removed. Meanwhile the Parliament Buildings had been burned and some private houses had been looted, not by official orders, but by the act of soldiers who had got out of hand. Two years afterward, when ex-President Jefferson made a complaint against the "brutality" of the British in burning the White House at Washington, Dr. Strachan wrote an elaborate open letter to Jefferson, in which the following sentences occur: "In April, 1813, the public buildings at York, the capital of Upper Canada, were burnt by the troops of the United States, contrary to the articles of capitulation. They consisted of two elegant halls with convenient offices for the accommodation of the Legislature and the Courts of Justice. The library and all the papers and records of these institutions were consumed. At the same time the church was robbed, and the Town Library totally pillaged. Commodore Chauncey, who has generally behaved honorably, was so ashamed of this last transaction that he endeavored to collect the books belonging to the Public Library and actually sent back two boxes filled with them, but hardly any were complete. Much private property was plundered, and several houses left in a state of ruin. Can you tell me, sir, the reason why the public buildings and library of Washington should be held more sacred than those at York? A false and ridiculous story is told of a scalp having been found above the Speaker's chair intended as an ornament."

General Dearborn in his report to the Secretary of War wrote: "A scalp was found in the Executive and Legislative Chamber, suspended near the Speaker's chair, in company with the mace and other emblems of royalty. I intend sending it to you, with a correct account of the facts relative to the place and situation in which it was found." There is no further account by the General, and clearly Dr. Strachan treated the tale as a mere invention. Robert Gourlay declared on the authority of a Member of the House, that before the war a scalp had been sent in a letter by an army officer to the Clerk of the House as a curiosity. The Clerk put it in a drawer out of sight, being not a little disgusted with the taste of his friend. Probably some of the plunderers found the savage trophy and cited the discovery as justification for the burning of the place.

Colonel Simcoe, before leaving England for Upper Canada, wrote a letter to his friend Sir Joseph Banks giving in detail some of his plans of administration. He said that in the opinion of the Marquis of B——— public money ought to be laid out for a collection of books that might be useful to the Colony. This evidently was the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In that letter reference was made to the need for an Encyclopaedia and a work or two on Botany and Natural Science. Two years later three cases of books were shipped to the Lieutenant-Governor at Navy Hall, Newark. It is believed that these formed the nucleus for the Parliamentary Library which the Americans disorganized. Dr. Scadding gives a list of titles. It will be observed that the Encyclopaedia is included: Encyclopaedia, 35 volumes; D'Anville's Atlas; Johnson's Dictionary, 2 volumes, folio; Universal History, 60 volumes; Receipts Public Accounts, 3 volumes; Cook's Last Voyages, 4 volumes; Palladio's Voyage to New South Wales, 5 volumes; Hanbury on Planting and Gardening, 2 volumes; Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, 2 volumes; Postlethwaite on The Deity, 2 volumes; Anderson on Commerce, 6 volumes; Campbell's Political Survey, 2 volumes; Guthrie's Geography, 6 volumes; Bomare's Dictionnaire et Histoire Naturelle, 6 volumes; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, 4 volumes; Cary's English Atlas; Husbandry of the Midland, York and Norfolk Counties, 6 volumes—a total of 143 volumes—of solid literary roast beef and suet pudding.

General Sheaffe, in a letter to Lord Bathurst on May 12th, regretted that the money in the Provincial Treasury had fallen into the enemy's hands when he obtained possession of York. The amount was £2,000. Other authorities declare that the iron chest of the Receiver-General contained only one thousand silver dollars, and a quantity of "army bills," a paper money, bearing interest, which stood at par all through the war, but which was of little use to the Americans.

Prideaux Selby, the Receiver-General was lying unconscious, on the verge of death, and no information could be secured from him as to the gold reserve in his care. His clerk, William Roe, had gone out the Kingston Road and buried it. The Americans got wind of this expedition and made a search, but found only £2,500 in army bills. After the invaders had departed, Roe produced the treasure, three bars of gold, handed it over to the Government officials in Dr. Strachan's little parlor and took a receipt.

On March 14th, 1814, the Assembly passed an Address to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Gordon Drummond, which contained this paragraph: "In examining the general account of the Receiver-General we observe he has taken credit for the sum of £2,144 11s 4d., paid to the Enemy to prevent the Town of York from being burnt. It appears to us, may it please your Honor, that as proper measures had been taken for its security previous to the capitulation, and as no stipulation was made as to its being delivered up, that a private contribution should not become a public charge against the Revenues of this Province. But admitting, may it please your Honor, that it was a correct charge, we apprehend a part, at least, of the amount must have been a Crown Revenue, and that the whole should not be sustained by us."

After Sheaffe's evacuation of York, General de Rottenburg, his senior officer came to Upper Canada and took over the administration on June 18th, 1812.

While York was enduring the unpleasantness of an enemy invasion the British force based on Amherstburg was preparing to attack Fort Meigs on the south side of Lake Erie. A failure here in May and at Fort Stephenson in August put General Proctor on the defensive. After the fleet action between Commander Barclay and Commodore Perry, a stern gamble on Barclay's part for the control of the Lake, since the British were short of provisions, and were overweighted in both ships and guns, Proctor had to evacuate western Ontario. His army was pursued by the Americans and destroyed at Moraviantown. Yeo on Lake Ontario prevented the swamping of Upper Canada.

Chauncey and Dearborn withdrew from York on May 8th and after a run back to Sackett's Harbor appeared at Niagara on May 27th. Vincent, the British officer in command, had 1,000 regulars and 400 militia. The American force consisted of 3,000 men and was landed at Mississauga Point under the excellent gunnery of the American fleet. Vincent fought as long as it was safe to do so and then withdrew towards Burlington Bay leaving Fort George to the invaders.

Meanwhile Sir James Yeo with a landing force of 750 men under Colonel Baynes made a try at Sackett's Harbor and failed owing to the vacillation of Governor Prévost and Baynes. Just when the fight had a promising appearance, a retreat was ordered. Angry and disappointed, Yeo took his little fleet up the Lake before Chauncey's return to his base, and arrived at Burlington on June 5th in time to harry the retreat of the American army, thrown into confusion by Vincent and his chief aide, Colonel Harvey, at Stoney Creek.

The strange action at Beaver Dams followed almost immediately. The British right advance-post at this point was held by Lieutenant James Fitz Gibbon with a handful of soldiers and about 200 Indian scouts under a son of Chief Joseph Brant. The scouts annoyed the Americans so much that six hundred picked men under Colonel Boerstler were ordered to rush Fitz Gibbon's post and clear out the Indians. Laura Secord, the wife of a Niagara settler and militiaman, wounded at Queenston Heights, overheard two Americans talking of the surprise in store next day for the British at Beaver Dams. It was the evening of August 23rd, 1813, and she was on her way to milk the cows. At dawn she set out for the British lines, twenty miles distant. Through the forest she took her way avoiding well-trodden paths and guiding herself by the sure instinct of the pioneer. The woods had been drenched by a heavy summer rain and the heat was intense. Despite toil and discomfort the heroine pressed on until the Indian advance sentries found her and brought her to the officer in command. Her story

Major-General Roger Hale Sheaffe

confirmed information Fitz Gibbon had already received from his scouts and he was able to make his dispositions in certainty.

Boerstler's force was harried by invisible foes from the beginning of the march. When it came into touch with Fitz Gibbon the Americans were outwitted by a stratagem. The Irish lieutenant allowed the enemy to see all of his thirty-four men in their red coats. Then, plunging under cover, the men turned their tunics inside out, put them on and showed themselves again. As the lining was a dark green cloth, the Americans imagined that a corps of riflemen or rangers was before them. Another change, and the red coats appeared in still another position. Harassed by the Indian attack, and imagining that Fitz Gibbon was in force, the entire American column surrendered. Not a shot had been fired by the British soldiers.

Vincent's force remained active and alert, surprising the American post at the Falls, Fort Schlosser, on July 5th, and driving the enemy to a concentrated position under the guns of Fort George on August 24th. Chauncey learned in July that Colonel Battersby of York had brought two field guns and a quantity of ammunition to Vincent. Therefore he returned to Toronto Bay, landed men under Colonel Scott, burned the barracks and carried away all the munitions he could find.

During the whole of August the hostile fleets were manoeuvering up and down Lake Ontario, Yeo trying to engage the enemy in a heavy gale when his rolling schooners would be useless, and Chauncey seeking to catch the British force in light weather. He would have been in York again on September 28th to fill his flour bins, had not Yeo been waiting for him in Humber Bay, not far from the mouth of the river. There was a running fight in a moderate easterly breeze which caused great damage both to the *Wolfe* and the *Pike,* but was not decisive. Then Yeo steered for Burlington hoping to bring the Americans on a lee shore. He himself drove his fleet through the shallow gap into Burlington Bay, scraping the sandbar to do so, and knowing that Chauncey could not risk his larger craft by following. The American clawed off and tacked down the Lake to Niagara, believing that his enemy had been safely imprisoned for the rest of the season.

Going in over a sandbar with a favorable wind was one thing. Getting out was another. But with the full moon of October came an easterly breeze that deepened the water on the bar. Then the anchors were carried out into the lake by small boats and the ships pulled themselves across the sand by manning the capstans. Yeo sent a small flotilla of transports to engage the attention of Chauncey, and thus was able to reach Kingston to refit. The naval commanders on Lake Ontario had fought a six-months' draw.

In December the position of the Americans on the Canadian side of the Niagara River had grown precarious, and McClure, the American commander, determined to evacuate Fort George. On December 10th he committed an act of wanton brutality by burning the village of Newark, rendering four hundred women and children homeless in the cold. The American Government disowned the act, but it had been done. General Sir Gordon Drummond, the newly-appointed administrator of Upper Canada, authorized an immediate attack upon Fort Niagara under the command of Colonel Murray. The fortress was taken by combined surprise and assault on the night of December 18th after a particularly resolute and gallant action. Then the whole Niagara frontier on the American side was swept clear of enemy troops and in reprisal the villages of Lewiston, Youngstown and Buffalo were burned.

General Drummond reported to Prévost the capture at Niagara of 27 pieces of ordnance, 3,000 stand of arms, a number of rifles, ammunition, blankets, clothing, several thousand pairs of shoes, 14 officers and 330 men. In the assault 65 Americans were killed and 12 wounded.

To celebrate the capture of Fort Niagara the gentlemen of York gave a ball "to the ladies and strangers" of the town on the evening of December 19th, 1813. A list of the subscribers here follows: Thomas Scott, the Chief Justice; W. Dummer Powell, William Campbell, John Strachan, W. Allan, D. Cameron, John McGill, S. Jarvis, Thos. Ridout, Wm. Jarvis, William Warren Baldwin, Quetton St. George, W. Chewett, John Beikie, George Cruikshank, Angus Mackintosh, Alexander Wood, Grant Powell, Alexander Thorn, H. C. Horne, Wm. M. Jarvis, Wm. Lee, John B. Robinson, Mr. Boulton, P. Robinson.

The ball was so successful that a series of Assemblies was organized for the social season of 1814-1815. The names of the subscribers were: Thomas Scott, W. Dummer Powell, William Jarvis, William Allan, Alexander Wood, William Smith, Grant Powell, S. Jarvis, John B. Robinson, P. Robinson, George Ridout, George Jarvis, John Strachan, W. Baldwin, James Hands, H. Lee, J. Quesnel, Quetton St. George, —— Kitson, Lt. R. E., W. Chewett, Al. Thorn, Capt. Lelievre, Sam. P. Jarvis, Wm. M. Jarvis, Tho. Taylor, D. Boulton, Jun., L. de Koven, Lt., Royal Newfoundland Regt., Lieut. Ingonville, William Campbell, John Beikie, William Shanley, J. McGill, Geo. Cruikshank, Geo. Shaw.

Of the 41st Regiment: Richard Friend, William Faulkner, J. Harfred, H. Lott, W. T. Hall, Richard Bullock, Chas. Lane, H. D. Townshend, Geo. Edge, Jas. D. Perrin, Alex. Major.

D. Cameron, Tho. Ridout, Angus Mackintosh, J. Heward, N. Horne, Major Givens, Mr. Davenport, R.N.,; Lieut. Ryerson, Lieut. Hamilton, Lieut. Ruttan, Lieut. Kerby, of the Incorporated Militia; John Douglas, 8th Regt.; R. Stanton, Richard Shaw, Q.M'r. Troughton, Lieut. R. A.; James Macaulay, William McAulay, Col. Maule, Mr. Kemble, Mr. Miles, 89th Regt., Mr. Gossett, Engineers; Major Walmsley, 89th Regt.; Ed. Davis, Lieut. 82nd Regt.; Mr. Wills, Royal Marines, Mr. Pearson, Royal Navy, Captain Barclay, Mr. Cruikshank, Col. Glen, Incorporated Militia; Lieut. Tompkins, R.A.; Major Kirby, Mr. Archdeacon, Major de Hoen, Mr. Wall, Fort Adjutant; Mr. Jackson, Q.M.G.; Lieut. Jarvie, Incorporated Militia, Dr. O'Leary, Dr. Forsyth, Dr. White, Dr. Ward, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Lee, Dr. Palmer, of the Medical Staff; Mr. Irvine, Mr. McDougall, Incorporated Militia; eight officers of the Canadian Fencibles for one night, Lieut. McDougall, Dr. Young, Mrs. Derenzy, Mrs. Tallow, Mrs. Janoway, Daniel Claus, Mrs. Geale, Mr. Rolph, Mrs. Wallin, Captain Walker, Captain Fraser, Captain McDonell, Captain Keer, Gus. Warffe.*

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*This list is from the Transactions of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, published at Montreal in 1818. There are some obvious typographical errors, which representatives of the various York families named will perceive, but which I did not presume to correct, in the absence of proved error.—Editor.

The expenditures on this series of Assemblies are given in detail. They are interesting for themselves alone, but also for the curious mingling of pounds and dollars:

	£	s	d
Paid Brown for going several times round with subscriptions	1	2	6
Paid music for the season	22	15	0
Paid Charles, a black man, for waiting	2	5	0
Paid Lackie, the baker, for cakes	19	7	6
Paid female attendants	1	10	0
Paid O'Keefe for use of room	28	15	0
Paid McIntosh for wine, etc.	55	15	7½
Col. Maule's servant and the fifer of the "Niagara"	$6		
Lemon, the violin player	$10		
For the use of a violin	$1		
Musicians of Canadian Fencibles	$8		
For advertising in the Gazette	$1½		

In an address to the Prince Regent, passed by the Assembly on March 14th, 1814, the following paragraph recounted the services of the Militia: "When it is considered, may it please Your Royal Highness, that the whole male population of Upper Canada able to bear arms does not exceed ten thousand men, and is scattered over a frontier of at least eight hundred miles in extent; when it is considered that nearly one-half of these were embodied for the whole of the first, and a very considerable proportion for the greatest part of the last campaign, and that they composed the principal part of the force which successively captured the forces of Michilimackinac and the army of General Hull; which carried by assault the batteries at Ogdensburgh, which fought and gained the battles of Queenston, River Raison and Fort Meigs, and which repulsed the enemy under General Smith near Fort Erie; when it is known that in the disastrous affair near Fort George on the twenty-seventh of May last, they were warmly engaged with the enemy and actually suffered as severely as His Majesty's regular forces; when it is known that the greatest part of the transportation and provisioning of the forces in Upper Canada fell upon them, and that in such parts as have been visited by the enemy their properties have been plundered and destroyed, and themselves as prisoners carried away; when it is known that the whole efforts of the enemy during the last two campaigns have been directed towards the subjugation of Upper Canada, and that is yet unsubdued, we think, may it please Your Royal Highness, it will be admitted that the Militia of this Province have faithfully performed their duty; that their services have very largely contributed to the security of this portion of His Majesty's Dominions, and that it was the duty of the representative of Our Sovereign to have laid before Your Royal Highness a faithful account of our services and our sufferings. It cannot have been represented to Your Royal Highness. Nevertheless, such is the fact that many of our militiamen have fallen by the sword of the enemy; many have been disabled, and a large proportion of them have died from diseases contracted while in the field, and from being destitute of every comfort, our population has decreased. Our properties have been destroyed and hundreds are reduced to beggary and want without even the consolation of knowing that their exertions, their fidelity and their sufferings have been represented to their Government and to their Country, for the maintenance of whose rights they made such sacrifices and such exertions, and to whose favorable notice they look forward as their greatest reward. In thus humbly representing to Your Royal Highness the situation of our constituents, we have performed a duty imperiously required of us."

On May 10th, 1813, the following militia corps were in service: 1st York, Lieut.-Col. Graham; 2nd York, (the Burlington Regiment), Col. Beasley; 3rd York, Lieut.-Col. Chewett; 1st Glengarry, Lieut.-Col. McMillan; 2nd Glengarry, Lieut.-Col. Macdonell; 1st Prescott; 1st Grenville, Col. William Fraser; 2nd Grenville, Lieut.-Col. Bunit; 1st Dundas, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Fraser; 1st Leeds, Lieut.-Col. Sherwood; 2nd Leeds, Col. Stone; 1st Frontenac, Hon. Col. Cartwright; 1st Addington, Col. William Johnston; 1st Prince Edward, Col. Archibald Macdonell; 1st Lennox, Major Crawford; 1st Hastings, Col. Ferguson; 1st Northumberland, Lieut.-Col. Peters; 1st Durham, Lieut.-Col. Baldwin; 1st Lincoln, Hon. Col. Claus; 2nd Lincoln, Lieut.-Col. Clark; 3rd Lincoln, Lieut.-Col. Warren; 4th Lincoln, Major Tenbrock; 5th Lincoln, Lieut.-Col. Bradt; 1st Norfolk, Lieut.-Col. Ryerson; 2nd Norfolk, Lieut.-Col. Nichol; 1st Oxford, Lieut.-Col. Bostwick; 1st Kent, Hon. Col. Baby; 1st Essex, Col. Elliott; 2nd Essex, Lieut.-Col. Baptiste Bâby; 1st Middlesex, Col. Talbot. While on paper this force would be equal to 30,000 men, there were never more than 10,000 militiamen on duty at any one time, but clearly every community leader, from the members of the Executive Council down, was in active service. Some years afterwards it was said that the entire High Court Bench of Upper Canada had had battle-experience and two of the Judges bore scars of the conflict.

General Drummond, in a letter to Lord Bathurst on July 10th, 1814, said that the capture of the British squadron on Lake Erie and the defeat of Proctor at Moraviantown, had led the disaffected in the District of London, under a notorious partizan-leader of the enemy, to commit depredations on private property, and carry off the loyal inhabitants; their chief object being to disorganize the militia by seizing the officers and sending them into captivity. A small band of loyal militia of the district organized, and were able to defeat the marauders, capturing 70 of them. Of these 17 were tried for high treason, 15 were convicted and sentenced to be executed on July 20th. On the recommendation of the Chief Justice, and the Acting Attorney-General, John Beverley Robinson, clemency was extended to seven of the least guilty, who were banished from the country. The rest were executed.

That portion of the campaign of 1814 related specifically to York began with the concentration of some 5,000 American troops at Buffalo under General Brown and the capture of Fort Erie on July 3rd. General Drummond, holding a reserve of 1,000 men at York, established with some 3,500 men, a fighting line from Burlington to Niagara. The invader had the advantage of the initiative, and obviously his *rôle* was to strike swiftly and in full force, before Drummond could gather up the skirts of his extended line.

On the day following the capture of Fort Erie, Brown moved southward and Drummond ordered an advance of 2,000 men under General Riall, his second in command. The armies met at Chippawa on July 5th. At the first British charge the American militia broke and were dispersed, but the

American regulars were made in a sterner mould and were admirably handled by General Winfield Scott and General Ripley. The British were outflanked and beaten, losing one-quarter of their force. Gradually during the next two weeks the defenders were pressed back. Brown had hoped for the co-operation of Chauncey in an attack upon Fort Niagara and Fort George, but the Commodore, realizing that Yeo was his "main job," and perhaps resenting the suggestion that he should serve as Brown's subordinate, declined to assist.

Brown therefore resolved to strike across country from Chippawa to Burlington and cut the British line. He set out in strength on the morning of July 25th, and almost immediately found himself in touch with the British, who concentrated at Lundy's Lane, seizing a slight hillock as a post for seven field guns. Here was the most desperate battle of the war. It began at six o'clock on the evening of July 25th. There were 4,000 Americans against 3,000 British, but considering the inexperience of the American militia, the armies were equally matched. For six hours the conflict raged about that gun position. Again, and yet again, the Americans gained the hill, only to be driven back by a bayonet charge. The regulars of the enemy fought with magnificent tenacity. The British forces, well-drilled, resolute and admirably led, met every assault with iron steadiness. Each side had heavy losses, the British proportionately greater than the American, but neither could establish a clear supremacy. At length the American force retired to Chippawa and the British slept on the position they had held so steadily.

The exhausting fight at Lundy's Lane kept both armies quiescent for some three weeks. Then on August 15th Drummond tried to capture Fort Erie by assault, but was repulsed with heavy loss. A counter-attack by the Americans in mid-September was successfully resisted, though at heavy cost, but the enemy's forces were strengthening and Drummond was pressed back by General Izard, who now had with him about 3,000 men. The British lay at Chippawa but they had the moral backing of Yeo's fleet, now anchored at the mouth of the river. Izard could have driven the British back to Niagara, but he would have been putting his head into a hornet's nest. He attempted a flank movement by the capture of Cook's Mills, twelve miles inland, but the place was too hot to hold.

General Drummond, in reporting the retreat of the enemy from Cook's Mills, wrote on October 20th, 1814, that the American commander (Bissell) seemed very cautious about burning and plundering, "probably admonished by the retaliation at Washington and on the sea-coast."

With this reverse General Izard abandoned the invasion, blew up the fortifications at Fort Erie on November 5th, and went into winter quarters. So far as the harried Niagara frontier was concerned the war was over. The survivors of the weary York militia could go home and make preparations to turn those qualities of resolution, energy and ardent loyalty, which war had revealed as their precious possession, to the building of a great British-Canadian city and Province.

As to the Loyal and Patriotic Society of York the money subscribed was very carefully distributed. At first only those in really destitute circumstances were relieved by weekly doles, but as the fund grew it became possible to recoup some of the settlers whose houses and personal property had been destroyed by raiders. On at least four occasions war had been made against unarmed civilians; at Niagara, when General McClure, of the New York State militia, burned the village; at St. Davids, on July 14th, 1814, where 22 buildings were burned by Colonel Stone; and at the Talbot settlement on May 15th and 16th, 1814, when General McArthur's cavalry ran wild. Said Dr. Strachan in his open letter to Jefferson: "To pass rapidly with a large body of cavalry through a country thinly inhabited and without the means of resistance, to feed upon the defenceless inhabitants, to burn the mills. none of which belonged to Government, and to destroy the provisions and the whole property of respectable men of principle, and then to run away at the first symptom of serious opposition, is no great exploit."

The proposal to grant medals to soldiers taking part in any particulary gallant exploits was found to be unworkable, as might have been expected. A satisfactory list of possible recipients could not be prepared. Nevertheless, the medals were bought, 61 of gold and 548 of silver. Years after they were sold to Paul Bishop, a blacksmith, as bullion, and the proceeds were given to the General Hospital.

During the winter of 1813-14, Yeo and Chauncey fought for the control of Lake Ontario by building ships. The *Prince Regent* and the *Princess Charlotte* of 1,200 and 1,400 tons respectively, were launched at Kingston. The *Superior* and the *Mohawk* slid off the ways at Sackett's Harbor the first a 62 gun ship, the second a powerful frigate. Early in May Drummond and Yeo wanted to fit out an expedition against Sackett's Harbor, but Prévost declined to give them enough men. With the forces available they captured Oswego instead, on May 6th, and destroyed some of the stores intended for the fitting out of Chauncey's new vessels.

On May 30th the British were less fortunate. A party of seamen were sent to Sandy Creek in search of a flotilla of naval stores on the way to the American shipyard. Every man of the party was either killed, wounded or taken prisoner. At last in early summer Chauncey's fleet was in a superior position and he hung off Kingston sending challenges to Yeo, which that crafty Commodore ignored. He was waiting for the launch of his new flagship the *St. Lawrence,* the most remarkable warship ever built on fresh water. She was 190 feet long. Her stem and stern posts were forty feet high. Her main yard alone used up all the timber of a hundred-foot tree. The timber was unseasoned, but the anchors, capstans, rope, sails and the multitudinous fittings were of prime naval quality, brought 3,000 miles across the Atlantic and tracked up the rapids of the St. Lawrence in Durham boats. The ship was pierced for 102 guns, ranged on two gun-decks, and drew 27 feet. On September 21st she was successfully launched, and from that moment Chauncey issued no more challenges. He set to work on a ship to carry 120 guns, but she was never finished. The war was ended on Christmas Eve by the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

Says Samuel Perkins in his Contemporary History of the Late War, published at New Haven: "The political changes in Europe had produced an entirely different view on the subject of the negotiations within the American Cabinet. All expectation of conquest on the Canadian frontier was at an end. The ability of the enemy to ravage and desolate the frontier and seaboard was now alarmingly increased, and with their ability, their disposition to do it had been abundantly manifested. The state of the finances and the public credit had assumed a most unpromising aspect. If peace could be made on the principle of restoring things to the state they were in before the war, there was no possible inducement to continue it. The subject of impressment had now ceased to be of any practical importance. Great Britain having more seamen than she wanted on hand, had no inducement to increase their number from American vessels. It was not expected that she would now yield a point for which she had risked a war under the most unfavorable circumstances."

The War of 1812 was in itself an indefensible and criminal blunder, a tragic consequence of wilful misunderstanding and political jugglery on the one side, and of high manners and tactlessness on the other. The British armies were afflcted by a leader, Governor Prévost, whose vacillation and stupidity betrayed a naval force on Lake Champlain to its destruction and left the land generals with insufficient resources at times of crisis. But Prévost at Quebec was matched by the leaders at Washington, and no British fighting general failed as completely as did General Hull.

The Americans won a series of brilliant naval duels at sea, and secured the command of Lake Erie, but the abdication of Napoleon gave Great Britain a freer hand, and the blockade of the United States coast was soon complete. The capture of Washington by a flying column and the burning of the White House were in reprisal for the burning of the parliament buildings of York.

At Detroit, at Queenston, at Chateauguay and at Lundy's Lane, attempts at the invasion of Canada were made futile by good generalship and brave militiamen and a new spirit of confidence was born among the people of Upper Canada.*

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* The British Government determined in 1847 to issue a medal to the surviving soldiers who had fought the nation's battles between 1793 and 1814. It was called the War Medal; and bore a figure of Victoria crowning the Duke of Wellington with a laurel wreath. The legend was "To the British Army, 1793-1814." The ribbon was scarlet with blue borders, and a clasp was provided for each considerable battle. For the Canadian campaign the clasps were three "Detroit," "Chateauguay" and "Chrystler's Farm." (The word Chrysler's might have been better spelled!) In the Library of the Ontario Legislature there is a manuscript list of the Upper Canadian militia who were granted these medals. The men from York militia companies, which, of course, represented the county as far west as Burlington were as follows: Pte. Charles Armstrong, Pte. Jacob Anderson, Pte. Cornelius Anderson, Pte. Thomas Adams, Lieutenant Charles Askin, Pte. Geo. Bond, Pte. Robt. Bright, Pte. Andrew Borland, Pte. Jacob Brooks, Pte. Geo. Breckindale, Pte. David Bridgford, Pte. John Beattie, Pte. Louis Corbier, Pte. Abm. Corleer, Pte. Chas. Cole, Pte. Geo. Carey, Pte. John Cawthra, Pte. Calvin Davis, Pte. Louis Fontaine, Pte. Bernard Glennon, Pte. Richard Graham, Sergeant Thos. Humberstone, Pte. Andrew Hubbard, Pte. Andrew Heron, Pte. Wm. Harrison, Captain G. B. Hall, Pte. Thos. Johnston, Lieutenant Samuel Peters Jarvis, Sergeant Wm. Knoll, Pte. Andrew Kennedy, Pte. Wm. Kitchen, Pte. Richard Killings, Pte. Asa Lee, Pte. Edw. Lawrence, Pte. Joshua Lecompt, Pte. Geo. Moore, Pte. John McIntosh, Pte. Wm. Moore, Pte. William Meyres, Pte. M. O. Matthews, Pte. Jacob Miller, Pte. Peter Pilkie, Pte. Henry Pringle, Pte. Corn. Plomerfelt, Lieutenant John Beverley Robinson, Pte. Benj. Runnions, Pte. John Ross, Pte. John Smilger, Pte. John Stoner, Pte Abram Stoner, Pte. Saml. Sinclair, Pte. Peter Stoner, Pte. E. W. Thompson. Pte. Andrew Thomson, Pte. Richard Thomson, Pte. John Wilson, Pte. Edward Wright, Pte. John Wells, Pte. Robert Wells, Pte. Simcoe Wright, Pte. Isaac White, Pte. Amos Willcox, Pte. Jacob Yeager.

In 1812, there were 44 houses in York; on Front Street, 8; on Market Street, 15; on King Street, 11; on Newgate Street (now Adelaide) 3; on Hospital Street, (now Richmond) 6; on Lot Street (now Queen) 1. In 1815, according to Joseph Bouchette, there were 300 houses and a population of 2,500, but this doubtless was the estimate of an optimist. Edward Allen Talbot, writing in 1825, found only 250 houses and 1,336 residents. Dr. Bethune said that in 1819 the population was about 1,200.

CHAPTER V.

THE BEGINNING OF AGITATION

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WHEREAS, the glorious and honorable defence of this Province in the war with the United States of America—." So begins the Preamble of an Act passed at the Session of 1815 to give relief to young law students who were prevented by absence on active service from being called to the Bar, and to such young men as were about to be entered as students. The regulations governing entry to the profession were eased for their advantage, even as they were 100 years later for the advantage of their fighting great-grandsons.

During the war Parliament had provided that pensions should be paid to the widows and children of militiamen killed on active service. The amount named was £20 a year. That Act was amended in 1815, broadening the qualifications, but six years later there was still another amendment, as the following quotation explains: "The classes of militia pensioners are greatly increased, so that the public revenue has been found wholly unable to bear the charge thereby incurred." By this Act provision was made "against misrepresentation and deceit" by the appointment of Pension Boards to hear applications, and only the widows of killed or captured soldiers were admitted as beneficiaries.

The sentiment of the country towards Sir Isaac Brock was expressed in the text of the measure for the appropriation of £1,000 to erect a monument to his memory at Queenston: "Whereas at the declaration of war by the United States of America against Great Britain, the government of this Province was administered with great uprightness and ability by the late Sir Isaac Brock; and, whereas, by the wisdom of his counsels, the energy of his character and the vigor with which he carried all his plans into effect, the inhabitants of this Province, at a time when the country was almost destitute of regular troops, were inspired with the fullest confidence in him and in themselves, and were thereby induced most cordially to unite with, and follow him on every operation which he undertook for their defence; and whereas, after having achieved the most brilliant success and performed the most splendid actions, that truly illustrious commander, contending at the head of a small body of regular troops and militia against a very superior force of the enemy, devoted his most valuable life, and whereas the inhabitants of this Province reverencing his character, feel it a tribute due to his memory to express the same by a public and lasting testimonial . . . be it enacted . . . that there be granted £1,000 for the construction and erection at Queenston, near where he fell . .. a monument to the memory of the said Major-General Sir Isaac Brock."

The House named Thomas Dickson, Thomas Clark and Robert Nichol as Commissioners to supervise the erection of the memorial.

The cost of living had been raised materially by the incidence of war. Wheat was 10s. a bushel, and flour £3 10s. a barrel. Peas, barley and rye were 7s 6d per bushel; oats 5s. Hay was £5 per ton, straw £3. Live cattle were £2 5s. per hundredweight; beef in the carcass, 7½d. per pound; pork

7 1-2d, mutton, 9d, veal, 8d, salt pork £7 10s per barrel. Butter brought 1s 3d and a 4-pound loaf of bread sold for 1s 6d.

The destruction of the Parliament buildings and the Government offices caused so much inconvenience that the question of the suitability of York as the capital of Upper Canada was re-opened. Governor Gore, in writing to Lord Bathurst on May 30th, 1815, said that he had received the letter requesting him to report on the most eligible place for the seat of Government, and the suggestion that Kingston seemed more desirable than York. The Governor, without expressing an opinion on the proposal, pointed out the hardships that would be caused by such a change. He reminded the Minister that on the removal from Newark to York, then a wilderness, the officials had received grants of land which by the expenditure of money had now become valuable. If York were abandoned these lands would become of little value. He trusted, therefore, that if the Government officers were obliged to make a third establishment some compensation might be granted.

Mr. John Beverley Robinson and Dr. John Strachan each drafted elaborate arguments opposing the proposed transfer, which were sent to Lord Bathurst. Dr. Strachan expressed the opinion that the suggestion must have been made to His Majesty's Government by some military adviser who had never considered its expediency or its consistency with the general policy since the foundation of the Province. In case of a sudden emergency the Legislature would not be able to meet if Kingston were chosen as the capital, since the communications would be interrupted. York was in the middle of the Province and was easily accessible. Dr. Strachan mentioned the excellent influence of the emergency Session which had been held without enemy hindrance early in 1812, and which fanned the loyalty of the Province into a flame. He continued: "Already respectable people are speaking of selling their lands and leaving the country, convinced that the removal of the Government to Kingston is preparatory to the desertion of the western part of the Province." He also protested against the impoverishment of Government officials by making it necessary for them to desert their homes.

This view of the position of the First Families of York was continually overlooked by the critics of Government and of Government officers. When Governor Simcoe determined to build a capital forty miles beyond the last outpost of civilization on the sands of Burlington, most of his officers were established comfortably at Niagara, and doubtless, lost money by the removal. D. W. Smith was recouped by the sale of his house to the Government, but there was no such good fortune for Peter Russell, and others. William Jarvis's house at Niagara was burned in his absence. Besides, a considerable outlay was required in order to make the York estates habitable. Probably the first Government officials of Upper Canada had demerits, but it is by no means certain that they were avaricious land-grabbers. They spent their own money to make the new town possible and were not free from embarrassment in consequence of the necessary outlay. Long after the establishment of the town they were still in danger of losing everything by a whim of the British Government, and not until thirty years had elapsed were the successors of the original grantees in a way to become wealthy.

At the time of the war the Lieutenant-Governor lived in a spacious house close to the Garrison. As this was burned at the time of Chauncey's raid on April 27th, 1813, the British authorities authorized the purchase of Elmsley House, built by the second Chief Justice of the Colony. It was situated on the southwest corner of King and Simcoe Streets, and here Governor Gore set up his Court when he returned from England in 1815, to bask in the praises of the Tory coterie.

After the capture of Fort Niagara the Legislature had appropriated £175 to purchase swords of honor for Colonel Murray, Inspecting Field Officer of Militia, and Captain Kerby of the Incorporated Militia, who had greatly distinguished themselves in the assault. Major Kerby's letter of appreciation which was read in the Assembly on March 6th, 1816, has all the stately formality of the times: "Should I ever hereafter be called upon to draw it in defence of His Majesty's Government, or of this Province, the recollection of this flattering remark (mark) of the approbation of my former services will animate my future exertions." Colonel Battersby, of the Glengarry Fencibles, was also honored with a sword.

Coincident with the ardent sentiment of patriotism as shown in the Legislature, appeared a resolution to make pro-Americans feel the displeasure of the majority. The Assembly passed a rigorous bill "to punish persons who may have violated their allegiance to His Majesty during the late war." The Legislative Council requested a conference by a Joint Committee with reference to the last clause, which declared that persons giving their parole voluntarily to the enemy should be subjected to the same punishment as for High Treason.

When it was made clear in Committee that such a law would prevent prisoners of war from being released on parole the Assembly consented to the expunging of the clause. But there was a vigorous determination to prevent further trouble by barring the way to Americans who desired to take up land in Upper Canada. Settlers were needed, but the Government preferred immigration from the British Isles.

"During the war," said Rev. Dr. Strachan, writing in 1818, "the danger of the promiscuous introduction of settlers from the States was most severely felt. In several districts where they were the majority, or supposed themselves to be so, rebellion was organized. This was particularly the case in the London District, and would have been still more so in the Home District, but for the prompt energy of a few."

Those who thought there was no more danger of war believed that the restriction of immigration was unwise, but unfortunately they held the same opinion as a group of land-speculators whose motives for the advocacy of an Open Door were too obvious to escape notice. The Government officials preferred to be cautious. They had learned their lesson in 1812.

The conflict between the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council was resumed with undiminished energy during the session of 1816. On February 1st Ralfe Clench, Member for Second Lincoln, was escorted to his seat in the Assembly by the sergeant at arms, and on motion of Mr. Durand and Mr. Mears, the House determined that "Ralf Clench, Esq., shall apologize to this House for his intemperate warmth this day, in animadverting on the conduct of an Hon. Member of this House respecting a motion made by him in his place in this House." The vote was 12 to 7. Then Mr. Durand, seconded by Mr. Mears, moved that it be resolved "that the House are satisfied with the apology made by Ralf Clench, Esq., this day to the House." Chrysler, Nichol and Burwell voted in the negative. One can almost see the three gloomily resolute in their corner.

Intemperate warmth appeared to be common. On March 26th Robert Nichol, member for Norfolk made this apology: "Mr. Speaker: From respect towards this House and an anxious desire to comply with all the orders, I in obedience to their commands, have to apologize to this House for the expressions made use of by me on this floor yesterday, and which, with propriety, may be understood to apply to some Hon. Members thereof, and I am sorry that my intentions should be so construed as to have hurt the feelings of any Hon. Member of this House." The Journal adds: "And received a reprimand from the Speaker."

The nature of this dispute is explained in the resolution of the Assembly passed on February 23rd: "That the Commons have with much regret to complain of the interference of the Honorable the Legislative Council with their most important privileges, inasmuch as they have sent down a Bill to the Commons, requiring their concurrence thereto, which from its essence and import, could only constitutionally, originate in the Commons House of Parliament, because that the Bill in question purports to affect the Revenue of this Province; the Commons considering it their exclusive right to originate all Bills of this nature."

Third reading was reported on February 26th of a Bill to "authorize and provide for the building of a gaol and court house in the Town of York."

On March 7th, 1816, at the request of the Legislative Council, the Assembly appointed a committee to confer with a Council Committee as to the means for procuring copies of the Journals of both Houses, which were burned by the enemy during the war. As a result a Joint Address was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor requesting him to procure the copies and giving assurance that Parliament would make good any expense incurred.

During the Session of 1816 the Assembly appointed a Committee Select on Finance of which Robert Nichol was Chairman. The report of that Committee was received on March 26th and in summary was as follows: That the Revenue from ascertained sources for the current year would amount to more than £54,000. That the unascertained revenue was derived from various sources; duties on articles imported from the United States, licenses to hawkers and pedlars, fines and forfeitures, arrears of duties imposed in Lower Canada on articles passing Coteau du Lac between Feb. 15th, 1813, and April 25th, 1814. The Committee complained of the backwardness of certain Collectors in remitting the public money in hand. The outstanding balance in 1814 was £1,966 16s 10½d; in 1815 it had reached "the enormous sum of £4,422 1s 1½d." When to this amount was added the whole of the duties on shop, tavern and still licenses issued on and after January 5th, 1816, the total would be nearly £10,000.

"The evil to be apprehended from suffering the accumulation of these balances, exclusive of the loss of the use of the money to the Province, is that it may be a temptation to individual Inspectors to apply the money to their private purposes, by which it might not be in their power to pay it in if suddenly called for."

The Committee was surprised to find that nothing had been done in consequence of the different Addresses of the House of Assembly with respect to the £2,144 11s 4d delivered up to the enemy at the time of the capture of York, and which had been charged entirely to the Provincial Treasury.

One more address was prepared on this subject: "The Commons House of Assembly have, for two years past, endeavored, though without success, to procure the payment of the sum of Two Thousand One Hundred and Fifty-Four Pounds, Eleven Shillings and Fourpence, which it is contended was improperly charged against the revenue of this Province by the representatives of the late Receiver General. We have ascertained, may it please Your Excellency, that a considerable part of the above sum was Crown Revenue and therefore it could not with propriety be charged against the Province. The Commons House of Assembly, being desirous of having the business finally settled, humbly request that Your Excellency will take such steps as to you will seem meet to have the said sum of Two Thousand One Hundred and Forty-Four Pounds, Eleven Shillings and Fourpence, returned into the Public Chest." His Excellency promised "due consideration," but nothing happened.

The Speech from the Throne delivered on February 6th, 1816, had contained a paragraph admitting that the District Schools as established by law were not providing sufficient advantages for the youth of the Province. "The dissemination of letters is of the first importance to every class; and to aid in so desirable an object I wish to call your attention to some provision for an establishment of schools in each Township, which shall afford the first principles to the children of the inhabitants and prepare such of them as may require further instruction to receive it in the District Schools. From them it seems desirable that there should be a resort to a Provincial Seminary for the youth who may be destined for the professions, or other distinguished walks of life, where they might attain the higher branches of education."

The legislation which followed this announcement is Chapter 36 of the Statutes of 1816, and is the real beginning of the school system of the Province of Ontario. The Government proposed an appropriation of £6,000 to aid in the establishment of Common Schools. The allotment to the various Judicial Districts was as follows: Home, £600; Newcastle, £400; Midland, £1,000; Johnstown, £600; Eastern, £800; London, £600; Gore, £600; Niagara, £600; Western, £600; Ottawa, £200. As soon as a competent number of persons should unite to build or provide a schoolhouse, and engage to furnish 20 pupils or more, they were empowered to name three trustees who would have the right to appoint a teacher, provided that he were a British subject. The trustees were to have authority to make regulations for the government of the school and to dismiss the teacher if his work were not satisfactory or his character were open to question.

A district Board of Education was to be formed to which reports as to the work of each school were to be made quarterly. A teacher "on producing a certificate of having well-demeaned himself," would be entitled to his proper proportion of the Government grant, which was not to exceed £25 annually.

The Common School Bill was drafted by a committee under the chairmanship of James Durand. The preliminary report of that committee declared that the District School institutions had fallen short of expectations, that the people among themselves had shown a laudable zeal to promote education and that this zeal should be fostered and encouraged by Government. The Committee also expressed the opinion that a University "should hereafter be established" where the Arts and Sciences might be taught to the youth "of all denominations."

An instance of this zeal had been given in particular by the people of Williamstown, in the County of Glengarry, who had erected at a cost of £300 a frame schoolhouse, 40 feet long, 30 feet wide and 16 feet in the height of the walls, opening it on January 2nd, 1815. The names of these educational pioneers were Alexander Mackenzie, D. Macpherson, Donald Fraser, Peter Ferguson and John Wright.

The session of 1816 had only just opened when a petition was received from the magistrates and inhabitants of Kingston declaring that the existing laws were insufficient to effect the repairing and improving of the streets, keeping them clean, paving the foot-paths, and preventing irregularities frequently committed by persons on horseback and in carriages. Much evil had resulted from the want of authority to form fire companies, to compel householders to keep fire-buckets and ladders, to fix the size of bread, or to prevent cattle running at large in the streets. In view of these conditions Parliament was requested to pass a law establishing a Police. York as well as Kingston suffered from these same inconveniences.

The Petition of Sundry Merchants of the Towns of Kingston and York presented to the Assembly on February 16th, 1816, is a document of historical importance: "Your petitioners are building a steamboat of fifty horsepower for the purpose of transporting stores and merchandise from Prescott to Kingston, or any other place on the borders of Lake Ontario, within this Province. This boat will also be fitted up in the best manner for the accommodation of passengers and will possess all those advantages to be derived from a comfortable, secure and speedy voyage, without dependance upon the winds. The expenditure necessary to complete the steamboat will be nearly twelve thousand pounds, and in case of any interference from foreign vessels of the same or any other description might be ruinous to many who hold shares.

"Your Petitioners therefore pray that all foreign vessels navigating by steam or otherwise may be prohibited by law from carrying in any manner from one port within the waters of Lake Ontario to another port within the same waters in this Province.

"And as your Petitioners will, after the boat is completed, be still at very great expense, and as they have run much risk in venturing their capital for the public good and the improvement of the water navigation, they also pray that for a short term of years they may be favored with an exclusive privilege to navigate by steam the waters from Prescott to Queenston within this Province."

"Thomas Markland and Others" signed the petition. No action was taken but in due time the steamer *Frontenac* appeared.

The enormous sum of £3,000 was appropriated by Parliament to purchase a service of plate as a testimonial to Governor Gore. Ribald persons afterwards referred to the legislation as "Governor Gore's Silver Spoon Bill." Perhaps the best proof that Gore was a weakling is given by his willingness to accept this testimonial at a time when the Province was suffering for good roads, and other public works, and when hundreds of abler and more useful citizens had been disabled by the war which the Governor had surveyed from the safe shore of England.

In view of the practical destruction of the Public Library at the time of the American raid, Parliament appropriated £800 to buy books.

The elections for the Seventh Parliament were held in 1816 and Peter Robinson was chosen for the East Riding of the County of York.

The successful application of Kingston for a measure of municipal control over the streets of the town encouraged the town of York to petition the Legislature in 1817 for similar control, declaring over the signature of Duncan Cameron, J. P., and forty-two others that the increasing population and importance of the seat of the Provincial Government, required more energetic and efficient police regulation than the Magistrates considered themselves authorized by the laws then in force to enact.

James Durand, who sat for the newly-formed County of Wentworth, had been a member of the previous Parliament, and had been active in opposition to the Government party. His election address, printed in the Niagara "Spectator" of February 14th, 1817, was written with much freedom of criticism and stirred the anger of his opponents. Accordingly, the document was brought officially to the notice of the House.

The Address reviewed the "boisterous times" when the writer had first become a Member of Parliament: "The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, Martial Law was conditionally proclaimed, the troubles of war were upon our country, we were without a civil Governor, and Military men, changing every few months, were at the head of the Administration. You all know well the situation of those times and how the Military domineered over the community, and you also know what little satisfaction you could have obtained when applying to the Magistracy for the protection of the law; the Habeas Corpus Act being suspended seems to close the lips of most people; and the instances were rare of any man who would presume to dispute the mandates of commanding officers.

"Your political vessel, freighted with your laws and liberties, was blown about to and fro at the will of the military storm, and your seamen and pilots, (the Magistrates) had abandoned her to the merciless tempest. It was then, my friends, when the troubled seas ran high, that I offered my little barque to you to tow her into port; 'twas then I launched my pinnace from the shore to use my humble efforts for you, when no larger barque would show its head."

In this florid strain the Address proceeded, citing the alleged threat of General Vincent to burn the houses over the heads of those militiamen who did not obey his call, the menaces of other officers, and the action of Colonel James of the Thirty-seventh Regiment, stationed at Burlington, who placed military guards on all the roads with orders to stop all sleighs with provisions on board and seize them for military stores.

Then Mr. Durand reviewed his course of action in the House when he had moved for a public inquiry into these circumstances, and also into "the shameful state of the York gaol." He gave at length the reply of Sir Gordon Drummond intimating that all extraordinary measures taken were based on necessity for the defence of the Province, and he reviewed a speech which he had delivered in the House in opposition to a renewal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

The Address continued: "This was the Session of Parliament for trying the stuff of the members; it was a time the like we may never see again in our days, and fairly tried the mettle of the men chosen by the public. No plough would work well in those rocky days unless well-steeled, and I soon found those that were laid only with iron. The member for the West Riding of York, John Willson, at this juncture told me that times were too dangerous for a man to open his mouth, and went away a few days after the sitting commenced and never returned to his duty during that important session, leaving the Road Money for his District to go where it liked, and the welfare of the country to take its fate; and yet this corrupt man had the barefacedness to accuse me with being away only two days during the last session. . . . I likewise opposed the old District School Bill, brought in unprecedentedly twice in the last session; first with one thousand pounds a year additional for supporting a few students in Divinity, and lastly with five hundred pounds a year for the same purpose, leaving it in such a way that the teachers were to have their salaries whether they had one scholar or not; and behold, we find that immaculate reformed, refined gentleman, loyal Squire Inspector, John Willson of Saltfleet, the man to second this notorious bill. But I crave his mercy; he was not the refined gentleman, Squire Inspector John, until after he had done this and several other things as preparatory proofs of toolship. To the honor of the majority of the House this Bill was rejected with contempt."

In concluding Mr. Durand dwelt at some length upon his own reputation and public record and developed the following peroration: "The happiness of the people is the strength of the State, and their happiness consists in the absence of taxation, simplicity of manners, and proper respect for religion, morality and the laws of their country. Once more, then, Friends, I invite you to favor me with the Honor of your suffrages; and by a long, strong, bold pull, at one time convince the tools of corruption that the path to the people's patronage is honest, independent conduct."

Mr. Durand's seat in the House was scarcely warm when Mr. Nichol, seconded by Mr. Burwell, moved that James Durand, having been proved to be the author of a false, malicious and scandalous libel, reflecting seriously on the conduct of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the former House of Assembly and of individuals who are now Members of this House, be committed to the Common Gaol of the Home District during the present Session.

Probably the party division in the Assembly may best be shown by the vote on this motion: *Yea*: Nelles, McCormick, Jones, Robinson, Van Koughnet, Cameron, Macdonell, Burwell, Swayzie, Nichol, Hall, Clench. *Nay*: Cornwall, Howard, MacNab, Casey, McMartin, Cotter, Secord, Burnham and Fraser—12 to 9.

Always in time of war, the liberties of the subject are likely to be invaded for the defence of the State. If the Government has the confidence of the people such invasion will be accepted willingly, provided proper provision is made for the payment of damages so inflicted. The weakness of autocracy rests in the difficulty it is under in satisfying the civilian mind that military necessities are necessary. The Government of Upper Canada was an irresponsible autocracy, but it was in the main an honest autocracy, and judging by the events of the war, an efficient one. As in the case of John Mills Jackson the supporters of the Administration were too easily perturbed by criticism and doubtless too severe in their treatment of the critic.

Mr. Durand did not wait for the execution of the Speaker's warrant for his commitment. In consequence he was adjudged guilty of high contempt and a flagrant breach of privilege, was expelled from the House and declared incapable of serving in the present Parliament. The motion carried by a majority of one. But Mr. Durand was re-elected by Wentworth and was sworn in once more at the beginning of the Session of 1818.

Hon. Samuel Smith became Administrator of the Province in 1817 and in his Speech at the opening of Parliament in February of the following year suggested the advisability of resuming the former practice of setting aside annually a sum towards the building of Public Offices. Mr. Burwell and Mr. Van Koughnet were appointed by the Assembly to confer with the Legislative Council on that portion of the Administrator's Address.

After the destruction of the Parliament Buildings in 1813, the brick walls had been repaired and the place refitted to serve as a barracks. Temporary accommodation was provided for the Legislature, first at Frank's Hotel on King Street, near Berkeley, and then in a house owned by William Firth, situated at the corner of York and Wellington Streets. There was some thought of buying this property. Mr. Firth's legal representative, Dr. W. W. Baldwin, offered the house and the front one-acre for £1,000, or the whole parcel of two acres and buildings for £1,100. Owing to a flaw in the title, due to a clerical error in a former bill of sale, the offer was declined and a rental of £130 was paid for the use of the premises.

Accordingly the two Houses appointed Peter Robinson and Grant Powell as Commissioners to secure plans and erect suitable buildings on the site of the "elegant halls" destroyed by the Americans. The appropriation of plans was £157 10., for the construction £1,500, for extras £333 13s. 7d., a total of £1,991 3s. 7d.—approximately $8,000. The Buildings were opened in 1820 and served the needs of Parliament until December 30th, 1824, when they were destroyed by fire. A defective smoke-flue was the cause. The furniture and the library were saved but some records were consumed.

To-day the site of this nursery of Democracy, where the pageantry of a Georgian Court was wont to appear, in contrast with the workaday homespun garb and manners of the pioneers, is a dreary waste, bounded by the dull retorts of a gas plant, by dusty coal yards, and by tottering buildings. Only as one looks out over the Bay is it possible to reconstruct the pleasant scene that met the eyes of our grandfathers when this square was the heart of Ontario.

The extravagant adulation of Governor Gore by the official class of York was probably caused by the vigorous criticism of him among the reforming element of the population. He had many social qualities. He was good-humored and convivial so long as his authority was unquestioned, and so long as the wisdom of his measures was admitted, but he would brook no opposition and the popular discontent aroused by his administration brought unpopularity to the men who supported him. In 1817, on April 7th, he arbitrarily prorogued Parliament, thus "sending the rascals about their business."

He was succeeded in 1818 by Sir Peregrine Maitland, who held office for ten years, continued the custom of his predecessors in insisting upon every Crown prerogative, and greatly intensified the popular discontent.

Sir Peregrine Maitland was a handsome personage with an air of amiable melancholy (possibly after Byron.) It is not surprising that Lady Sarah, second daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and Lennox ran away from the Ducal residence in order to marry him. Reconciliation soon followed and the Duke became fond of his son-in-law. The Maitlands were present at one of the famous entertainments of history—the Duchess of Richmond's Ball, given at Brussels in June, 1815, on the eve of the Battle of Waterloo. On that famous field Sir Peregrine was in command of the first brigade of the first British Division, composed of the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the First Foot Guards, a fact that will indicate his reputation and experience as a soldier.

Robert Gourlay, a Fifeshire laird, had married in 1807 Jean Henderson, a niece of Hon. Robert Hamilton of Queenston, who brought him 400 acres of land in the Norfolk district. In Scotland he had revealed an itch for controversy and an insistence upon his own opinion that made him many enemies and caused him acute financial embarrassment. In 1817 he resolved to visit Canada and view his property. He landed at Quebec in May of that year, walked from Montreal to York and interviewed many settlers with the object of securing information for a Statistical Account of the Colony which he had a mind to write. He continued his pedestrian journey through to the Talbot settlement, and thence to Niagara, and the Genesee country of New York State.

Returning to Niagara he prepared a list of questions which he determined to send to the leaders of each settlement so that the results of his observations could be checked by men familiar with the actual conditions of life in each community. For the most part the questions related to the conveniences or lack of conveniences for the settler, such as the number of mills, the availability of brick-clay, the crops, the possibility of securing supplies. It was exactly the sort of questionnaire that any statistician of experience and ability might send out.

Gen. SIR. PEREGRINE MAITLAND K.C.B.
Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada.
1818. - 1828.

Sir Peregrine Maitland
From the painting in the John Ross Robertson Collection

Gourlay submitted his queries and the Address to Resident Landholders which accompanied it to Judge Powell, Dr. Grant Powell, D'Arcy Boulton and his three sons, the Jarvises, Colonel Cameron, Colonel White, Captain Fitz Gibbon and others, finding no one critical of his design or of the nature of the inquiries. Dr. John Strachan alone took exception to one question requesting the settlers to state what in their opinion retarded the progress of the townships and the Colony. Let it be remembered that Gourlay was a Scottish Radical, and Strachan a Scottish Conservative; that the latter had wearied of agitation which in war-time had crystallized into sedition and treason, and which came for the most part from those regions of the country which had been chiefly settled by Americans. Naturally Strachan doubted the wisdom of inviting criticism of the Government during the post-war period which was difficult enough.

Despite his protest the address was published in the Upper Canada Gazette at York on October 30th, 1817, and most of the community-leaders answered the questions. Nothing came from York, where the influence of Dr. Strachan was exceedingly strong. Immediately Gourlay trailed off into vituperation. He spoke of Strachan as "a monstrous little fool of a parson, rogue would have been nearer the truth." Strachan, in turn, said of Gourlay, in a private letter "This man I must always consider as a wicked and malignant person who had no regard for the truth, and composed and published the most venomous and unfeeling slander."

Probably one of these "slanders" was the Second Address, published in the Niagara *Spectator* on February 12th, 1818, which said that the Province was in a state of waste and decay while Little York was "dull, dirty and disgusting." The Third Address, which was in no milder vein, appeared on April 2nd, 1818.

The natural result in those times was a prosecution for seditious libel, first at Kingston and then at Brockville. Both prosecutions failed, a fact which may indicate the popular sympathy for the offender. But the administration had recourse to the Alien Act of 1804, which legalized the deportation of "suspicious foreigners" who had not lived in the Province for six months and who had not taken the oath of allegiance. According to the letter of the Act Gourlay could be instructed to leave the Province, and if he refused, could be imprisoned. Meanwhile he had arranged for a series of meetings to protest against the mis-government of the Province. That move was countered by Parliament in the passage of the famous "gagging act" of 1818. It was an Act to make illegal meetings purporting to represent the people or any description of the people under the pretence of deliberating upon matters of public concern, or of preparing and presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, declarations and other addresses to the King, or to both or either of the Houses of Parliament for alterations of matters established by law or redress of alleged grievances in Church or State.

To us in these times such legislation was merely hideous tyranny. So it appeared to Gourlay, who was at least fifty years before his day in political thought. So it appeared to the friends of Gourlay who were chafing under grievances, real or alleged. How it was regarded by the Government, sworn to maintain tranquillity in the Province, may be judged by the following extract from the speech of Sir Peregrine Maitland in proroguing Parliament: "You have afforded seasonable aid to the Constitution by your Bill intituled, 'An Act for preventing certain Meetings within this Province.' It is a subject for regret that the Constitution should have stood in need of such aid, but let us hope that the good disposition of His Majesty's subjects will put an early period to this unhappy necessity. If any portion of the people of this Province be indeed aggrieved, they are well aware that a dutiful Petition proceeding from themselves would find easy access to the foot of His Majesty's Throne."

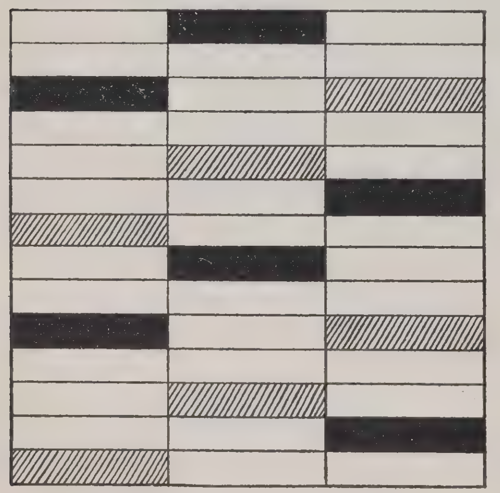
Gourley retorted with a couplet

"A babe of mighty Wellington, come o'er the sea,
Hath with thy own foul fingers gagged thee."

On his refusal to leave the Province he was imprisoned at Niagara, tried under the Alien Act and deported to the United States. He was again in Canada in 1835 and though he never ceased proclaiming his grievances he refused to join the Rebellion of 1837.

Robert Gourlay had the mind and the diligence to do a useful thing for the Province in his day, but he continually aroused antagonism. Hard usage was his portion but perhaps his temperament, his tongue and his pen invited it. His influence in forming the free Democracy now known as the Dominion of Canada cannot be denied. He was one of three useful men in the early life of Canada, John Mills Jackson, Robert Gourlay and William Lyon Mackenzie—all disturbers of the peace at a time when, probably, the peace needed disturbing.

Gourlay's excellent Statistical Account of Upper Canada contained a map, in a corner of which appeared a diagram of the method of laying out land in the Colony. Since the Clergy Reserves were the subject of a long and acrimonious political discussion, the diagram is worth reproducing:



This represents a Township divided into 42 lots. Six, the dark-shaded ones, were reserved for the support "of a Protestant clergy," and six, the light-shaded ones, were held as Crown lands. The difficulty of road-building, when two-sevenths of the land was left unsettled is obvious.

The colonizing lord, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, founded a settlement of Scottish folk at Kildonan on the Red River in 1811. It was the first attempt to sow the seeds of civilization on the great plains and naturally it was resented by Indians and fur-traders. Since Lord Selkirk owned a majority of the Hudson's Bay Company stock, no effective objection could come from that source, but the Company's great rival, the North-West Company of Montreal harassed the settlers until a little war broke out. Selkirk's representative, Governor Semple, and twenty-one others were slain by Indians and North-

West voyageurs at Seven Oaks, near Kildonan, in June, 1816, and for a time the settlement was ended.

When the news reached Lord Selkirk he came to York, surrounded himself with some disbanded soldiers and started west by way of Georgian Bay. On his arrival at Fort William, the chief post of the North-West Company, he produced warrants for the arrest of the servants of the Company, but went further by seizing the Fort itself and commandeering the supplies.

The Company, after vainly seeking at York a warrant for the Earl's arrest, found François Bâby of Sandwich in a more complaisant frame of mind and secured authority for His Lordship's arrest on a charge of stealing 83 guns, the property of the Company. Dr. Mitchell, J.P., of Drummond Island, was also prevailed upon to issue a warrant against him for rioting.

William Smith, deputy sheriff of the Western District, centred at Sandwich, went to Fort William to arrest Selkirk but found himself arrested instead and kept a close prisoner at the Fort until May, 1817, when the Earl set out to meet his accusers. He took a sufficiently roundabout route, by way of St. Louis, Washington, Baltimore, and New York, thence by Albany and Buffalo to York, arriving in January, 1818, and having dinner on the first day with his old friend Chief Justice William Dummer Powell.

Word was sent by the Judge to D'Arcy Boulton, attorney-general, that Selkirk would wait upon him, and at the interview Mr. Boulton informed the Earl that he had instructions from England to institute criminal proceedings against him at Sandwich. Thither the colonizer repaired. The Grand Jury reported No Bill in the theft case, but committed him for trial for riot, resistance to arrest and assault on the body of William Smith, the unlucky deputy sheriff. He was acquitted.

Then at York during the October assizes, 1818, began a series of trials growing out of the Seven Oaks massacre. François F. Boucher and Paul Brown were charged with the murder of Governor Semple. The counsel prosecuting were John Beverley Robinson, the newly-appointed attorney-general, and Henry John Boulton, solicitor-general. For the defence appeared Samuel Sherwood, Levius P. Sherwood and Dr. W. W. Baldwin. The men were acquitted on a plea that they had acted in self-defence.

Then civil cases instituted by William Smith and Daniel MacKenzie, the latter of the North-West Company, were tried, and Selkirk was compelled to pay damages of £500 and £1,500 respectively. It has been said, and often repeated, that the Court officials were under the domination of the North-West Company and that the trials were a travesty. Mr. Justice William Renwick Riddell has declared, after a careful study of the Court proceedings, that the general impression has been wrong. In his opinion justice was not perverted. More, the whole trial was " a model of propriety and fairness." It was a *cause célèbre* in the Province of Upper Canada.

Dr. Strachan had the belief that Lord Selkirk was in the wrong throughout, and wrote a vigorous pamphlet setting forth that opinion. Of this pamphlet he said in a letter subsequent to the publication: "My motive was entirely disinterested, and had nothing to do with the Earl's rivalship with the North-West Company, of the propriety of the fur trade. In this contest I was a neutral spectator, taking no step on either side, though I knew then as well as I do now that His Lordship was the aggressor."

Mr. Samuel Peters Jarvis went to Quebec in the summer of 1815 to establish his youngest sister there at boarding-school. He was requested by Mrs. Thomas Ridout to take her daughter with him and make arrangements with Miss Ridout's brother in Quebec, Mr. Thomas G. Ridout of the Commissary Department of Government, to put the girls under his protection.

Mr. Ridout undertook the commission and consented to pay Miss Jarvis's accounts as they came due and draw upon her brother at York for settlement. During the following year Mrs. Ridout went to Quebec and in some unfortunate manner received the impression that Mr. Jarvis was not repaying her son. She told the story and it reached the ears of the supposed offender. Immediately he wrote to her husband, the surveyor-general, demanding a contradiction. Instead of inquiring into the facts, Ridout handed the letter to his son George, who wrote in reply to Jarvis that he was ready to ansuer for any imaginary injury Mr. Jarvis had received from any member of the Ridout family.

Those were peppery times. Immediately Jarvis demanded an apology or a hostile meeting "on Saturday morning next, seven o'clock, at the five mile meadow opposite Brown's Point," on the Niagara River. Ridout accepted, if he could reach the place on time, but accident prevented the duel and a hollow reconciliation was effected through the good offices of Rev. Dr. Strachan.

In 1817, John Ridout, a law-student in his brother's office, was conducting a civil suit against Samuel Jarvis's father, and the younger Jarvis was trying to make a settlement out of court. A quarrel arose. Ridout was ordered out of Jarvis's office. Later, on the street there was a fight. Ridout struck Jarvis with a heavy cane, breaking the bones of his right hand, and the injured man retaliated by knocking Ridout down. Captain Fitz Gibbon, of Beaver Dams fame, and Dr. Robert Horne stopped the conflict.

A few days later Mr. James E. Small, acting as John Ridout's second, called upon Samuel Jarvis with a challenge. He accepted, and named Henry John Boulton, son of the attorney-general, as his friend. Mr. Boulton was a practising lawyer, and the law, which he was sworn to guard, was very clear on the subject of duelling. But social custom overrode the law, as so frequently it does.

The meeting took place next morning on the Elmsley property, near the present corner of College and Yonge Streets. It was a showery dawn, and the party waited in a barn for a better light. Then the principals were placed eight yards apart and were instructed that the signal would be "1, 2, 3, Fire." At the count of "2" Ridout fired and missed. He was rebuked by his second for the apparent foul, but he asked for another pistol. According to the *Code* that was impossible. He had to stand to Jarvis's fire. A moment later he was mortally wounded.

Jarvis was tried for murder before Chief Justice Powell. The jury was out only a few minutes returning with a verdict of Not Guilty.

The late Chief Justice Falconbridge, cited by Mr. Justice Riddell, declared that for years the poor lad's mother regularly waited at the door of St. James's Church to curse Henry John Boulton for his part in seconding the "murderer" of her son.

Not all the quarrels in this touchy York society had so tragic an ending. Colonel Macdonell, who was slain with Brock at Queenston, had a sharp difference in April, 1812, with Dr. W. W. Baldwin. The two men crossed the Bay to Gibraltar Point but their better sense prevailed. Macdonell refused to fire at his old friend, and Baldwin fired in the air, after which they shook hands with some cordiality—and perhaps also with some relief.

An interesting picture of York in 1819 is given by Rev. Dr. A. N. Bethune in his Memoir of Bishop Strachan: "We crossed the Don over a strong wooden bridge, and after half a mile's drive alighted at Mr. D. Forest's Inn, the best in the place, though Jordan's, nearly opposite, notwithstanding its low, shabby exterior, was the more popular one. There were a few scattered houses on King Street as far up as the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor (at King and Simcoe Streets) and on Front Street, at long intervals, they reached nearly to the old garrison. There were also a few on Duke, Yonge and Queen Streets. There were but three brick edifices in the town, and exclusive of the military the population was about 1,200." Dr. Bethune spoke with approval of the society of the place, declaring that York contained not fewer than 20 families "of the highest respectability."

Dr. Strachan's house was burned in 1815, and soon afterwards he found himself in a position to acquire a lot on Front Street between York and Simcoe Streets. On this property, and directly opposite the entrance to the present Union Station, he built a commodious brick house of Georgian design, long known as the Palace. Robertson's "Landmarks" declares that it was the first edifice constructed of brick that had been burned in Toronto. It was completed in 1818. Up to this time, with the exception of the the old Parliament Buildings, the only brick buildings consisted of stores on the corner of King and Frederick Streets. One was occupied by Quetton St. George, general merchant, and the other served after 1821 for the Bank of Upper Canada.

In 1820 St. James's Church was enlarged at a cost of £1,700. The sale of the pews covered the indebtedness, and the church had now become an imposing edifice, sixty-six feet long, sixty feet wide, and with a "neat steeple." There were galleries but no vestry and the rector was forced to robe for the service at the foot of the pulpit stairs in full view of the congregation. There were 64 communicants. By 1845 the Sunday School had eighty pupils, 30 girls and 50 boys, and the girls were taught by the three grand-daughters of Chief Justice Campbell.

The clerk was Mr. Fenton, who formerly had been a Wesleyan local preacher. He had an odd habit of writing pungent criticisms of the sermons he heard and then absent-mindedly leaving the slips of paper in his place—greatly to the satisfaction of the young folk who made a point of looking for them. During 1820 Bishop Mountain came from Quebec on an official visit and met all the Anglican clergy in Upper Canada—sixteen in number. By 1818 the Methodists of York had erected a meeting house on

King Street, west of Jordan Street, where the head office of the Canadian Bank of Commerce now stands. The frame building was at first 40 feet square, but soon it was enlarged to 52 by 40.

Dr. Strachan, who had been named as an Executive Councillor in 1815, was honored in 1820 by nomination to the Legislative Council and soon became the spokesman of the Administration in the Upper House.

The legal profession was growing in numbers and in importance and during Michaelmas Term in 1820 the Law Society passed the following resolution: "That the Society so apply a sum of money, not exceeding £500, in the erection of a building for their use, to be called Osgoode Hall, on the area opposite the Church, lately purchased by them."

No definite action was taken until 1825. In that year the members asked the Government for a suitable grant in aid, and pledged £2,000 towards the erection of the building. Then a lack of agreement with respect to the site caused delay. Some of those interested considered that Russell Square on the northwest corner of King and Simcoe Streets was the proper location. Ultimately that notion was abandoned and the Square became the site of Upper Canada College. On May 2nd, 1828, the Society unanimously resolved that the purchase of six acres from the Attorney-General (John Beverley Robinson) in front of his Park lot be carried into effect without delay, the sum agreed for by the Society with him being £1,000 (currency), or $4,000.

There were two views concerning the nature of the building to be erected. Mr. D'Arcy Boulton, Jr., would have preferred a small structure suitable only for the needs of the time, which would have cost perhaps £700. Mr. Robinson considered that it would be better to spend £3,000 on the "central edifice of future buildings to be extended laterally as the increase of the Society may hereafter require." The latter plan was adopted and John Ewart was ordered to build under the direction of Dr. W. W. Baldwin and Mr. Boulton, Jr.

The work lagged, but on April 29th, 1830, a resolution of the Society favored making progress. By November the building was insured for £2,000. Convocation first sat in Osgoode Hall on February 6th, 1832, and before the end of the year, law-students were housed there. They paid for board and room £37 10s. per annum. Separate meals were: breakfast, 1s. 2d.; lunch, 1s.; dinner, 1s. 6d. A bottle of wine was procurable for 5s., a pint-bottle for 2s. 6d. The original building is part of the present east wing.

Much concern was expressed over its distance from the middle of the town.

Mrs. Cockburn advertised in the *Gazette* of May 23rd, 1822, that she succeeded Mrs. Goodman as the director of a school for young ladies, and was under the patronage of Lady Sarah Maitland. The rates per quarter were given as follows:

> "For education in the English language grammatically, History, Geography, the use of the Globes, with plain and fancy needlework, £2. Writing and ciphering, 10s., the French language, £1, drawing and painting on velvet, £1 10s. For board and lodging, £8 10s.

"Music, dancing, flower and card-work are also taught in the school and charged moderately.

"Mrs. Cockburn will receive a junior class of little children from four to seven years of age for five dollars per quarter each.

"Entrance, One Guinea. Every lady to provide a table and tea-spoon, knife and fork, sheets and towels, and to pay for her own washing."

In 1822 the state of the subscription-list to supplement the Fund for the erection of a monument to General Brock was made known by publication in the *Gazette.* The contributions in the Home District were as follows:

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces, £11 13s 4d; Hon. Mr. Justice Campbell, £1 3s 4d; Hon. and Rev. Dr. Strachan £1 10s 0d; Hon. D. Cameron, £1 3s 4d; Hon. J. Wells, £1 3s 4d; Colonel Givens, £1 3s 4d; Major Hillier, £1 3s 4d; William Allan, £1 3s 4d; Stephen Heward, £1 3s 4d; John Beikie, £1 3s 4d; Ed. McMahon, £1 3s 4d; Stephen Jarvis, 10s 0d; H. J. Boulton, £1 3s 4d; Geo. Ridout, £1 3s 4d; Sam. Ridout, £1 3s 4d; Captain Fitzgerald. £1 3s 4d; Hon. H. J. Dunn, £1 3s 4d; William Chewett, £1 3s 4d; James Chewett, 15s 0d; Alexander Chewett, 10s 0d.

The Trustees in 1822 of the General Hospital of Upper Canada built with the surplus of the Loyal and Patriotic Society—£4,000—were the Chief Justice, Hon. James Bâby, Hon. and Rev. Dr. John Strachan, William Claus, George Markland, John Henry Dunn, Samuel Smith, John Beverley Robinson.

The price of provisions in 1822 reflected the general commercial depression of the time. Beef was from 2d. to 4d. per pound, mutton and veal, from 4d. to 5d., pork from 2d. to 2½d. Fowls were 1s. 3d. per pair, turkeys, 3s. 9d. each, geese, 2s. 6d. Butter was 7½d. per pound and the price of wheat was 2s. 6d. per bushel. Beer was procurable at $6 a barrel.

On April 23rd, 1822, St. George's Day, the East and West Regiments of York militia, with Captain Button's troop of cavalry, attached to the North York Regiment, assembled on Garrison Common to receive at the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor a stand of colors. Lieut.-Col. James Fitz Gibbon commanded the Guard of Honor.

Sir Peregrine Maitland said: "Soldiers: I have great satisfaction in presenting you as the representatives of the late Incorporated Battalion with these colors, a distinguished mark of His Majesty's approval. They will be to you a proud memorial of the past and a rallying-point around which you will gather with alacrity and confidence, should your active services be required hereafter by your King and Country."

The colors bore the word "Niagara." The Editor of the *Gazette* said with reference to this parade, which was followed, in the evening, by a ball at Government House, "We were particularly struck by the new uniform of the West Yorks as being particularly well adapted for the kind of warfare incident to a thickly wooded country. Even at a short distance it would be difficult to distinguish the grey coat or jacket from the bole of a tree."

The British Government was not satisfied as time went on that the establishment of the two Provinces in Canada had been wise and believed that more efficient and economical administration might be effected by reunion. The *Upper Canada Gazette* printed in May, 1822, the following extract "from a British paper."

"The Government, it seems, have determined on uniting Upper and Lower Canada, with a view, as it is given out, to save the expenditure incurred by the present double administration. The measure, however, will not be carried into effect without great opposition in the country, and Mr. Robinson, Attorney-General in Upper Canada, has been sent over with a memorial and remonstrance against it. . . . The administration of the two Canadas costs this country half a million a year without producing any equivalent advantage. But this is altogether the fault of the system, and very different reforms are necessary than merely uniting the two provinces to remedy the matter."

All European goods imported by the people of Upper Canada were landed at either Quebec or Montreal, and the officials of Lower Canada collected the duty. Almost as soon as Upper Canada was organized as a Province an agreement was made by which Lower Canada paid a proportion of the collection to its western neighbor.

Difficulties arose in fixing the exact amount payable. The war intervened and for a period Upper Canada made a claim for arrears of duty amounting to thousands of pounds. A compromise was effected in 1817 whereby Quebec paid £1,585, but thereafter the principle of dividing the duties was attacked.

The Parliament of Upper Canada prepared a Joint Address to the King dated January 8th, 1822, setting forth the claim to a proportion of the imposts on goods entered for consumption in Upper Canada and appointing Mr. John Beverley Robinson to carry the Petition to England.

Mr. Robinson arrived in London on March 22nd and was astonished to learn that the Government contemplated the re-union of the Provinces, as a money-saving measure. He admitted the difficulties which had arisen in the administration of both Provinces but he submitted an argument in opposition to the Union which had uncommon force and at the same time uncommon restraint. The final paragraphs of this argument were as follows: "I will take the liberty of remarking further that the Act by which the Province of Quebec was divided, and the present separate Government is established, was the result of great and long deliberation; and if the change of a system so matured should prove disagreeable to the inhabitants of both or either of the Provinces, it may be expected that they will feel it more deeply in proportion as it shall appear to have been hastily decided on, and without an opportunity having been afforded them of making known their sentiments. The people of Canada have ever been treated by Great Britain with a mildness and a degree of parental indulgence that would make them the more sensible to any apparent want of consideration even of their feelings.

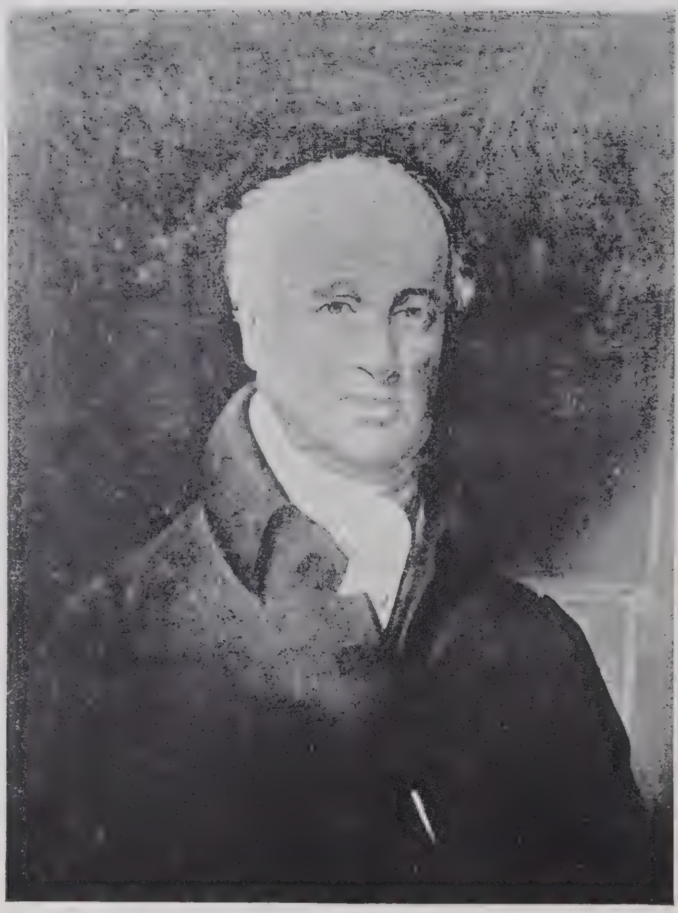
"Another matter occurs to me upon which it is necessary to guard against any erroneous impression. The French inhabitants of Lower Canada, I am firmly persuaded, are as peacefully disposed, as much inclined to submit to authority, and as loyally attached to the British Government as any portion of His Majesty's subjects, and whatever trouble their representatives may give by refusing to make a permanent provision for the Civil List, or upon questions of revenue or of any kind between themselves and the Executive Government is not to be ascribed to the preponderance of French influence over the English, but to that desire which is found in all Assemblies to assert to the utmost the share of power which they think the constitution gives them, a disposition which I think the descendants of English, Irish and Scotch will be found as likely to persevere in as the descendants of Frenchmen."

Mr. Robinson remained in England until he secured the approval of the Government for adjustment of duties, and would have returned at the end of the year 1822, had he not been requested by Earl Bathurst to remain until after the meeting of Parliament in February, 1823.

In the Legislative Council on March 5th, 1823, the following resolution was adopted: "That the thanks of this House be given to John Beverley Robinson, Esq., for the distinguished ability, zeal and discretion manifested in the discharge of the important trust confided to him as commissioner to bear to the foot of the Throne an humble address on the fiscal relations of this Province with Lower Canada, and in so successfully obtaining the object of our prayer."

CHAPTER VI.

FROM AGITATION TO REBELLION



Hon. William Dummer Powell
First Judge in Upper Canada, later Chief Justice

John Graves Simcoe Wright
(First white child born in Toronto)

CHAPTER VI.

FROM AGITATION TO REBELLION

DURING the ten years from 1815 to 1825 a dominant and attractive figure in York was Chief Justice William Dummer Powell. His town house on King Street and his country seat at Caer Howell, near the present Conservatory of Music, were familiar to the society of the period and were centres of education and refinement.

Judge Powell was born in Boston in 1755, his father being a contractor for the British Navy, and a man of Welsh extraction. His mother was Janet Grant, the daughter of a wealthy Scottish family. He was educated in Boston, in Tunbridge, England, and in Holland, and spoke French and Dutch with fluency. He was married at the age of twenty to Anne Murray, of Norwich, England, who was visiting relatives at Boston when the American Revolution began.

The Powells were Loyalists, and William Dummer served as a volunteer in the British forces which beseiged the city after the famous Boston tea party. When General Gage returned to England Powell and his bride went with him. In London Powell studied law, and in 1779 came to Canada and practised in Montreal for ten years. Then he was appointed Judge of the District of Hesse, which included all of Upper Canada west of Long Point. His headquarters were at Detroit, where he remained until 1794, when he was appointed a *puisné* Judge of the new Upper Canada Court of King's Bench. After a sojourn at Newark, he removed to York, where he made his home until his death in 1834. His oldest son, John, who was in business, had a prominent part in the defence of Toronto in 1837, and was Mayor of the City from 1838 to 1840.

The second son who bore his father's name, William Dummer, was a lawyer who died at a comparatively early age. Grant was a physician who served during the war of 1812. Jeremiah had a particularly adventurous career. After being educated in England he returned to America in 1801 and was placed in the commission office of Lennox and Maitland, New York. In 1804 he went to Hayti and began business there as a commission merchant with a man named Windsor. Things did not go well. The firm earned the enmity of Dessalines, the "black Emperor," and by 1806 young Powell's position became uncomfortable, if not dangerous.

Then Don Francisco Miranda came to Hayti on his filibustering expedition against Venezuela, which had the approval of the British Government, then at war with Spain. Powell was persuaded to join the party, but on April 20th Spanish coastguards met and destroyed the expedition. Miranda saved his skin, but 57 of his followers were captured. Ten were hanged the nert morning. Thirteen were sent to prison for ten years in an unwholesome district, sixteen were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, fifteen to ten years in a comparatively comfortable place, and three were reserved for the King's pleasure. Jeremiah Powell was in the second-last class.

When the news reached York Judge Powell got leave of absence and set about the considerable task of getting the lad released. He left home in July, 1806, visiting Boston, Philadelphia and then London, England. No passports were issued for travel in Spain, but James Monroe, the American Minister, facilitated his journey by making him an official messenger for the American Embassy. Then bearing letters from Lord Holland and from Dr. Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination, he proceeded to Spain, saw the King and secured the pardon of his boy. A British warship bore the necessary papers for service on the Venezuelan Government, and Jeremiah was released. His father was back at York by October, 1807. The son reached home in February, 1808, but after a month of rest went adventuring once more. In that same year he sailed from Curaçao for England on the ship *Alexander,* which was never again heard of.

The youngest son, Thomas William, was drowned at Kingston, whither he had gone to attend school. He was only ten years old.

The daughters of the family were one who died in infancy, Anne, who grew to be a beautiful, but opinionated young woman, Elizabeth, who died unmarried, and Mary Boyles, who became the wife of Samuel Peters Jarvis of York.

In 1822 Anne determined, against the advice of her family, to go to England and see her father. She was friendly with John Beverley Robinson and his wife, and at first proposed to go with them. Her mother objected. Anne was angered and went with the Robinsons to New York. There she did not avail herself of the opportunity of going in the same ship, but waited a month for the next packet, the *Albion.* That vessel was wrecked on the coast of Ireland and Anne Powell was among the lost. Her body was washed ashore and was buried in Templetrine Parish Church, where a monument to her memory was erected by her father. Of nine children born to Judge Powell and his wife, three had been drowned.

Dr. William Warren Baldwin, physician, lawyer, Clerk of the Peace, and eminent citizen, found himself one morning a considerable landed proprietor. The York property of the Hon. Peter Russell, devised at his death in 1808 to his sister Elizabeth, was willed by her to Dr. Baldwin, as the family's next friend. On the Park Lot west of the Grange, which was a part of the legacy, was erected the Baldwin country seat, long known as Spadina House. It was a roomy, one-storey frame building, sitting on the brow of Russell Hill on the site of the present Austin residence. It was burned in 1829, but was replaced by a two-storey frame building which stood until recent times.

In the first "Spadina" during the Christmas season of 1824 the young folk of the family and their friends presented an elaborate dramatic entertainment. A programme, in manuscript, is preserved among the Powell Papers in the Toronto Public Library. It has uncommon historical interest, not alone because of the glimpse it affords of a happy home after the Dickens model, but because of the histrionic activity of Robert, in later years a figure of much importance on the political stage of United Canada.

Prologue

to "The Revenge," as performed before the family and their much esteemed neighbors, Col. and Mrs. Wells, at Spadina, during the Christmas holydays, 1824-5. Spoken by Robert Baldwin in the character of "Alonzo," and written by his father, W. W. B.:

The Tragic Muse, caressed from earliest time,
Needs not from us a complimentary rhyme,
Yet, though our tyros would not wish to tear
One sprig of laurel from the poet's hair,
All cry, while all admit the author's merit,
"Would that his 'Zanga' breathed a better spirit,"
No more does Virtue need the gloom of Vice,
To bid emotions in our bosoms rise,
Than need an Eastern gloom the Western skies
To spread their glories to admiring eyes.
Though "Zanga's" rage some moderation knew
"Alonzo's" horrors need not lessen too.
Such awful contrasts Nature seldom draws,
And pen and pencil should obey her laws.
Yet so it is the author doth prescribe,
And we have nought to do but to transcribe
Upon our features, voice, our actions, air,
Pride, anger and contempt, love, hatred and despair.
Be not surprised if youthful action faints
Beneath the weight of passion which he paints.
Remember, friends, we would not have you think
We dip our fortunes in the poet's ink,
Or place our honours in the Drama's praise,
Though Garrick, Roscius, live till nowadays.
You parents mark our course, in virtue's scope,
Ours be the task to realize your hope,
And trust all modest scruples in despite
That friendship, not our vanities invite
You, worthy neighbors, to partake this night
Pleasure more pleasing if it hap to spread
Round hearts like yours a sympathetic thread.
Pleased as we are that so much taste and worth
Should grace and animate our Christmas sport.
And now while chearful, holy days permit
An hour from labour stolen and lent to wit
And joke, and dance and merriment,
Reproof be mute while mirth is innocent.
And if our play attains the wished success
To improve our voice, our action, our address,
You'll all admit the time not spent in vain,
Wherein the "Utile" and "Duke" join.

This last line probably has some family allusion which makes it Greek to the modern reader. Occasionally the scansion fails and the figures are not happy, but Dr. Baldwin was not addressing the public. He was concerned in a gentle conspiracy to please the children, and his prologue shows him in a charming light. The Sullivan young folk were first cousins of the Baldwins:

THE REVENGE

performed at Spadina during the Christmas holydays, 24-5, by the juvenile part of the family."

Dramatis Personæ

Don Alonzo	Robert Baldwin
Don Carlos	Robert Sullivan
Don Alvarez	William Baldwin
Don Manuel	St. George Baldwin
Zanga	Henry Sullivan
Leonore	Eliza Sullivan
Isabella	Louise Sullivan

She Stoops to Conquer

Dramatis Personæ

Mr. Hardcastle	Robert Sullivan
Sir C. Marlow	William Baldwin
Young Marlow	Henry Baldwin
Mr. Hastings	Robert Baldwin
Tony Lumpkin	Henry Sullivan
Diggory	Mr. Stotesbury
Stingo	St. George Baldwin
Mrs. Hardcastle	Mrs. J. Baldwin
Miss Hardcastle	Miss C. Shaw
Miss Neville	Eliza Sullivan
Maid	Louise Sullivan

Afterpiece to both Plays

Bombastes Furioso

Bombastes Furioso	Henry Sullivan
Fusbos	Robert Sullivan
1st courtier	Robert Baldwin
2nd courtier	William Baldwin
Drummer	Augustus Sullivan

Laurent Quetton, who had come to York with Count de Puisaye, took kindly to the country and soon after his arrival established in 1802 a general store. He had changed his name to Quetton St. George. His establishment at the corner of King and Frederick Streets was the first brick building to be erected by a private individual. He remained in York through the war of 1812-14, and after the downfall of Napoleon returned to France, leaving his business in charge of his attorney, Dr. W. W. Baldwin. He had prospered in Canada, and after his death it was found that he was the owner of 8,700 acres of land. A statement of his losses by reason of the war was submitted to the authorities by Dr. Baldwin, in 1823:

	£	s	d
Goods destroyed at Lewistown in December 1813 by the enemy	173	0	4¼
Goods and merchandise destroyed by the enemy at York, April 27th, 1813	338	0	0
Taken by the enemy at York, by a detachment of the enemy under Colonel Scott in the summer of 1813	21	15	0
Ditto, destroyed by army of enemy under Colonel Brown, 8th June, 1814	1,311	16	3
By ditto lost, being driven on shore by a vessel of the enemy off York in 1813	125	0	0
Furs lost in 1814 by a boat captured by the enemy on the way to Montreal	43	15	0
Waggons pressed into King's service at Head of the Lake and never restored	25	0	0
Hogs killed by the Indians at Ditto	50	0	0

	£	s	d
An ox killed in Government work at Head of the Lake	10	0	0
24 barrels of flour stolen at Head of the Lake by Indians and soldiers during war	75	0	0
	£2,176	6	7¼

At the time of the raid upon York by Chauncey and Dearborn, Dr. Baldwin concealed some of his household valuables in Captain de Hoen's barn, up Yonge Street. On the night of November 20th, 1813, a group of soldiers, said to have belonged to the 89th Regiment, broke into the barn and carried away the following articles:

	£	s	d
1 silver sugar dish, with cover, and tongs of silver, valued at	8	10	0
1 silver goblet	4	0	0
1 silver soup-ladle	3	0	0
9 tablespoons of silver	9	0	0
11 desserts do do	7	10	0
2 silver sauce ladles	1	15	0
4 do salt spoons	1	0	0
12 do teaspoons	3	10	0
1 black silk gown	5	16	8
	£44	1	8

These were the household goods of a stately gentleman in fairly good circumstances.

It was a time when the modest affluence which could furnish a dinner-table adequately was magnified unduly in the eyes of the poor. The great majority of people in Upper Canada found it hard to provide the dinner itself. Immigrants lately come from Scotland and Ireland, "homesteaders" from Eastern Canada and the United States, dwellers in log huts, familiar with toil, unfamiliar with finery, must have looked with envy upon the "County families." Those families could afford to send their children abroad for an education. They could afford to fare sumptuously every day, to maintain a wardrobe of bottle-green swallow-tails for the men and rustling gowns for the women.

Yet these leaders of Society themselves had been poor. When agitators assured the people that their lofty neighbors had battened on public funds and public lands, had gained their wealth at the expense of the Province; when it was said that the taxes of the poor were applied to the solace of the rich it is not surprising that dissatisfaction grew, whether the accusation were true or not. When the popular House demanded reforms in government and all its proposals were denied, all its plans blocked by the appointed House, unrest swelled into clamor and clamor into a stern and resolute anger. Dr. Baldwin's sympathies were with the Reformers. This was perhaps the only "County family" of a Whiggish tendency to be found in the neighborhood of York.

The first steamer on Lake Ontario was the *Frontenac,* promised by "Thomas Markland and others." It arrived at York on its first trip on June 6th, 1816, and continued in service between Kingston, York and Niagara, until 1827, when it was burned at the Niagara wharf. Its successor was the *Alciope,* built at Niagara in 1828. Passenger traffic between York and Niagara was served also by the *Richmond,* a sailing packet, which made its first voyage on July 24th, 1820.

The Bank of Upper Canada was incorporated in 1819 at the petition of Robert Charles Horne, John Scarlett, Francis Jackson, William Warren Baldwin, Alexander Legge, Thomas Ridout, Samuel Ridout, D'Arcy Boulton, junior; William B. Robinson, James Macaulay, Duncan Cameron, Guy C. Wood, Robert Anderson, John Baldwin, and others. The capital stock was to consist of 16,000 shares of £12 10s each. The Government might subscribe for 2,000 shares, but no individual could hold more than 80. The first bank within the Province continued in business until 1866.

An Agricultural Society was formed in 1818 and a Cattle Show was held on May 7th, 1820. About this time also tenders were invited for the new Market Building, and the Hospital was established in its own building on the present Richmond Street near Simcoe.

As early as 1800 William Bond had had a nursery garden at the corner of Ontario and Duke Streets. In advertising it for sale he enumerated 41 apple trees, 30 peach trees, 9 cherry, "black and red plums, red and white currants, gooseberries, etc."

An inquiry into the state of the Postal Service was made by a Committee of the Assembly during the Session of 1821, Dr. Baldwin being Chairman. The testimony of William Allan, Deputy Postmaster of York, gave a schedule of prevailing rates which follows:

Eastern mail to and from York: Halifax, 2s 9d., Quebec, 1s 6d, Montreal, 1s 2d., Lancaster, 1s 1d., Cornwall, 1s 1d., Prescott, 10d., Kingston 10d., Belleville, 10d., Port Hope, 6d.

Western mail to and from York: Dundas, 8d., Grimsby, 10d., Niagara, 10d., Burford 1s., Port Talbot, 1s., Vittoria, 1s., Delaware 1s., Sandwich, 1s 4d., Amherstburg, 1s 4d.

The annual receipts at the York post office were from £800 to £900 per annum. Altogether there were 35 post offices in the Province.

Primary education was still an affair of the parents and not of the State. On April 30th, 1805, William Jarvis, James Macaulay, William Chewett, Thomas Ridout, Allan MacNab and others made a contract with Alexander William Carson, a school teacher, to conduct a school for the children of the men named, and others up to the number of 25, "in the arts of spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic" in a house owned by William Jarvis, and situated on lot No. 3, on the north side of Duke Street. The hours of teaching were to be from 8 to 12 and from 2 to 5 from May 1st to October 1st; from 9 to 12 and from 2 to 4 from October 1st to May 1st. The salary arranged was £3 15s a month, and the gentlemen undertook to find good and sufficient board and lodging for the teacher, "liquors excepted."

The dream of Dr. Strachan, the successive Governors, and the Colonial Office, was the creation of an Established Church in a country where Anglicans were in the minority and where various kinds of Dissent were flourishing. The law had set apart one-seventh of the land for the support of "a Protestant clergy." The interpretation that the only Protestant clergy were

SIR. JOHN COLBORNE, G.C.B.G.C.H.
(LORD SEATON)
Lieut. Governor 1829-1836
"EGYPT" "PENINSULA" "WATERLOO"

SIR JOHN COLBORNE
From the painting in the John Ross Robertson Collection

Anglicans gave a gratuitous insult to Presbyterians, Lutherans, Methodists, Tunkers and others. The payment of public money for the support of Anglican clergy and the use of clergy reserve funds (derived from the growth of land values, because of Nonconformist settlement in the country) in the propaganda against Nonconformity was a supreme folly. The reactionary argument that since the Church of England was a part of the King's Government, a Dissenter was of questionable loyalty, was used by churchmen, not for the extension of public peace. The settlers of all sects had proved that no matter after what form they prayed their arms were taken for the support of the King's Government in 1812.

The attitude of the authorities towards Dissent is well illustrated by a letter from General Drummond to the Minister, under date of April 30th, 1814. The General asked for authority to obtain more clergy with the usual allowance to each of £100 a year. He continued: "Previous to the war itinerant fanatics, enthusiastic in political as well as religious matters, were in the habit of coming from the United States, and from the scarcity of clergymen they were cordially received and thus disseminated their noxious principles."

In 1821 the Roman Catholic congregation of York obtained permission from Parliament to dispose of a lot at the corner of George and Duke Streets, and purchase land in a more eligible situation for the building of a church. The trustees were James Bâby, John Small, and Rev. Alexander Macdonell. Land was procured where the present St. Paul's Church stands.

When the first chapel was built in the year 1824 a group of leading citizens of Protestant faith contributed generously, the collectors being Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the Solicitor-General, Mr. H. J. Boulton, Mr. Simon Washburn and Colonel James Fitz Gibbon. The Trustees made public announcement of this kindness in the following resolution: "That we hail the liberality which our Protestant and dissenting brethren manifested on this occasion as a certain prelude to future concord among all classes of the community."

The strong and steady loyalty of the Macdonell family of Toronto and of the members of the Clan in the County of Glengarry, gave proof that religion was an affair of the individual soul rather than of the State. Yet the Court of Sir Peregrine Maitland saw no reason to abate sectarian arrogance, or to consider the claims of Dissent.

By an Act of 1824 the Presbyterian Congregation of York was authorized to purchase one or more parcels of land sufficient for the erection of a church and the establishment of a burying ground.

Barnabas Bidwell's election to the Assembly for Lennox and Addington was contested in 1821. He had been a municipal officer in the State of Massachusetts and had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States before removing to Canada "under a cloud." Despite the protest of his supporters, who declared that they had known him for ten years, during which time his conduct had been thoroughly worthy and his loyalty to the British constitution approved, Mr. Bidwell was unseated. Matthew Clark was elected in his place, but he in turn was unseated. Bidwell's son, Marshall S. Bidwell, was the next choice of the constituency, and while an effort was made in the House to declare him incapable of serving, since he was a native of the United States, and had not been naturalized by any British Act of Parliament, that effort failed. Marshall Spring Bidwell took his seat and for many years was a distinguished figure in the life of Upper Canada.

An advertisement appeared on October 1st, 1822, in The Upper Canada *Gazette*, calling a meeting of the Directors and those who were subscribers to the Toronto Library, "that was established in York in December, 1810." The meeting place was De Forest's Hotel, and the object was "to take into consideration the disposal of such of the books as now remain, belonging to the said Library, in the possession of William Allan, Treasurer." There was a postscript to the notice requesting persons who had any of the books to return them to Mr. Allan. Evidently this was a collection entirely apart from the Parliamentary Library, destroyed by the Americans, probably a private circulating Library, after the type well-known in the small towns of England and Scotland.

On the 16th of January, 1824, a Committee of Parliament recommended that the sum of £200 should be placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, for the purpose of completing the present sets of the "Statutes at Large," "Annual Register," "Parliamentary Debates," "Quarterly Review," "Edinburgh Review," and to procure a second set of the "Statutes at Large," and the latest edition of "Burns' Justice." The following sentence in the report of the Committee indicates that human nature is a "constant." "Several books are missing from the Library, but as it is supposed they are in the possession of gentlemen connected with the Legislature, it is probable that they will be speedily returned."

Edward Allen Talbot, "of the Talbot Settlement, Upper Canada," wrote a book about the Province, which was published in 1823. The reference to York was hardly complimentary: "The streets of York are regularly laid out, intersecting each other at right angles. Only one of them, however, is yet completely built and in wet weather the unfinished streets are, if possible, muddier and dirtier than those of Kingston. The situation of the town is very unhealthy; for it stands on a piece of low marshy land which is better calculated for a frog-pond or beaver-meadow than for the residence of human beings. The inhabitants are on this account much subject, particularly in Spring and Autumn, to agues and intermittent fevers; and probably five-sevenths of the people are annually afflicted with these complaints. He who first fixed upon this spot as the site for the Capital of Upper Canada, whatever predilection he may have had for the roaring of frogs or for the effluvia arising from stagnated waters and putrid vegetables, can scarcely have had very great regard for preserving the lives of His Majesty's subjects. The town of York possesses one great advantage, which is that of a good, but defenceless, harbor."

The result of Dr. Strachan's visits to England in 1824 and 1826 appeared on March 31st, 1827, in the issue of Letters Patent for establishing at or near the town of York a College, with the style and privileges of a University, to be called King's College. It was announced that His Majesty had granted £1,000 per annum as a fund for the building, to be paid out of the moneys furnished by the Canada Company, and to continue during the terms of the agreement with that Company. There was to be no religious test, except to students in Divinity, but all seven professors were to be members of the Church of England and subscribers to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The Bishop was to be the Visitor, the Lieutenant-Governor the Vice-Chancellor, and the Archdeacon of York (Dr. Strachan) was to be President by virtue of his office.

It was not unnatural that the members and adherents of other religious bodies found in this Charter yet another cause of offence. As far as possible Dr. Strachan had succeeded in making the Anglican Church an Establishment in Upper Canada, although the great majority of the people were Dissenters, and it seemed as if he were resolved upon making all higher education Anglican. The fact that no religious tests were to be administered to students was more than balanced by the fact that the Professoriat would be Anglican to a man, and probably that they would be in Holy Orders. Here was occasion for dissension in a Province and a community which already had sufficient cause.

Meanwhile, at the instance of Sir Peregrine Maitland, a block of land had been set aside to serve as an endowment for a proposed boys' school after the type of the Public Schools of England. Sir John Colborne ardently supported the enterprise and in the spring of 1829 arrangements were completed for building and organizing Upper Canada College. The organization was complete before the school-building was ready and on Monday, January 8th, 1830, the first classes met in the Home District Grammar School, by this time on the corner of Lombard and Jarvis Streets. The Principal was Rev. J. H. Harris, D.D., a former fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. Rev. T. H. Phillips, D.D., of the Grammar School, was Vice-Principal. The Classical Masters were Rev. Charles Matthews, M.A., of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Rev. W. Boulton, B.A., of Queen's College, Oxford. The Mathematical Master was Rev. Charles Dade, M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.* French was taught by Mr. J. P. de la Haye; English, Writing and Arithmetic by Mr. G. A. Barber, and Mr. J. Padfield, and the Drawing Master was Mr. Drury.

The College buildings were completed in 1831, being situated in a lot of six acres on King Street opposite Government House. The dimensions of the two-storey structure were 32 by 80 feet. The material was red brick. The terms for boarders were announced in the papers as £35 for boys from 6 to 12 years of age, and £41 for all over 12. The original endowment of the institution, which has had a brilliant scholastic history, was 66,000 acres of Crown lands.

Colonel Ryerson, of Norfolk County Militia, a United Empire Loyalist and a sturdy Tory, was choleric and unreasonable when he first heard that his sons Egerton and William were likely to become Methodist preachers. Time moderated his vexation, and there came a day when he regarded his earnest and high-minded boys with a measure of pride. Egerton from his earliest twenties was a figure of importance in the life of Upper Canada. His numerous controversies with Archdeacon Strachan on the rights of Dissenters were sustained with energy and with dignity. As the founder and first editor of *The Christian Guardian*, established in 1829, he defined very clearly the position of the Methodist people, differentiating them from the Republican party but not abating in any degree his protest against discrimination and injustice.

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*Rev. Mr. Dade died in Georgetown, and a monument to his memory was erected by former pupils. By an odd conceit there is carved on the stone the accepted figure for the proof of the 47th Proposition of Euclid, Book 1.

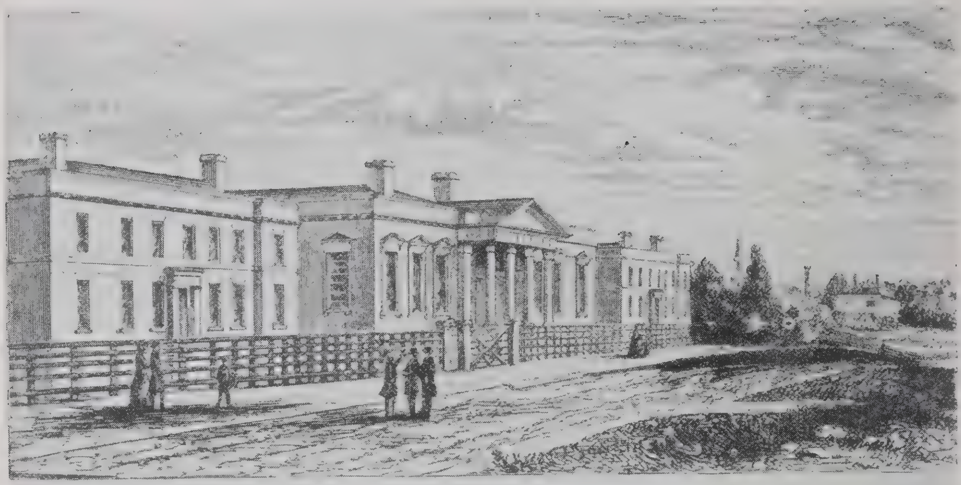
In 1826 the British Government made an agreement for the sale of the Upper Canada clergy reserves to an English colonization corporation known as the Canada Company. The commissioner appointed by the Company to supervise its business at York was John Galt, poet, dramatist, novelist and traveller. Before the agreements were ratified a new proposal was made, at the instance of Rev. Dr. Strachan and his associates, whereby the clergy reserves were returned to the hands of the Anglican Church, and the Canada Company received in lieu of the 800,000 acres surrendered, that portion of Western Ontario known as the Huron tract, stretching from Wellington County to Lake Huron and covering 1,100,000 acres.

Mr. Galt, in his Autobiography, said that Dr. Strachan got back his 800,000 acres and 750,000 acres more. During the three years that Galt was in Canada he and his friend, William Dickson, founded Guelph, Goderich and other communities in that fertile part of Ontario. Bosanquet, one of the townships of Lambton, was named after Charles Bosanquet, the Governor of the Company.

The commissioner was a hypochondriac. His health was never good and he was sensitive. His view of York in 1827 was not flattering: "In a small new town accommodations were not easily found, but I obtained at last a room of about ten feet square, for an office, for which I paid a dollar a week. The best tavern in York was a mean, two-storey house, and being constructed of wood every noise in it resounded from roof to foundation." The office was at the corner of King and Frederick Streets. The tavern was Frank's Hotel. In the ballroom of that house of entertainment the first professional dramatic company seen in York gave its performances.

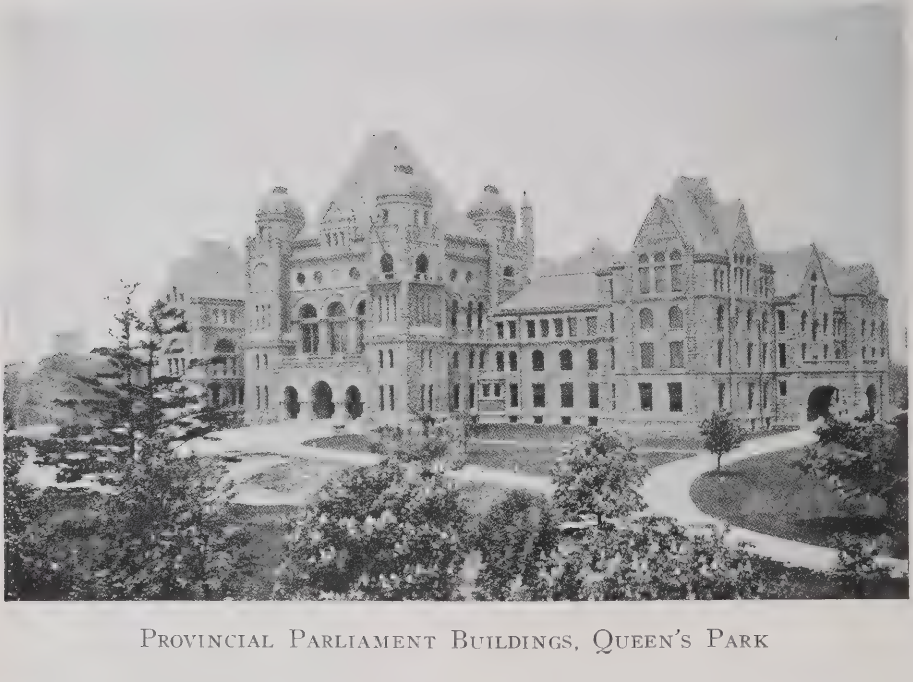
Mr. Galt's manner was not happy, and he soon gained the reputation of being unnecessarily haughty. On hearing that Sir Peregrine Maitland was about to appoint him Colonel of a Militia Regiment he thought that the time had come to unbend a trifle. He writes: "I determined to change my recluseness into something more cordial towards the general inhabitants of York. I therefore directed one of the clerks to make arrangements for giving a general Fancy Ball to all my acquaintances and the principal inhabitants. I could not be troubled with the details myself, but exhorted him to make the invitations as numerous as possible. A short time before this project Judge Willis, with his lady and mother, had arrived in the Province, and as the old lady agreed to superintend the entertainment I was sure it would be well done."

The ball took place on New Year's Eve, December 31st, 1827, and was a social occasion long remembered. The walls and ceiling of the room at Frank's were covered with hemlock evergreen and dotted with lights. The floor was decorated with the arms of the Company. Lady Mary Willis appeared as Mary, Queen of Scots; Mr. Buchanan, son of the British con-



Parliament Buildings, Front Street, as they appeared when first erected in 1832.

OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS



PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, QUEEN'S PARK sul at New York, as Darnley, and Mr. Thomas, of the Canada Company office, as Rizzio. Judge Willis represented the Countess of Desmond, aged 100 years, and his daughter wore the cap and bells of Folly. Dr. William Warren Baldwin was a Roman Senator, his two sons represented the Dioscuri, and his nephew Augustus Sullivan, Puss-in-Boots. Dr. Grant Powell appeared as Dr. Pangloss; Colonel Givens, his son Adolphus, and Raymond Bâby were Indian chiefs. Mr. Gregg of the Commissariat Department, appeared as Othello, and was greatly disturbed when Mr. Kerr, dressed as a Kentucky backwoodsman, expressed a desire to buy him.

A merry entertainment—but Mr. Galt's colonelcy was withheld owing to a misunderstanding which brought a reprimand from the Directors of the Company to Mr. Galt on a charge of having insulted the Governor.

Judge Willis had a brief term of office, but one not without variety. He incurred the displeasure of the administration and on July 17th, 1828, the *Gazette* contained the following notice: "His Excellency has been pleased to appoint Charles Alexander Hagerman to be Judge of the Court of King's Bench, in the room of John Walpole Willis, amoved."

By 1832 new Parliament buildings were erected on a plot of six acres of land facing on Front Street and bounded on the east by Simcoe Street. They were handsome brick structures of Georgian type. The main building was 133 feet long and 90 feet wide; each wing had a length of 90 feet, being 55 feet wide and the Chambers for both branches of the Legislature were spacious and convenient. The cost was in the neighborhood of £10,000. Hon. William Allan, William Thompson and Dr. Grant Powell were the commissioners serving as a building committee. The original contractor failed in business, and the work was directed by John Ewart, who also built Osgoode Hall.

It is unfortunate that these buildings, which had high architectural merit, were crowded and hustled by the growing and irreverent city until they were swept out of existence. Today the site is a network of railway tracks and a wearisome length of freight sheds.

During the summer and autumn of 1832 Canada had a visitation of Asiatic cholera. The disease had appeared in England some months before and the physicians found themselves helpless before it. Dr. William Marsden described the situation as follows: "On the first appearance of this unknown disease in London medical men of every grade, more particularly those practising in the higher branches of the profession, on viewing the afflicted patient became terrified and panic-stricken; and the public in consequence of their professional advisers being ignorant of the nature of this malady, were completely bewildered and paralyzed.

"In this state of things the richly-endowed hospitals of the metropolis closed their doors against the wretched sufferers, the affluent inhabitants fled, and the great and wealthy members of the faculty dared not, or would not, condescend to visit the habitations of the afflicted." The Free Hospital for the Cure of Malignant Diseases, then in Greville Street, Hatton Garden, made up fifty beds for cholera patients, but this was the only hospital service provided. Dr. Marsden declared that the disease was neither contagious nor infectious; and thought that its origin was from air that had been overcharged with water. "We are equally in the dark respecting the origin of all epidemic diseases."

That was only ninety years ago. Of all the progress of the Nineteenth Century the advancement of Medical Science was perhaps the most notable.

The disease appeared at Quebec in early summer among a shipload of emigrants and caused 2,800 deaths out of a population of 28,000. Among the English-speaking people, who numbered about 5,000, there were 785 deaths, and on June 15th and 16th, 140 persons were buried by Anglican clergymen. Gradually the infection spread until it reached York.

The percentage of fatalities was not as great in York as in Quebec. No exact figures seem to be available, but at least 400 persons died of the disease. Archdeacon Strachan's constitutional energy and courage found vent in serving the afflicted to the utmost of his powers. Although he was up and about at all hours of the day and night he found time to organize a subscription for the relief of widows and orphans, bereaved in the course of the epidemic. The total amount collected was £1,263 9s. Of this the congregation of St. James's Church contributed £1,176 3s; the Kirk of Scotland £49 15s 8d; the Presbyterian congregation £18 11s. and the Roman Catholics £19 11s. No separate list was kept of the contributions of Methodists, although Rev. Egerton Ryerson's name is set down in the Treasurer's books for £3 10s. Mr. E. E. Alexander Wood was Treasurer and about 150 families received timely relief.

In the spring of 1835 a number of the parishioners of St. James's Church purchased a piece of plate for presentation to Dr. Strachan. The following address accompanied it: "Reverend Sir: During the prevalence of the Asiatic cholera which on two occasions had raged violently in the City, your parishioners and others were so deeply impressed with a sense of your faithful and zealous discharge of the duties of a Christian minister, that many of them have since resolved to record permanently their feelings of gratitude and respect.

"The measures for this purpose which were taken when the occasion was recent, have been carried into effect and we now attend upon you with a request that you will accept it from us in affectionate remembrance of the fortitude, the energy, the unwearied perseverance and benevolence with which you devoted yourself to the duties of your sacred profession when surrounded by affliction, danger and despondency.

"In common with those whose sufferings you labored to alleviate and whose distress awakened our warmest sympathy, we would express by this offering our thankfulness that amidst the mortality by which you were encompassed, you have been spared for the further exercise of those Christian charities which we have seen you ever ready to extend without regard to consideration of personal danger or fatigue, looking only to the necessities which required your assistance, and to the means which you had it in your power to apply to their relief."

The subscribers to this testimonial were John B. Robinson, James B. Macaulay, Peter Robinson, George Crookshanks, Wm. Allan, Alexander Wood, D. Cameron, Joseph Wells, F. T. Billings, John Beikie, William Chewett, Andrew Mercer, C. A. Hagerman, D'Arcy Boulton, Wm. H.

Draper, C. Gamble, Wm. B. Jarvis, Alexander Dixon, George Monro, Thomas Carfrae, George Gurnett, George Ridout, Robert Blevins, William Atkinson, Theodore Hart, John Craig, George Duggan, George T. Denison, William Proudfoot, P. G. Anderson, James Newbigging, G. S. Boulton, R. C. Horne, James Fitz Gibbon, S. Washburn, James Nation, R. S. Jameson, Raymond Bâby, John McGill, James Beaty, John Powell, Thomas Bright, William Cooper, John Ritchie, John Ewart, Robert Gillespie, John G. Spragg, James F. Smith, H. Heward, John Radenhurst, Thomas H. Taylor, Robert Stanton, G. H. Markland, John Caldwell, Grant Powell, N. Coffin, Major Winnett, Walter Rose, S. Ridout, John Ridout, Thomas Helliwell, Thomas Dalton, Robert Hawke, George P. Bull, Thomas Barnes, J. W. Brent, John F. Taylor, W. Cawdell, George C. Ridout, William H. Lee, James Trotter, John Armstrong, J. G. Beard, William Arthurs, William Stewart, Hugh Richardson, S. P. Jarvis, R. Richardson, Captain Truscott, William Campbell.

Chapter 2 of the Statutes of 1817 was entitled "An Act to Establish a Police in the Towns of York, Sandwich and Amherstburg." It provided that the Magistrates assembled in Quarter Sessions might make such prudential rules and regulations as they might deem expedient relating to paving, lighting, keeping in repair, and improving the streets of the said towns, regulating the "assize" of bread and abating nuisances. Powers were granted to enforce the town laws relative to the running at large of cattle and swine, to inspect weights and measures, and to supervise firemen and fire companies. It was specifically stated that the beach east of Russell's Creek, and the carriage-way in front of the Town of York, were to be considered as a part of the said town and to be subject to the regulation of the police.

The magistrates were given authority to raise by assessment from all property-holders a sum not exceeding £100 in one year, for purchasing and maintaining fire-engines, buckets, etc., and to impose fines on persons breaking the police regulations, to the amount of not over 40s for each offence.

The operation of the Act was in no wise satisfactory to the residents of York, and during the Session of 1822 a petition was presented to the Legislature asking for its repeal. A Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed to hear evidence on the question. The testimony of Stephen Heward, Clerk of the Peace, showed that in four years £414 10s 9d had been expended in procuring a fire-engine and in making such repairs of the roads as were not within the reach of the statute labor.

The special taxation of £100 when compared with the general assessment of the Home District for 1817 was about 1 penny in the pound; in 1820 five-sixths of one penny. That is to say, the total assessment of the Home District increased from 1817 to 1820 from £24,000 to £28,000. Mr. Heward said that there was no fire company in the Town, since there was no provision to compel attendance of those who at first had volunteered, and no exemption from parish duties was granted as an equivalent for service in the fire company.

Mr. Baldwin declared before the Committee that the amount of his District Assessment in 1821 had been £5 7s 6d. He had paid on the special York assessment £3 13s.

The judgment of the Committee as reported to the House on January 14th, 1822, was that the tax was by no means "burthensome," and was continually decreasing, owing to the growth of the community. While the repeal of the statute was not recommended an amendment was proposed, requiring the annual publication of the accounts under this special town assessment.

At the same Session a Bill was passed by the Assembly in one day—all rules being suspended—to alter the name of the Town of York to that of Toronto. But the name remained York for twelve years longer, a fact which indicates the impotency of the popular Assembly in comparison with the power of the Administration.

This casual and rudimentary form of municipal government, concentrating all power in the hands of the magistrates, was soon proved to be inadequate to the needs of a rapidly growing town. In 1833 Parliament revised the Act, permitting an annual collection of £100 for police and fire protection, and authorized a special assessment of 4 pence in the pound for these purposes.

A year later, on March 6th, 1834, the Legislature incorporated the community under the name of the City of Toronto. The preamble of the Act has special interest: "Whereas from the rapid increase of the population, commerce and wealth of the Town of York, a more efficient system of police and municipal government than that now established has become obviously necessary,

"And, whereas none appears so likely to attain effectually the objects desired as the erection thereof into a City, and the incorporation of the inhabitants, and vesting in them the power to elect a Mayor, Aldermen and common councilmen, and other officers for the management of the affairs of the said City, and the levying of such moderate taxes as may be necessary for improvements and other public purposes,

"And, whereas the name of York is common to so many towns and places that it is desirable, for avoiding inconvenience and confusion to designate the capital of the Province by a name which will better distinguish it, and none appears more eligible than that by which the site of the present town was known before the name of York was assigned to it;

"Therefore, His Majesty by and with the advice etc., etc."

The Act of Incorporation provided for five wards. St. David's, all north of King Street and east of Yonge; St. Lawrence's, all south of King and east of Yonge; St. George's, all south of King and west of Yonge; St. Andrew's, all between King and Lot (Queen), west of Yonge; St. Patrick's, all north of Queen and west of Yonge.

Two aldermen and two common councilmen were to be elected for each ward by the votes of male householders, either owners or tenants, and these were authorized to elect a Mayor from amongst the aldermen. The Mayor's salary was to be not less than £100 and not more than £500.

The first municipal election of the City of Toronto, which took place on March 27th, 1834, resulted as follows:

St. Andrew's ward: Aldermen, Dr. Thomas D. Morrison, John Harper; Councilmen, John Armstrong and John Doel.

St. David's ward: Aldermen, William Lyon Mackenzie, James Lesslie; Councilmen, Franklin Jackes and Colin Drummond.

St. George's ward: Aldermen, Thomas Carfrae, jr., Edward Wright; Councilmen, John Craig and George Gurnett.

St. Lawrence Ward: Aldermen, George Monro and George Duggan; Councilmen, William Arthurs and Lardner Bostwick.

St. Patrick's ward: Aldermen, Dr. John Rolph and George T. Denison; Councilmen, Joseph Turton and James Trotter.

Dr. Rolph expected to be chosen Mayor, and was vexed to learn that the majority of the aldermen favored William Lyon Mackenzie. He was not present on April 3rd when the first Mayor was elected. At that meeting James H. Price was appointed City Clerk and Matthew Walton, City Chamberlain.

The City began its municipal life with an overdraft at the Bank of Upper Canada of £9,000. The Council made an additional assessment of 2d in the pound, borrowed £1,000 from the Farmers' Bank, and put down 2,618 rods of two-plank sidewalk. Then in order to secure more funds for civic improvement the special assessment was raised to 3d in the pound, which caused a violent protest on the part of the property-owners.

Between 1834 and 1837 the population of Toronto grew from 8,000 to nearly 10,000.

In these times men flatter themselves that they live in an age of diligence. They point to the enormous amount of work that is done, to the quantity of production for which men and machines are jointly responsible. They are inclined to pity their ancestry, dabbling away by hand, at work and production, making long journeys on horseback or by deliberate sailing ships, and hearing no news until months after the event. Yet it is by no means certain that the civilization of 1923 is better in all respects than that of one hundred years ago.

We treat prisoners a little better than our grandfathers did. We have improved our social customs, and the economic position of the average citizen is perhaps better. But there are signs that unbelief is more common than it once was—not merely unbelief in a religious sense, but in every sense. In the older time men believed with all their hearts. If they were republicans, republicanism was a sacred creed, a fiery impulse to action. If they were monarchists, they went the whole way and regarded the democratic conception as a monstrous error. If they were believers in the authenticity of Ossian the man who denied it was a public enemy. In the same manner the Presbyterian saw no merit in a Methodist, and the Baptist regarded the Anglican with indignation. An age of belief is an age of intensity. It would not be possible in this day to create an *Edinburgh Review* and maintain it in a persistent glow of vituperation. The language used in denunciation of Wordsworth's theory and practice of poetry, would be considered in our time too savage for the rebuking of a pirate.

Perhaps the majority of moderns have no solid belief in any theory of poetics. If that be the case, then denunciation of a poet is impossible, since one conception is as good as another. Perhaps the folk of to-day imagine that there is no creed worth defending. If that be so there is none worth resisting, and Church Union is a thing accomplished. Perhaps the modern politician is not a convinced supporter of any theory of Government or Administration. Then must he fight with languor and pause at intervals to yawn.

In any effort to visualize life in Upper Canada a century ago, to appreciate rightly the conflict of opinion which grew ever fiercer until its maximum in 1837 one's mind must be divested of modernism. For the time being the student must lay aside his "broad sympathies" and consent to be a believer. If not, he will be unjust to a body of distinguished and resolute men. He will fail to see Agitation as they saw it.

Today every one knows that the system of administration provided for by the Constitutional Act was bound to fail. Everyone favors responsible government and sees no danger in a universal franchise. But in England as late as 1831 Mr. Gladstone wrote of a reform meeting at Warwick the following sentences: "The gentry present were few, the nobility none, the clergy one only, while the mob beneath the grand stand was Athenian in its levity, in its recklessness, in its gaping expectancy, in its self-love and self-conceit—in everything but its acuteness. If the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, are to be alarmed, overawed or smothered by the expression of popular opinion such as this, and if no great statesman be raised up in our hour of need to undeceive this unhappy multitude, now eagerly rushing or heedlessly sauntering along the pathway of revolution, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or a fool to the correction of the stocks, what is it but a symptom as infallible as it is appalling, that the day of our greatness and stability is no more, and that the chill and damp of death are already creeping over England's glory."

This was from a Whig who had been a follower of Canning, from the man who was to become the greatest Liberal of his age. What would be expected from frank Toryism in England and in the English colonies but the acceptance of Horace's creed concerning the "proletariat?"

In Upper Canada the "governing class" saw the "profane mob" and heard its plaints with a distaste that often rose to anger. An administrator in England might be contemptuous of the people, but he was not afraid of them. They were English, and he knew that the national character was averse from revolution. The leaders of Government in York were dealing with a people of mixed origin. Many of them had come from the United States after republicanism had been triumphant for twenty years. The governing classes assumed that their minds had been turned away from monarchy, and that they would be glad to see Canada filched from the British Crown. In all probability great numbers had no keen feelings on the matter, but resolute and convinced monarchists would not credit such indifference on one of the fundamentals of life. Besides, during the war some American settlers had given trouble and others had shown an uneasy neutrality. The war itself had been forced on the Colony by a republican Congress and was heartily supported by the republican people of the newer States. The fires of indignation kindled by the devastation and loss which the rulers of Upper Canada saw all about them, had all the obstinate heat of anthracite and refused to die down.

The syllogism which ruled their lives was this: "Republicans have proved themselves murderous wretches, willing to destroy all morality, religion and government; Americans are republicans: Therefore Americans and pro-Americans are public enemies to be suppressed at all costs."

They forgot that great numbers of Americans had been opposed to the war. They forgot that it was possible for loyal British citizens to have grievances. They refused to consider the possibility of error in their own practice, for the Government was dominated by soldiers and the military mind must of necessity regard itself as infallible, or become immediately unbalanced.

The men who surrounded the soldier-governors were themselves veterans, either of the Revolutionary War or of the War of 1812. The one exception was Rev. Dr. Strachan, a natural Tory, taking a Tory view of life in all its aspects and being as thoroughly a devotee of Church-and-King as the Great Cham of English literature, pictured for the world in the pages of Boswell.

Dr. Johnson was a great man, not because of his prejudices, but because his courage and intellectual swiftness were balanced by the highest spiritual qualities. He was a believer in revealed religion, in the classics as the sum of a gentleman's education, in the value of the King's prerogative; he was even a Jacobite in an academic manner.

Dr. Strachan was a man who would have adorned any company. He, too, was a believer in revealed religion, in the classics, in the King's prerogative. He came of Jacobite ancestry. Being like Johnson an intense believer, he was, like Johnson, intense in his antipathies. The fact that he was a Scot made him perhaps more rugged in some respects than the Lexicographer. He was never consciously a humorist. He revealed a steady egotism, an enduring confidence in his own judgments that must have amused as well as irritated his opponents. But these qualities of imperfection never robbed him of the affection and respect of the galaxy of brilliant men whom he had taught as boys, and who were reading Livy and Lucretius before they had compassed the elementary rules of arithmetic.

One of these was John Beverley Robinson, attorney-general of the Province before he had reached the usual age of discretion, and Chief Justice as early as 1829. He had learned in Dr. Strachan's school to be diligent, to be courteous, to be resolute, to believe with all his heart in the tenets of religious, political and social orthodoxy, and at the same time to despise the Democratic ideals of the day. For him as for his teacher, republicanism was the folly of atheism, Voltaire and Tom Paine being its prophets. Strachan and Robinson, with Sir Peregrine Maitland, the melancholy soldier, owing service to the King, rather than to the British Government, dominated the Administration of Upper Canada, not only in the Executive Council, but in the Legislative Council of half-pay officers, in the Legislative Assembly of U. E. Loyalist strain, and in the civil service of the day.

The Family Compact, was so called because a Robinson had married a Boulton, a Powell, a Jarvis; a Macaulay, a Crookshanks; etc., etc., ad infinitum, but the epithet was not particularly happy. Nepotism was not the dominant feature of the Government of Upper Canada. Its weakness, oddly enough, was found in the clean-minded conscientiousness of a great clergyman, a brilliant jurist, and an accomplished soldier, all determined to do what seemed to them reasonable, just and proper. There was no elasticity in the Government. It was a springless wagon on a corduroy road, and naturally enough it shook itself to ruin.

American republicanism was not a contagion caught from France, as many Loyalists seemed to believe. In point of time the Declaration of Independence was first. France learned from America that a King was not indispensable. The Liberal nobles of France found in the revolted colonies the hope for enforcing moderate reforms in the Oeil de Boeuf. But the logical clear-seeing French people, impelled by hunger, and indignation over senseless oppression, went all the way to regicide and Robespierre's Policy of Thorough. Soon the molerate nobles had to slouyh off their moderation or else become *émigrés,* even as the most reactionary count or princeling of 1790.

There were Jacobins in Philadelphia, but the Girondin policy prevailed. The Republic was constituted on conservative principles. Despite the Revolution power was still in the hands of the wiser and more cautious men. Washington and Jefferson, Hamilton, Monroe and Madison were not Radicals in the modern sense. They would have been horrified at a franchise which would have given the man of property no more influence in the choice of Government than an idle beggar. The Constitution which ultimately evolved from the clash of opinion in the Thirteen States was a copy of the British Governmental System with a President taking the place of George III.

British Loyalists in Upper Canada were too near the event to see it properly. They mis-read American republicanism and gave themselves up to prejudices and hatreds which may have been natural, but which were no less objectionable on that account.

Working settlers who came in touch with immigrants from the United States probably had their own prejudices abated as time showed the newcomers to be good neighbors and diligent in their business. It is a matter for remark that the men who made public objection to the administration in Upper Canada were not of American origin. John Mills Jackson was an Englishman. Robert Gourlay was a Scot. William Lyon Mackenzie was a Scot. While the Governors and their satellites called them libellers, rascals and rebels, the people knew that these men were maligned. Candidates going before the electorate in the hope of being chosen Members of the Assembly discovered a public discontent that demanded straight answers. "What will you do about this?" "What will you say in the House about that?" "How will you vote with respect to this burden upon us?" "Where will you be found in the discussion of that grievance?"

The County of York had voted for Thorpe and later for Weekes. There came a time when the town of York became the City of Toronto, with William Lyon Mackenzie as its first Mayor. Other constituencies were just as vocal, despite the fact that open voting prevailed and the men who supported an agitator had the eyes of a Loyalist magistrate upon them—not in friendliness. A wise Government would have taken itself to task, would have made an inquiry into the cause of this unrest. But the Government of Upper Canada, careful, honest, anxious to do well, devoted to the King's interest, was not wise.

The educational question and the religious question were uppermost. Government was concerned in the establishment of schools for the convenience of the sons of gentlemen, and in the ultimate provision of a seminary or university for advanced training, but only as a result of persistent agitation was it possible to secure a public grant for the primary schools which had sprung up in all parts of the Province, and were supported wholly by the settlers.

Granted that the reforms contended for by Mackenzie and his friends were imperative for the peace and good government of the colony, granted that a measure of thanks is due them for their untiring energy and their resolute persistence, the fact still remains that they were not chivalrous fighters. There was a freedom of utterance that soon degenerated into license. A journalist of the twentieth century, however ardent as a politician, cannot read the broadsides of Mackenzie with entire approval. Nor are the Constitutionalist articles of Gurnett any more pleasing. On the other side Sir Francis Bond Head had a gift of fluent vituperation. He said of Mackenzie: "He lies out of every pore of his skin. Whether he be sleeping or waking, on foot or on horseback, talking with his neighbors or writing for a newspaper, a multitudinous swarm of lies, visible, palpable and tangible, are buzzing and settling about him like flies around a horse in August."

Whether government is bettered or made worse by functioning in a fog of recrimination and mutual slander, is a question open to debate. The result in Upper Canada was a gradual and certain approach to the madness of violence, clashes between Orange mobs and Reform mobs, secret meetings for drilling and sharpshooting; finally an armed rising, the exile of a number of the agitators, and the tragic death of two men who suffered for their loyalty to Mackenzie and his cause.

William Lyon Mackenzie made his first appearance on the political stage of Upper Canada by the founding of *The Colonial Advocate.*

Vol. 1, No. 2, of *The Colonial Advocate,* published at Queenston on Thursday, May 27th, 1824, is pungent enough. On the front page of the octavo sheet the following notice appears: "This work will be presented and forwarded regularly to the following individuals, free of any expense whatever, and we shall continue to add to this list such names of public characters as from their situation or talents in Britain or the United States, may be supposed to exercise an influence over public opinion in these countries as well as in the colonies.

In Great Britain: Earl Bathurst, Viscount Chateaubriand (London), Lord Holland, Rt. Hon. George Canning, Rt. Hon. F. J. Robinson, M.P., Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P., Alexander Baring, Esq., M.P., Sir James Macintosh, M.P., Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., John Gladstone, Esq., M.P., Rev. Dr. Chalmers, St. Andrew's, Rev. Andrew Thomson, Edinb., Professor Leslie, Edinburgh, Francis Jeffrey, Esq., Edinburgh.

In France: Marquis La Fayette, Duke de Rochefoucalt (sic) Liancourt, Sir Charles Stewart, Paris.

In the British Colonies: The Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., Sir James Kempt, G.C.B., Sir Thomas Brisbane, N. S. Wales, James Stuart, Esq., of L. C., London.

Nor can we deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting in this list of free papers the name of our Statistical writer, and exiled patriot, Robert Gourlay, London.

In the United States: The President, Hon. De Witt Clinton, The Vice-President, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Esq., Wm. H. Crawford, Danie (sic) Webster, John Randolph, Esq., Morris Birkbeck, Esq., Illinois."

The leading article was a well-argued protest against the compelling of Canadians to buy tea from the East India Company. There was a series of satirical flings at John Beverley Robinson, the Attorney-General, and a rhymed burlesque of Mr. Henry John Boulton's election address. In the course of an article on education Mackenzie declared that Harvard or Yale should be preferable to any Upper Canada district school, and added: "If it is found impossible to establish in Upper Canada an University as free from test-oaths as are Harvard and Yale, if Government chooses to have an established Church University as well as an established Church, it is well; let them have it. We, in such a case, would certainly prefer to be unconnected with the pile of intolerance."

It is not surprising that the official class regarded Mackenzie with distaste. The time of free press-criticism on public affairs had not yet arrived, and the editor who ventured an opinion at variance with that of the Governor and his entourage, was bold almost to recklessness. The list of the Chosen on page one of *The Colonial Advocate* must have been scanned by the Administration with indignation. Gourlay, the despiser of Authority—at least of York authority—Henry Clay, the Anglophobe, Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, John Randolph, the fire-eating Virginian, La Rochefoucault Liancourt, and the rest. Were these the men that a docile Colonist, of a proper loyalty, delighted to honor?

Moreover, Mackenzie was facile in the invention of vituperative epithet. On June 10th, 1824, he wrote: "Not to gain the wealth of the Indies would I cringe to the funguses that I have beheld in this country, who are more numerous and pestilential in the town of York than the marshes and quagmires with which it is surrounded."

Thomas Clark, Robert Nichol, and Thomas Dickson, the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to erect a monument at Queenston to the memory of General Brock, reported during the Session of 1821-22 that they had secured from Richard Westmacott, of London, England, plans for a suitable monument but had found that the cost would be £2,000. The amount of the appropriation originally made was £1,000 (Halifax) which had accumulated by 1821 to £1,500. The Commissioner had opened a public subscription to make up the balance, but closed it again, in the belief that such an action might be an indelicate reflection upon the Legislature. By 1824 the necessary funds had been provided and on October 13th of that year the corner stone was laid. After the ceremony Sir Peregrine Maitland learned that the jar, placed according to tradition in the hollow of the foundation, contained a copy of *The Colonial Advocate.* Lest posterity might be corrupted by the reading of the reprehensible sentiments of the Editor, the Lieutenant-Governor had the foundation stone uncovered and the offending journal removed. This one incident explains more clearly than columns of description the state of perpetual indignation in which the official administrators found themselves. It shows also the yawning chasm in the mind of the melancholy soldier, where a sense of humor should have been.

Mackenzie moved to York late in 1824 and two years later was the victim of an outrage committed by a dozen young bloods of the First Families. On the evening of June 8th, the editor being out of town, the coterie broke into the office of *The Colonial Advocate,* destroyed the press and threw the type into the Bay. Among those implicated in the affair were Charles and Raymond Bâby, Henry Sherwood, Mr. Lyons, secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor, Samuel Peters Jarvis, Charles Richardson, James King, Charles Heward and Peter Macdougall. A civil suit for damages was instituted against these persons by Mackenzie, and was tried before Chief Justice Campbell, supported by two magistrates, William Allan and Alexander Macdonell. Bidwell, Stuart and Small were counsel for the plaintiff, Macaulay and Hagerman appeared for the defendants. Mackenzie was awarded damages of £625 and the costs of the action. There is a rare pamphlet of 1826 signed by these young men attempting to justify their conduct, but it is a poor defence.

The vexation of the official classes of York at Mackenzie and his "pestilent newspaper" was in no way modified by this victory in the Courts, particularly as the damages enabled him to clear himself of certain financial embarrassments and continue his work of agitation. It may be assumed that Sir Peregrine Maitland ended his term of office in 1828 with satisfaction to himself, since he was getting rid of a thorn in the flesh. Undoubtedly also the thorn was fully as cheerful over the departure of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

That eminent soldier was succeeded by Sir John Colborne, no less distinguished in the profession of arms, and no more diplomatic than his predecessor in the work of administration.

Mackenzie was elected to Parliament in 1828, the other Member for York being John Beverley Robinson. A year later Mr. Robinson became Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, a proof of the excellent impression he had made at the Colonial Office in the discussion of the proposed Bill for the uniting of the Canadian Provinces, and his seat in the Assembly was vacant.

The bye-election was contested by James E. Small and Robert Baldwin, and Mr. Baldwin had Mackenzie's support. The second number of *The Christian Guardian,* dated November 28th, 1829, had this reference to the polling: "The election for this town closed on Thursday last at 5 p.m., R. Baldwin, Esq., elected. At the close of the poll the candidates stood thus: J. E. Small, Esq., 52, R. Baldwin, 92. We understand that the election has been conducted with more moderation and circumspection than some others have been on former occasions, and that it has closed with very little unfriendly feeling between the two contending parties—with much less than is usually manifested in such contests. The returning officer gave perfect satisfaction to all parties, the candidates acted towards each other in the most courteous manner; and the conduct of the electors was such that no constable was called or needed during the whole contest."

The complexion of the House at this time was hostile towards the Administration. The Speaker was Marshall Bidwell, who was openly accused by the Government press as a republican. When the Assembly passed an Address to Sir John Colborne declaring that the advisers of the Governor had deservedly lost their confidence of the country during the previous administration, Sir John made a curt acknowledgement, but none of the advisers were changed.

Mr. Gurnett's *Upper Canada Courier* abused the Assembly with great heartiness, calling the Members "a tyrant gang" and "doting fools who loiter at camp-meetings." This last phrase was a fling at the Methodists. The pertinacity and vigor of Mackenzie and his friends in the House roused the Tories to reprisals, and when the general election took place in 1830 a majority favorable to the Administration was returned. Archibald McLean was elected Speaker by 26 to 14.

Mackenzie himself had been re-elected. The polling in York, for two members, resulted as follows: Jesse Ketchum, 616, Mackenzie 570, Washburn 425, Thorn 243. During the campaign he had distributed among the electors copies of the Journals of the House, which contained the votes on all divisions. The Administration party determined to consider this action as a breach of the privileges of the Assembly, and moved to expel Mackenzie. The motion failed, but in the next Session the plan succeeded too well.

On Dec. 6th, 1831, the Member for York was accused of libelling the Assembly. He had published the following sentences in *The Colonial Advocate*. "Our representative body has degenerated into a sycophantic office for registering the decrees of as mean and mercenary an Executive as ever was given as a punishment for the sins of any part of North America." Mackenzie's defence was so vigorous that it was adjudged an aggravation of the offence, and he was expelled by a vote of 24 against 15. Attorney-General Boulton in the course of his speech, called the offender "a reptile," and Hagerman the solicitor-general, dubbed him "a spaniel dog."

The electors of York did not approve of the decision. They made a hostile demonstration outside of Government House, and then chaired Mackenzie and carried him through the streets, pausing to cheer outside the office of *The Christian Guardian*. How the Tory party of the day regarded that newspaper, and the religious sect it served, may be judged by two quotations from *The Courier*, "the illiterate and mentally enslaved adherents of Ryersonian Episcopal Methodism," "the crafty Methodist Episcopal priesthood." At this time Ryerson was one of the champions of Mackenzie.

On January 2nd, 1832, Mackenzie was re-elected. At first he was opposed by a man named Street, but after an hour and a half of open voting the poll stood Street 1, Mackenzie 119. Street withdrew and Mackenzie was elected by acclamation. At the same time he was given a gold medal and chain, as a recognition by his constituents of his work in the House.

Four days after the election Solicitor-General Hagerman quoted in the Assembly an article printed on the previous day by *The Colonial Advocate*, and moved for Mackenzie's expulsion on the ground that again he had libelled Parliament. In his speech he complained that the Member for York had "cast a malignant and wicked glare across the House." The Members apparently were impressed by the accusation for they voted against Mackenzie by 27 to 19. This was on January 7th.

On January 30th there was another bye-election, Mackenzie securing 628 votes and James E. Small 96. The official party now declared that there had been no election, and the seat was considered as vacant. On December 16th, 1833, Mackenzie was again elected by acclamation, but on taking his place in the House was forcibly removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Meanwhile Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, sent a despatch to the Governor ordering that certain reforms that Mackenzie had advocated should go into effect. The Administration and its friends were at once angry and balky. The Legislative Council declared that the despatch was one that could not be regarded as calling for serious attention. *The Courier* called it "an elegant piece of fiddle-faddle, full of clever stupidity and condescending impertinence." Then in March, 1833, Boulton and Hagerman were dismissed by the British Government and the Tories talked loudly of rebellion.

The whole course of the Governor and his friends in this Mackenzie case seems to have been dictated by the insanity of rage. Even Archdeacon Strachan is said to have lapsed into Aberdonian dialect in urging his associates never to mind the law, but to turn Mackenzie "oot." Naturally the effect upon the people in general and particularly upon the inhabitants of York was irritating in the extreme.

The first result of that irritation appeared on the incorporation of the City of Toronto. The aldermen and councillors elected were mainly of the Reform party and they chose William Lyon Mackenzie as the first Mayor of the City, an office which he filled with conspicuous success. The second result was discovered in October, 1834, when at the general election the Assembly took on once more a Reform complexion. Marshall Bidwell was elected Speaker on the first ballot by a vote of 31 to 27. At this election Mackenzie was again returned for York, securing 364 votes against 178 for Edward Thomson.

Sir John Colborne was relieved of office in 1835, perhaps to the advantage of the Colony, but worse was to come in the appointment of Sir Francis Bond Head. Sir Francis opened the second Session of the Legislature on January 14th, 1836. On February 20th he called to the Executive Council John Henry Dunn, Robert Baldwin and John Rolph, all three moderate men well regarded by the country. On March 4th these resigned, together with Peter Robinson, George H. Markland and Joseph Wells. They had insisted upon being consulted on the progress of Government, but had been informed by Sir Francis that he alone was responsible and was to have recourse to their advice only when he required it.

The House of Assembly took the extreme course of refusing to grant supplies, and a meeting of citizens of Toronto passed an address of protest to the Governor. In reply Head declared that he should feel it as much his duty to reply to this address with as much attention as if it had proceeded from either branch of the Legislature, but he would express himself "in plainer and more homely language."

The phrase was tactless. Dr. Rolph and Father O'Grady of St. Paul's drafted a reply which in part was as follows: "We thank Your Excellency for replying to our address, principally from the industrial classes of the city, with as much attention as if it had proceeded from either branch of the Legislature, and we are duly sensible in receiving Your Excellency's reply of your great condescension in endeavoring to express yourself in plainer and more homely language, presumed by Your Excellency to be thereby brought down to the lower level of our plainer and more homely understanding."

On March 14th the Governor appointed to the Council Robert Baldwin Sullivan, William Allan, Augustus Baldwin and John Elmsley, but the Opposition was by no means placated. The House of Assembly passed a vote of want of confidence by 32 to 18, whereupon the Governor dissolved Parliament on May 28th, 1836, and set himself with the aid of his friends to manage the elections.

While Mackenzie was being systematically excluded from the House of Assembly he had the sympathy of *The Guardian* and its editor. But as his language became more and more bold, Ryerson's admiration cooled. When he visited England in 1835 and perceived the quality of the Radicalism of the day, when he was convinced that Mackenzie was the Canadian mouthpiece of Joseph Hume, he saw that the time had arrived to break with the Reform leader of Upper Canada.

On his return to Canada, Ryerson published his "Impressions," which dealt vigorously with the prophets of Radicalism and Infidelity. Mackenzie was angered and unlimbered his batteries. For months Ryerson was assailed in the most savage manner. There was a time when he and his followers were being rebuked both by Tories and Republicans. At the same time Ryerson was being criticized adversely by other Methodist ministers who did not perceive the revolutionary trend of the Reform party, despite Hume's letter to Mackenzie trusting that Upper Canada would soon be freed from the "baneful domination" of the Mother Country.

On July 15th, 1837, Mackenzie discussed in his newspaper the question: "Will the Canadians declare their independence and shoulder their muskets?" A quotation from that article follows: "Two or three hundred Canadians, meeting within twenty-five miles of the fortress of Quebec, in defiance of the proclamation, with muskets on their shoulders and the Speaker of the House of Commons at their head, to pass resolutions declaratory of their abhorrence of British colonial tyranny, and their determination to resist and throw it off, is a sign not easily misunderstood."

Long before this Dr. Baldwin and the Moderate Reformers, had parted company with Mackenzie. But there still remained with him a group of ardent admirers, willing to play the dangerous game of revolution, and apparently reckless of consequences to themselves or to others.

On August 2nd, 1837, Mackenzie published a Declaration of the Reformers of Toronto to their Fellow Reformers in Upper Canada. It recited a long list of grievances, and ended with a pledge to make common cause with the Reformers of Lower Canada, and to call a convention of delegates at Toronto "to take into consideration the condition of Upper Canada, with authority to its members to appoint Commissioners to meet others to be named on behalf of Lower Canada, and other colonies, armed with suitable powers as a Congress to seek an effectual remedy for the grievances of the Colonists."

This "declaration of independence" as it was called, was drafted by Father O'Grady and Dr. Rolph, considered by a Committee which met at Elliott's Hotel, on July 28th, and then submitted to a special meeting which assembled at John Doel's Brewery on the northwest corner of Bay and Adelaide Streets. After a resolution of thanks to Papineau and his Lower Canada followers, the meeting formed a Committee to draft a statement of aims and objects. On July 31st another meeting made the Committee a permanent executive. It was composed of James Hervey Price, — O'Beirne, John Edward Tims, John Doel, John McIntosh, James Armstrong, T. J. O'Neill, and W. L. Mackenzie.

Arrangements were made for a series of meetings throughout the Province and over 200 were held between August and December. Samuel Lount was the leader of the Newmarket sub-committee. The Reformers grew ever bolder, particularly as the Government pursued an even policy of indifference towards what was going on. Sir Francis Bond Head early in November sent all the troops to Lower Canada, a stratagem, as he declared afterwards, to induce the oppositionists to take as much rope as they desired. On November 11th there were three guns in the Toronto garrison, but only one regular soldier. In the City Hall were 6,000 muskets which had been sent up from Kingston some time before, and were still unpacked.

Mackenzie determined to organize a party to seize these arms, capture the Governor and the Executive Council and in this secure position dictate terms of peace. He brought the project before a meeting at Doel's, consisting of Dr. Morrison, John McIntosh, a retired lake captain, John Doel, Robert Mackay, a grocer, John Armstrong, an axe maker, Timothy Parsons, a dry goods merchant, John Mills, a hatter, Thomas Armstrong, a carpenter, William Lesslie, a bookseller and druggist, and John Elliott, an attorney.

Morrison demurred, saying that this was treason, but it is believed that he distrusted one of the men present and did not care to reveal his real sentiments. The plan was sound enough, but it demanded resolute men to carry it out, and nothing was done.

On November 15th Mackenzie printed the draft of a Constitution to be submitted to the proposed Convention. Three days later he had another plan; to organize the Reformers of the outlying districts under Lount to march on Toronto, first assembling secretly at Montgomery's Tavern on Yonge Street, about three and a half miles north of the City.

This plan was approved; Dr. Rolph was named to complete the arrangements and the date fixed for the concentration and the capture of Toronto, was Thursday, December 7th. Meantime Mackenzie made a tour of Stouffville, Lloydtown and Newmarket, to screw the resolution of his followers to the sticking point. In the absence of Mackenzie, Dr. Rolph heard some alarming rumors to the effect that all the plans of the rebels were known to the Government. Accordingly he changed the date to Monday, December 4th, and sent word to Lount to have his men from the north at Montgomery's at that time. Mackenzie arrived at David Gibson's house, two miles from Toronto—a little north of the present Bloor Street—on December 3rd, and learned of the change in the arrangements, with dismay. He sent word to Lount to countermand the order, but too late. The men were on the march, plodding through the infinite mud of north Yonge Street, and tasting some of the miseries of campaigning. They arrived, about 90 strong, at Montgomery's at the time appointed. Mackenzie thought they should march immediately into the city, but Lount, Lloyd and Gibson protested, and the last opportunity of success faded away.

Mackenzie, Shepherd, Smith and Captain Anderson, formed themselves into a scouting party to go into the city and see whether or not any preparations were being made to resist the rebels. On the way they met Alderman John Powell, Archibald McDonald and two students mounted, and took them prisoners, sending them to the rebel headquarters in charge of Anderson and Shepherd. Powell shot Anderson, eluded Shepherd and started back to the city, passing Mackenzie on the way. The rebel leader fired at him as he passed. Immediately Powell wheeled, put a pistol to Mackenzie's breast, and pulled the trigger. The weapon missed fire. A short time afterwards Powell appeared at Government House, splashed with mud, and bearing information full of matter.

Alderman Powell had gone scouting as a result of a story brought to him by a young man from Thornhill. Richard Frizzell, a young Loyalist of convivial habits, was at his father's house during December 4th, recovering from a social engagement of the previous evening. Lest he might go out again his mother had hidden his clothing. About nine o'clock in the evening, garbed in various cast-off garments which he had been able to find, he announced to the family that he must go to Toronto. He declared that he had seen armed men marching down Yonge Street to seize the city. As no other members of the family had seen or heard anything unusual, they thought Richard was mad. He insisted upon leaving the house, but as he turned north when reaching the gate, his relatives thought he was merely going to the tavern at Thornhill.

His errand to the village was to procure a horse, but as he did not succeed, he set out to walk to the city. All the way he was in touch with rebel bands, saw the concentration at Montgomery's Tavern, and heard that Colonel Moodie, who had attempted to warn the rebels, had been killed by Lount. Then striking across the fields he succeeded in reaching Toronto without being molested. Going straight to the City Hall he told his story to

Alderman George Monro, and later to Mayor Gurnett, and the Lieutenant-Governor. Sir Francis refused to believe the tale, set a man to watch Frizzell's future movements, and went home to bed. But Alderman John Powell determined to see for himself. In company with Archibald McDonald, the wharfinger, he had ridden northward.

Within the City there was one man only of the Extreme Tories who had read aright the signs of the times; the hero of the fight at Beaver Dams a quarter of a century before. Lieutenant-Colonel James Fitz Gibbon lived in a two-storey rough-cast house on the southwest corner of Queen and Spadina and was one of the picturesque and striking figures of his day. Powerful, well over six feet tall, and wearing a long full beard, he would have been a man to remark, even if he had been content to wear his tall beaver hat on his head. His habit of wearing it on his cane, and permitting the wind to keep his head cool, perhaps will indicate his independence of thought. He had the respect of all classes of people, but almost no one would share his belief in the imminence of insurrection.

In 1834 shortly after the establishment of Toronto as a city, the tax-rate was fixed at 3d in the pound. Mackenzie was Mayor and his opponents complained that the rate was exorbitant. A public meeting was held in the Marketplace, and a crowd was assembled in a gallery built over the butchers' stalls. Sheriff Jarvis, in proposing a vote of censure upon the action of the Mayor said: "I care no more for Mackenzie than for that crow," pointing to a bird winging slowly overhead. The crowd cheered, and stamped their approval so vigorously that the balcony collapsed and a number of persons were seriously hurt. Among them was George Fitz Gibbon, the sixteen-year old son of the Colonel. He had fallen on a butcher's meat-hook, was impaled and after a few hours of agony, died. The date was July 30th, 1834.

Even this calamity did not turn the Colonel away from his duty. During that same summer he organized a corps of young men whom he drilled, so that if necessity should arise they would be competent to serve as officers of militia. The work of this first Officers' Training Corps continued during the summer of 1835 and 1836.

The warnings of the Colonel were continually flouted by Sir Francis Bond Head. In the autumn of 1837 the Governor refused to fill the vacancies in the officers' ranks of the first Regiment of Militia which Colonel Fitz Gibbon commanded. Within two weeks of the actual rising of Mackenzie and his friends the Colonel made out a list of 126 men of whose loyalty he was certain and carried it to the Governor, saying that he intended to warn each man to be in readiness to come armed to Parliament House on hearing the bell of Upper Canada College ring the alarm. He purposed also asking Mayor Gurnett to warn all Loyalists east of Yonge Street to rally to the City Hall upon the ringing of the alarm on the church bell. "For the doing of this," he said, "I desire to have Your Excellency's sanction, but permit me to tell Your Excellency that whether you give me leave or not, I mean to do it." Fitz Gibbon was so resolute that the Governor gave a reluctant consent, although he declared roundly that the Colonel's apprehensions were without foundation. The rebellion had begun before Fitz Gibbon had time to warn more than 50 of the 126 men on his list.

On Saturday, December 2nd, a man came to Colonel Fitz Gibbon at the office of the Adjutant General, and in a private interview told him of what he had seen in the northern part of the County; blacksmiths busily engaged in forging pike-heads, carpenters making handles for them, and constant drilling by malcontents. Fitz Gibbon brought his informant to the Governor to tell his story, but still Head was unconvinced. Only William Allan was found to give credence to the tale. His support of Fitz Gibbon induced the Governor to permit the issue of a Militia General Order. This order was carried to the printer on the evening of December 4th, the date chosen by Dr. Rolph for the assembly at Montgomery's Tavern, and the date of Samuel Lount's arrival there with ninety men from Newmarket and the neighborhood.

Rumors of men marching on the city reached Toronto on Monday night. Fitz Gibbon had the College bell rung, and after some delay the church bell followed suit. Meantime he rode up Yonge Street as far as Rosedale Ravine in company with two students, Brock and Bellingham, to make a reconnaisance. The students insisted upon going farther, Fitz Gibbon gave consent, but reluctantly. Turning to ride back to the city he met John Powell and McDonald, the wharfinger, who were making a reconnaissance on their own account, and urged them to overtake the young men. A few moments later all four were taken prisoner. How Powell escaped and roused the town has already been related.

By sunrise on Tuesday some five or six hundred men were assembled in the Marketplace. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, in his Autobiography, pictures the scene: "We saw the Lieutenant-Governor in his every-day suit, with one double-barreled gun in his hand and another leaning against his breast, and a brace of pistols in his leathern belt. Also Chief Justice Robinson, Judges Macaulay, Jones and McLean, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, with their muskets, cartridge boxes, and bayonets, all standing in the ranks as private soldiers, under the command of Colonel Fitz Gibbon."

On December 5th the Governor sent a flag of truce to ask what the insurgents wanted. "Independence and a Convention," said Mackenzie, "and a decision within one hour." The curious thing about this parley is that Dr. Rolph appeared as the mediator on the Governor's behalf.

Fitz Gibbon reconnoitred the position at Montgomery's, perceived that a prompt attack would disperse the rebels, and sought permission to take 300 men and one six-pound gun and make the trial. Sir Francis refused, being resolved, evidently, to continue his folly to the last hour of act. He even protested against the posting of a picket under Sheriff Jarvis at the toll-gate, (at the n.e. corner of Bloor and Yonge Streets) but Fitz Gibbon took the responsibility, and there the first skirmish took place, the rebels falling back to their headquarters in consequence. Meantime Colonel MacNab arrived from Hamilton with 60 men and all day Wednesday militiamen from other parts of the Province were arriving, providing an immediate problem for the commissariat.

JAMES FITZ GIBBON

DR. JOHN ROLPH

On Wednesday Dr. Horne's house on upper Yonge Street was burned by the insurgents, and a scouting party set the Don bridge on fire. On that day Marshall Spring Bidwell was summoned to Government House. Sir Francis Bond Head showed him a packet of letters addressed to him, but still unopened, and suggested that if he would undertake to leave the country forever he could have the letters. If not, they would be opened, perhaps to his disadvantage. Although Bidwell had not been implicated in the organization of the Rebellion, he was a strong Reformer, and it is possible that his correspondence might have entangled some of his friends. He accepted the Governor's offer and left the country. On the next morning, before the Loyalists set out for Montgomery's Dr. Rolph realized his equivocal position as an organizer of the insurrection and as the spokesman of the Lieutenant-Governor, and departed for the United States.

The vacillation of the Lieutenant-Governor was at last overcome and permission to attack the rebels was granted. Then arose the question of leadership. Sir Francis at first favored Colonel MacNab, but Colonel Fitz Gibbon insisted upon his rights, and the two officers visited the Governor in his bed room for a decision. Fitz Gibbon received the appointment.

The alarm and excitement among the supporters of the Government at the rumors of marching men was not surprising when it is remembered that Mackenzie had many partisans within the City of Toronto. Even under a restricted franchise the people had elected him again and again, and had had a clear vision of the autocratic methods of the Administration. Scores of the better class people were in sympathy with the movement for reform; such men as Dr. Baldwin and his son Robert realized that there was infinite room for improvement in the Government of the Province. Probably in the City there were thousands who did not perceive the vast difference between constitutional agitation and organized rebellion, and continued their support of Mackenzie after the Moderates had deserted him. Then as now the City contained the usual proportion of Adullumites— men who lived in Toronto and hung loose upon society. It is probable that "everyone that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented" would have gathered themselves under Mackenzie and made him a captain over them. If, therefore, the direct-action men assembling at Eglinton had been able to seize the City and cow the supporters of the Government, they would have been immediately reinforced so largely that the rebellion might have been a success. The citizens were awaiting the outcome. Seven hundred Loyalists standing armed in a City of 10,000 people, overawed the restless element.

Colonel Fitz Gibbon's "Sketch of the Distribution of the attack this morning, December 7th, 1837," * is probably not the actual distribution which was made, since there is no mention of Chisholm, but it is of importance as showing the names of most of the officers who participated in the march, if not in the action. Apparently the first portion of the Sketch is merely a catalogue of the forces available. The latter part relates to their disposition.

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* The Sketch is reprinted from "A Veteran of 1812, the Life of Lieut.-Col. James Fitz Gibbon," by Mary Agnes Fitz Gibbon.

Colonel Macnab.
Lieutenant Nash, 1st Company.
Advance Guard.
Lieutenant Coppinge, 2nd Company.
Lieutenant Garrett, 3rd Company.
Major Draper.
Henry Sherwood.

TWO GUNS

Captain William Jarvis, 1st Company, Battalion.
Captain Campbell, 2nd Company.
Captain Nation, 3rd Company.
Captain Taylor, 4th Company.
Captain Jno. Powell, 5th Company.
Henry Sherwood, 6th Company.
Henry Draper, 7th Company.
Donald Bethune, 8th Company.
Colonel Samuel McLean, Lieutenant Cox to aid.
Lieut.-Col. George Duggan.
Major John Gamble.
Judge Macaulay.
Colonel McLean, For the Left Battalion.
Colonel Jones.
Colonel Jno. Macaulay.
Captain Macaulay.
Captain Durnford.

ARTILLERY

Captain Mathias.
Major Carfrae.
Captain Leckie.

DRAGOONS

Three Companies in front.
One Gun. Major Carfrae.
Four Companies.
The men of Gore under Colonel Macnab.
One Gun.
Four Companies.
Right Flank under Colonel S. Jarvis.
One Company men of Scarboro in the woods, with Col. Allen McLean.
Left Flank under Colonel Archibald McLean.
Two Companies under Colonel Jones.

The Loyalists were drawn up in three columns. Colonel Chisholm, with Judge McLean, was in charge of the left wing which marched up College Avenue and was the first to come in touch with the rebels. Colonel MacNab commanded the centre, which went north by way of Yonge Street, and Colonel Samuel Jarvis led the right wing. Two guns of small calibre were in charge of Major Carfrae.

The force got in motion at noon of Thursday, December 7th, and by one o'clock were in sight of the insurgents, clustered on the rise known as Gallows Hill. They were insufficiently armed, undisciplined, and showed that lack of morale which comes from being on the wrong side of the law. Mackenzie led the best of his followers into a fringe of woods to the west of Yonge Street, but though they tried to make a stand the fight was a hopeless one and the rebels were soon scattered. Montgomery's Tavern and Gibson's house were burned in reprisal.

Mackenzie succeeded in eluding pursuit and after an adventurous week of instant peril succeeded in crossing the Niagara River from the neighborhood of Chippawa. The steady loyalty of his friends who were not tempted by the reward of £1,000 for the capture of the rebel leader, tends to prove that Mackenzie had qualities of earnestness and sincerity which were generally recognized.

Mackenzie, during 1836 and 1837 lived on York Street, between Queen and Richmond, in a two-storey brick house on the lot now numbered 184. After he had fled the house was immediately put under surveillance, and was thoroughly searched for papers. Nothing of particular moment was found, but on Sunday, December 10th, the people returning from Church saw fragments of charred paper coming from the chimneys. Mrs. Mackenzie had burned all her husband's letter files. In a few days she joined her husband in Buffalo.

Coaching Days on the Kingston Road

CHAPTER VII.

After the Rebellion

Sir Francis Bond Head
From the painting in the John Ross Robertson Collection

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER THE REBELLION.

THE triumph of a well-armed body of militiamen, capably led, over one of hungry men with pikes and an occasional musket was to be expected. There was no need to sully it by acts of revenge, conceived in weakness and carried out against the protest of experienced soldiers. The burning of David Gibson's house at the specific order of Sir Francis Bond Head is a complete revelation of that alleged statesman's character. "Many are the afflictions of the righteous." Governor Head might be counted among the prime afflictions of our grandfathers who were weaving the fabric of freedom in this Province of Ontario.

On the morning of the fight Peter Mathews, one of the rebel leaders, had been detached with some two hundred men to harass the guard at the Don bridge. When word came that the main body of the insurgents had beaten at Gallows Hill, Matthews and his party marched east some four miles along the Kingston Road and then scattered, to work their way back towards Yonge Street. Mathews found shelter at John Milne's house. A neighbor named Johnston saw that strangers were at Milne's. Immediately he raised a crowd of his Tory friends, brought Mathews out of the house and took him to Toronto, getting the reward offered for his capture as one of the ringleaders.

Samuel Lount and some of his followers went west from Yonge Street before they scattered. Lount reached Galt and was aided by friends to the shore of Lake Erie. He attempted to cross the lake but his boat was driven ashore by floating pieces of ice. He was captured not far from Fort Erie, delivered to the keeping of Colonel MacNab and sent to Toronto in chains.

Mackenzie's story of his own escape, as found in the "life" by Charles Lindsey, is a brilliant piece of writing which ought to be better known. Having reached Buffalo the rebel leader became acquainted with Thomas Jefferson Sutherland and Rensellaer Van Rensellaer, two men of Anglophobe temper and filibustering inclinations, who sought volunteers to deliver Upper Canada from under the paw of the British lion. They established themselves on Navy Island, to prepare for an invasion, and sent word to Dr. Duncombe, the Reform leader in the Niagara district, to expect them. On December 13th a Provisional Government was set up, there being 24 voluneers and two incompatible leaders. Meanwhile Colonel MacNab was on the Canadian side with a dependable force, throwing an occasional cannon-shot across the river, and making invasion impossible.

Word came to MacNab that the rebels or "pirates" as he was pleased to call them, had bought the steamer *Caroline,* then lying at her American wharf opposite Navy Island. The steamer measured only 46 tons and (aside from American adventurers) her crew consisted of two men and a black boy. Captain Drew, of the Royal Navy, acting with the approval of Colonel MacNab, determined to cut out the *Caroline.* On December 29th, one hour after midnight, he crossed the river with seven boats and sixty-three men, captured the steamer after a swift fight, set her on fire, towed her into the river, and then set her adrift. Down the rapid stream she floated and plunged over the Falls.

There was an outburst of indignation in the United States over this invasion of a friendly country. It was intensified by the prompt action of the British Government in conferring a knighthood upon Colonel MacNab. The Upper Canada Assembly tendered the thanks of the Province to the men engaged in the *Caroline* affair and voted money for swords of honor to be presented to Sir Allan MacNab and Captain Drew. For a time there was real danger of war, but the United States had been too free in permitting the open engagement of volunteers for Van Rensellaer's filibustering party, and the controversy died down.

Meanwhile Dr. Duncombe and his followers had been scattered by MacNab and the rebellion was over, so far as Upper Canada was concerned. The jail at Toronto was full, for the loyalists were not in good temper. Many innocent persons were imprisoned, despite the Governor's talks about clemency.

Lount and Mathews were arraigned before the Court of Queen's Bench on Monday, March 26th, 1838, on a charge of High Treason. Both pleaded guilty and were remanded until the 29th for sentence. On that day they were brought before Chief Justice Robinson who delivered a long address to the prisoners before pronouncing the death sentence. Some extracts from the address here follow: "It was open to you, if you were discontented with the Government that protected you, to sell your possessions here and transfer yourselves to any other country whose laws and institutions you liked better than your own. That you could have done without violation of your oaths of allegiance and without loading your consciences with crime. You might, perhaps, have found after making the experiment, that you had gained nothing by the change, but you would have incurred no guilt by the attempt."

"Instead of being thankful to a kind Providence which had cast your lot in this free and prosperous country, you have, I fear, too long and unreservedly indulged in a feeling of envy and hatred towards your rulers, which was sure to undermine every just and generous sentiment and to lead in the end to the ruin of your happiness and peace."

"It is one of the miserable consequences of the abuse of liberty that a licentious press is permitted to poison the public mind with the most absurd and wicked misrepresentations which the ill-disposed, without enquiry, receive and act upon as truths. It is, to be sure, in the power of the laws to restrain this evil to a certain extent, or, at least, they may attempt to do so, but such is the perverseness of a great portion of mankind that, whenever it is endeavored to exert this power, the attempt is felt and resented as an infringement upon liberty. The viper, unhappily, is cherished in the bosom, till, as in your case, it gives the deadly sting, and then it is acknowledged when it is too late, that it would have been mercy not to have spared so long."

The whole tone of the address of the Chief Justice on this occasion reflects the view of the ruling class of that period: namely, that there were no grievances under which the inhabitants were suffering, that the Government and the administration of it were without flaw or blemish, and that anyone who complained was necessarily either ignorant or malicious. That this view was erroneous everyone knows to-day, but the first administrator to perceive the error was Lord Durham. It is not surprising that his report, now regarded as the corner-stone of British Colonial liberty, was received by the Family Compact with surprise and indignation.

On March 23rd, 1838, Sir George Arthur arrived in Toronto to succeed Sir Francis Bond Head as Lieutenant-Governor. He soon intimated that no severe measures would be taken in reprisal for the activities of the rebels. But two weeks later, on April 12th, 1838, Lount and Mathews walked out of the jail to die. Despite the pleadings of Mrs. Lount, despite the presenting of a petition for mercy, signed by 8,000 persons, despite the warning of Lord Glenelg, Colonial Minister, against undue severity, Sir George Arthur declined to stay the executions. The scaffold was erected before the jail near the corner of the present Toronto and Court Streets, for the day of privacy in hangings had not yet come. The prisoners mounted the steps without a tremor and died as brave men, Rev. James Richardson reciting the final prayer, and the Sheriff and Deputy Sheriff with drawn swords standing beside the offenders. In the Necropolis is a granite shaft bearing the following inscription:

"Samuel Lount was the eldest son of the late Gabriel Lount, an Englishman, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in the middle of the Eighteenth Century, and of Philadelphia Hughes, his wife, a Quakeress. He emigrated to Upper Canada and settled near Newmarket in 1811. In 1834 he represented the County of Simcoe in the Upper Canada Legislature, and served for two years. In 1836 he became a candidate again and was defeated by corrupt practices used by his political opponents. A petition of 8,000 people asked for a reprieve which was refused. He lived a patriot and died for popular rights.

"Peter Mathews was the son of Peter Mathews, Sr., a United Empire Loyalist, who fought on the British side in the Revolutionary War, and at its close settled with his wife and family in the townsite of Pickering, in the (then) County of York. Peter Mathews, the son, belonged to Brock's volunteers during the war of 1812 to 1815 and fought in various battles in Upper Canada of that war. He was known and respected as an honest and prosperous farmer, always ready to do his duty to his country, and died as he lived, a patriot."

At least two other prisoners were sentenced to the gallows: John Anderson and John Montgomery. Anderson made no protest at the sentence, but Montgomery said to the Court: "You think you can send me to the gallows, but I tell you that when you are all frizzling with the Devil, I shall be keeping tavern on Yonge Street." The punishment was commuted to transportation and the two men were kept in jail until June 8th when they were sent with others to Fort Henry, near Kingston. In this party were Wilson Reed, ———Kennedy, Thomas Tracy, John Stewart, Leonard Watson, John G. Parker, Stockdale Morden, Brophy Marr, Michael Shepherd and Thomas Shepherd. They dug through the stone wall of the prison and escaped, and all but Watson and Parker succeeded in reaching the American side of the St. Lawrence. In course of time, when the rebellion had been officially forgotten, Montgomery returned to Toronto, and, as he had promised, opened a tavern on Yonge Street.

Among the friends of Mackenzie who were arrested was Dr. Morrison. He was tried on a charge of high treason on April 5th, 1838, Robert Baldwin being his counsel. He established an alibi and was acquitted. Many who were thrown into jail on suspicion were released without a trial and soon normal conditions were restored. While the administration did not press charges against minor figures in the insurrection, some district leaders were sent into exile, and an effort was made to secure the extradition of Mackenzie. Naturally, the Governor of New York declined to surrender a political offender and gave no credit to the official charge that he had been guilty of other crimes.

During the year following the Rebellion sporadic filibustering occurred along the border. "Hunters' Lodges" were established in American cities, composed of ardent Anglophobes, and two specific attacks were made, one at Prescott under Von Schultz and one at Sandwich. Von Schultz, with about one hundred followers, got possession of an old stone mill at Prescott, but they were soon dislodged, and the leader and nine others were hanged as outlaws at Kingston. Colonel Prince, at Sandwich, after beating the small force sent across the river against him, hanged four of the leaders out of hand.

Meanwhile Lord Durham had arrived in Canada as Governor-General, with authority to find a cure for the discontent which had manifested itself in violence both in Upper and Lower Canada. As far as possible he detached himself from the dominant Party, took an exalted attitude towards the social and political leaders, and purposely made no friends. His report is one of the great State Papers of British history. His recommendation, in brief, was the re-union of the Provinces under Responsible Government, and the setting up of elective municipal institutions. Naturally the report was denounced and opposed both in England and in Canadian official circles, but for all that it is the charter of Canadian liberty and the corner-stone of the British Empire.

Lord Durham arrived in Quebec at the end of May, 1838. He visited Toronto on July 17th, was received by a great concourse assembled at Queen's Wharf, and, according to a fulsome newspaper report of the day, "delighted all classes by his affability, courtesy and kindness." He stayed only twenty-four hours. By the autumn his report was completed and he had resigned office.

At the Session of Parliament following the uprising, a Special Committee was appointed to consider the political state of the Provinces. Henry Sherwood was Chairman, but the report lacked fairness and balance, as the following quotation will show: "In Upper Canada the riot or insurrection (it deserves not the name of rebellion) confined to less than 1,000 out of 450,000 inhabitants, proceeded from a heedless preference of the democratic institutions of the neighboring Republic on the part of a small number of worthless men, chiefly of broken fortune, who had contrived by the most gross and detestable system of falsehood and misrepresentation, to delude a few hundreds of the most ignorant and credulous of the people to unite

MAYORS

William Lyon Mackenzie,
The First Mayor, 1834.

Charles Alfred Maguire,
The Present Mayor, 1922-1923.

with them in the criminal attempt to seize upon the seat of Government and the public offices and to subvert the constitution."

The report of the Board of Education for the Home District submitted to the Legislature on February 26th, 1839, was brief and to the point: "For the year ending December 31st, 1838, 89 common schools have been open, in which were 2,557 scholars. The branches of education usually taught are reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and English grammar. All of which is respectfully submitted: (Signed) John Strachan." A schedule of schools with the names of the teachers employed followed. Toronto City had two such schools; one conducted by Daniel H. Mayne, with 25 pupils, the other, by James Magill, with 24 pupils.

The population of the City by wards in 1838 was: St. George, 1,092; St. Andrew, 2,699; St. Lawrence, 1,941; St. Patrick, 2,211; St. David, 4,628; a total of 12,571. Clearly the whole of the children of school age were not being taught. St. David's ward comprised the district north of King Street and east of Yonge. The trend of settlement was away from the waterside region east of the market, and already Yonge Street divided the city almost equally. There were 6,002 persons west of that thoroughfare and 6,469 to the eastward.

During the period of embittered controversy which had its climax in the rebellion, and its justification in the recommendations of the Durham report, the municipal government of the City of Toronto was fully established. A passing reference has been made to the first council. It is time to review its work in more detail.

The Proclamation establishing the corporation in accordance with the Act was dated March 15th, 1834. After reviewing the legislation the document proceeds: "Now therefore, know ye that by virtue and in pursuance of the provision and authority contained in the said recited Act, we have thought fit to appoint, and do by this, our Royal Proclamation, appoint, that the first election for aldermen and common councilmen for the several wards aforesaid, shall be held on Thursday, the 27th day of March next, ensuing the date hereof, at the hour of nine o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, and at the several places hereinafter mentioned, that is to say: for the ward of St. George, at Wright's Inn; for the ward of St. Patrick, at Elliott's Inn; for the ward of St. Andrew, at Falvey's Inn; for the ward of St. David, at the Court House; for the ward of St. Lawrence, at the Ontario House."

The first meeting of Council was held on April 3rd, when Mr. Doel was appointed Chairman *pro tempore*. The motion to appoint William Lyon Mackenzie as Mayor was moved by Mr. Jackes and seconded by Mr. Lesslie, and the Yeas and Nays on the question were as follows:

YEA: Doel, Turton, Jackes, Drummond, Lesslie, Bostwick, Harper, Wright, Arthurs and Morrison—10.

NAY: Craig, Gurnett, Trotter, Monro, Denison, Armstrong, Carfrae, and Duggan—8.

During the year three of these voting "Nay," namely, Craig, Gurnett and Denison, were in continuous and resolute opposition to Mackenzie and his friends. All appointments suggested, all motions favored by the Reformers in the Council were opposed. For instance, James Hervey Price was appointed City Clerk on a vote of 15 to 3. In like manner Tory proposals were most carefully examined by the majority. When on April 22nd, Alderman Duggan, seconded by Alderman Denison, moved that the Building Committee be authorized to purchase a green cloth for the table in the Council Chamber, there was an amendment, fathered by Alderman Lesslie and Mr. Doel, that the word "green" be struck out of the original motion. The amendment prevailed.

Dr. Rolph had removed himself from this arena of controversy by refusal to take his seat. He was succeeded by Dr. John E. Tims. George Duggan's election was protested, and he was unseated, William Cawthra taking his place on May 1st. On September 15th Lardner Bostwick died, and Joshua D. Beard sat for the remainder of the year as common councilman for St. Lawrence ward.

The officials appointed by the first Council in addition to the City Clerk, were Matthew Walton, City Chamberlain; Charles Barnhart, Governor of the Jail, and William Higgins, Chief of Police. Mr. Walton died in midsummer and was succeeded by Andrew T. McCord.

On May 19th, 1834, the Finance Committee, the Mayor as Chairman, reported that the town assessment roll of the previous year showed rateable property within the City of £131,519. It was estimated that since the valuation was 25 per cent. low, the tax returns at a rate of one penny in the pound would be £684, 19s 10d. To this was added £200 for fees, licenses, fines and forfeitures, making an estimated gross income of £884 19s 10d.

From this had to be deducted Statute Labor charges for street improvement, as required by the Act of Incorporation, amounting to £696 12s 6d., leaving only £188 7s. 4d. to meet salaries and contingent expenses, to say nothing of the interest on an overdraft of more than £9,000 at the Bank. It required no great financial genius to determine that the tax-rate had to be increased, even though the income from leases and rentals at the market amounted to £984 6s.

The insistence of Mackenzie and his friend Lesslie on the necessity of increased taxation cost them their seats at the next election. The Council of 1835 was as follows:

St. Andrew's ward: Aldermen, Dr. Thomas D. Morrison, John Harper; Councilmen, John Doel and John Armstrong.

On June 5th Armstrong resigned and was succeeded by William Ketchum.

St. David's ward: Aldermen, Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan and George Duggan, sr.; Councilmen, George Henderson and Charles Stotesbury.

St. George's ward: Aldermen, Thomas Carfrae, jr., and Edward Wright.

Wright was unseated and succeeded by George Gurnett, who took his place on April 13th. Councilmen, John Craig and Alexander Rennie.

St. Lawrence ward: Alderman, Dr. John King and George Monro; Councilmen, Joshua G. Beard and Alexander Dixon.

St. Patrick's ward: Aldermen, George T. Denison, sr., and Richard H. Thornhill; Councilmen, James Trotter and George Nichol.

The City Clerk resigned on February 26th, 1835, and was succeeded by Charles Daly. There was a new Chief of Police, George Kingsmill.

The second Mayor of the City was Hon. R. B. Sullivan, K.C. The Finance Committee, under the chairmanship of Alderman Gurnett, reported on March 27th. A complete record of the outlays under the Council of the previous year showed that a deficit of £1,500 had been incurred. The main items of expenditure were:

	£	s	d
Planking the sidewalks of the City	705	11	2
Labor done on the streets and roads and road implements	1,029	7	6
Constables and expenses attending the jail	275	0	7
Furniture, carpenter work and expenses attending alerations and improvements in the market building (to be used as a City Hall)	317	13	5½
Printing and stationery	251	9	9
Salaries, including assessors and collectors	457	10	
On account of Cholera	706	2	4
Various improvements	563	0	6
	£4,305	15s	3½d

The receipts from taxes were £2,349 12s. 8d. and from various other sources of revenue £492 14s. 4½d. Sir John Colborne for the Province contributed £685 19s. 11d. on account of Cholera.

The Committee declared that the Council of 1835 assumed the management of the finances under peculiarly difficult and discouraging circumstances. It was impossible to secure additional revenue until a new Assessment Act was passed by the Legislature. Some patent inequalities in taxation had occurred under the law in force since the incorporation. Until the revenue was materially increased it would be difficult to borrow money, and impossible to make improvements on the streets. It was reported that the debt of £9,240 due to the Bank of Upper Canada had been provided for by the issue of debentures of an eight year term bearing interest at 6 per cent. The debt on the Market Building was £7,954 7s. 8d., but the revenues of the Market were £1,121 14s.

The nature of the improvements required may be judged by the motion of Alderman Duggan and Alderman Beard on February 25th, 1835, "That the crossings of this city be done with stone, (and be) four feet wide." Alderman Gurnett being mindful of finance moved in amendment that the Road Committees of the respective Wards should be requested to report to Council as soon as practicable what number of crossing places were required, together with an estimate of the cost of their construction.

The city was continually growing and the need for a professional police force was apparent. On March 11th, Council determined that five persons be appointed as police constables, to be in constant attendance at the Police Office and otherwise employed under the direction of the High Bailiff and the City Magistrates. The five named were Edward Bryan, Calvin Davis, Nicholas Fennel, Morgan O'Mara and Francis Earls. In addition fourteen men were appointed supernumerary constables to act as they might be required. They were: Joseph Milligan, John Luttrey, Robert Perry, James Fielding, John Dobson, Francis O'Connor, James Gordon, Jesse Hendrick, Owen Scanlon, Hill Wilson, Timothy O'Connor, John Watkins, John Battle and George Platt. George Stitt was named Chief of Police.

Those citizens of the present generation remembering the long association of Colonel George T. Denison with the Toronto Police Force, as Senior Magistrate and Chairman of the Police Commission will be interested to learn that the Chairman of the Committee of Council which brought in the recommendations above stated was the Colonel's grandfather, Alderman George T. Denison of St. Patrick's Ward.

On March 26th Nicholas Harvey was named as City Bellman, an official necessary enough before the time of daily newspapers, and it was the Council of 1835 that ordered a "suitable robe of office" for the Mayor. In our day the robe of office seems to be the black frock coat, but there was a sense of dignity in those older times which perhaps fled away before this generation was born.

On April 1st proposals from George Heathcote for the building of a steamboat to ply between the city and the "Peninsula" were laid before Council.

The beginning of the great sewer-system of the City of Toronto was on May 6th, 1835, when the Committee on Draining and Paving brought in an elaborate report, recommending the construction of a main sewer on King Street from west to east, into which all other drains and sewers might be conducted. The proposal was that the small creek crossing King Street near the Government House should be turned into an underground channel 5 ft. 6 in. deep and 2 ft. 3 in. wide, the bottom to be constructed of stone 12 inches thick, or of brick nine inches thick. The sewer should run from the corner of York street eastward to Mr. Small's corner, at King and Berkeley Streets, and thence southward to the Bay. The estimated cost of the improvement was £4,125. If the discharge should be into the Don channel in the marsh instead of into the Bay the cost would be £1,800 more.

The beginning of the Local Improvement System which is operative in Toronto appears in this quotation from the Committee's report: "To aid the Corporation in defraying the expense of making this sewer, your Committee recommend that the owners or occupiers of houses on both sides of King Street along the line of the sewer should be called upon to contribute at the rate of 5s. per foot front for the privilege of making a drain from their respective premises into the main sewer. Assuming that these contributions will be obtained from the owners or occupiers of premises upon three-quarters of the said line, the sum of £2,500 will be received from this source alone. The residue of the means (say, £1,625) to effect this great improvement must be obtained from the product of an assessment upon the citizens."

The report was signed by George Gurnett, Thomas Carfrae, and John Craig, and in due course the sewer was constructed, with the addition of feed-drains down York, Bay, Yonge, Church and Jarvis Streets. The actual outlay was £5,705 4s. 4d., provided by serial debentures of a maximum term of five years. Mr. J. M. Roy was the Civil Engineer employed to supervise the construction of the sewer.

Early in May, 1835, a select committee reported that offal and rubbish might be deposited in the field at the rear of Jesse Ketchum's house, where Ryrie Brothers' jewellery store now stands. Either the Council might let Mr. Ketchum have the rubbish, or he would pay if necessary sevenpence half-penny a load at the turnpike gate. The Committee had other suggestions as well. There was a suitable dumping ground near the old Parliament Buildings, at the southern end of Berkeley Street, another south of York Street, and still another south of Church Street.

On May 16th Council requested the Board of Health to employ one or more cartmen with their carts as scavengers, to remove the filth and other nuisances from the streets to the public receptacles pointed out by the Board. In the accounts passed on this same date a sum of £25 was advanced to the Hook and Ladder Company, and in October £45 more was granted to enable the members of the Company to get suitable "dresses." The firewood purchased by the city during the year 1835, cost, in our money, about $2.20 a cord.

Aldermen at that time were able to develop ill-temper occasionally. George Duggan, in the absence of the Mayor, was elected temporary President of the Council. Early in May he declined to put a resolution which had been regularly moved and seconded and left the Council Chamber. The affair was discussed at the meeting of May 12th, when the Alderman was adjudged "guilty of contempt, and of a high breach of the Privileges of this Council." In answer Mr. Duggan made a suitable apology for his offence, and after solemn consideration that apology was graciously accepted.

Sometimes there were glints of political fire in the proceedings. During the term of the first Council in 1834, official reference was made to the letter of Joseph Hume to William Lyon Mackenzie which expressed the hope that the colonists of Upper Canada would soon be relieved from the "baneful domination of the Mother Country." Alderman Lesslie on that occasion had presented a resolution which declared that Mr. Hume's hopes and desires had been misrepresented, that he was merely anxious that the grievances of the people suffering under a tyrannical administration should be eased. The resolution carried, but fifteen months later Council determined that it should be expunged from the journal. Accordingly the manuscript minutes of June 9th, 1834, are criss-crossed with ink.

The Council of 1835 was particularly loyal. It presented an Address of flowery compliment to Sir John Colborne on his retirement from Upper Canada in January, 1836, Aldermen Doel, Harper and Ketchum dissenting, and had another ready for Sir Francis Bond Head on his arrival.

As usual the elections of 1836 were held in the most convenient tavern of each Ward. The result was as follows: St. Andrew's Ward: Aldermen, Thomas D. Morrison, M.D., and John Harper; councilmen, John Doel and William Ketchum. St. David's Ward: Aldermen, James E. Small and James King; councilmen, James Hervey Price (former City Clerk) and Edward McElderry. St. George's Ward: Aldermen, George Gurnett and John King, M.D.; councilmen, John Craig and George Walton. St. Lawrence Ward: Aldermen, John Eastwood and William Cawthra; councilmen, James Beaty and William Arthurs. St. Patrick's Ward: Aldermen, George T. Denison and Richard T. Thornhill; councilmen, Thomas Cooper and James Trotter.

The City Clerk was Charles Daly, James Stitt continued as Chief of Police, and John Kidd, Sr., was Governor of the Jail. Dr. Morrison was appointed Mayor, the vote being 11 to 8 in his favor.

At the first meeting of Council on January 14th complaints of electoral improprieties were made against Dr. Morrison, Gurnett, Walton, Craig, Small, James King and McElderry, but on investigation the charges were not proved and all members retained their seats.

On February 18th Council received a communication from Thomas Roy, the engineer "on the subject of bringing water into the city," and referred it to a special committee. Details concerning the plan submitted find no place in the Journals of Council, but on October 13th the following motion was passed: "That the Report presented this day by the special committee appointed to enquire into the best method of bringing water into the city from the neighboring springs be adopted, and that this Council do pledge itself to aid and assist (except by the appropriation of the City's funds) in every possible way any Company or corporate body which shall be formed, the object of which shall be the bringing of pure and wholesome water into the city, either for domestic use, or for other purposes connected with the prosperity of the city either in a manufacturing or mercantile point of view."

During the year 1836 also a committee was formed to consider the proposal of lighting the streets with gas, the gas-house to be built "near the old Parliament Buildings,"—where it is still situated. The project was not carried out until 1841.

On March 18th a vigorous resolution with reference to the Provincial administration was moved by Messrs. Small and McElderry, Council by a vote of 11 to 3, resolved:

"That at the present most difficult and important era in the history of this Province, when this Council had fondly hoped that the appointment of His Excellency, Sir Francis Bond Head, to the Government of this country, with the accession to the Executive Council appointed for the affairs thereof of gentlement of talent, known to possess liberal constitutional principles, would have insured to its inhabitants that wise, just and liberal policy so imperiously demanded to strengthen the bonds of union between the Mother Country and this Colony, this Council have with regret and surprise witnessed their just anticipation destroyed by the dissolution of the late Executive Council, and the appointment of another in their stead, composed of gentlemen who, however worthy in their individual private capacity, are incapable, from their well-known political views, of giving satisfaction to the people; and that this Council as the representatives of the inhabitants of the Capital of Upper Canada, from these as well as other causes not necessary to be here explained on account of their general notoriety, have no confidence whatever in the present Provincial Administration, not deeming them competent to advise with the representative of our most gracious Sovereign upon the peace, welfare and prosperity of the Province; and that a humble address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, praying His Excellency that he will be pleased to dismiss the said advisers and call to his Council gentlemen possessing the public confidence, as the only measure, in the opinion of this Council, calculated to insure the tranquillity of the Province at the present crisis."

The "Nays" were Cooper, Gurnett and Walton.

Elections for 1837 resulted as follows: St. Andrew's Ward: Aldermen, John Armstrong and John Powell; councilmen, John Ritchey and Hugh Carfrae. St. David's Ward: Aldermen, Simon Washburn and Charles Stotesbury; councilmen, George Henderson and James Turner. St. George's Ward: Aldermen, George Gurnett and Dr. John King; councilmen, John Craig and George Walton. St. Lawrence Ward: Aldermen, George Monro and Alexander Dixon; councilmen, Joshua G. Beard and James Browne. St. Patrick's Ward: Aldermen, George T. Denison and Richard H. Thornhill; councilmen, James Trotter and Robert Blevins. Mr. George Gurnett was elected Mayor, and naturally a Council under his domination began the year with an address of congratulation to Sir Francis Bond Head which expressed approval of his administration.

On February 20th Alderman Denison moved that the Constabulary Force of the City should be put into a plain uniform and that the sum of Five Pounds be allowed for the uniform of each constable.

On May 4th, 1837, the City of Toronto and Lake Huron Rail Road Company made application for certain water lots on the Bay front, and the Council expressed sympathy with the proposal that such lots should be granted to the Company. That was the beginning of a movement which ultimately left the whole water front in the hands of private railway corporations.

On August 2nd Queen Victoria was proclaimed and a loyal address was adopted. The ceremonies attendant upon the proclamation may be judged by the following resolution of Council, passed on August 1st:

> "His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, having communicated to this Corporation through His Worship, the Mayor, the desire that the members of the Corporation should attend at the Chamber of the Executive Council to-morrow at noon upon the occasion of proclaiming the accession to the Throne of her Majesty, Queen Victoria, that this Corporation do attend at the Executive Council Chamber accordingly and that the members do assemble at 11 o'clock at the City Hall to make the necessary preparations for the subsequent proceedings of the day. That as soon as the ceremony of proclaiming Her Majesty is completed at the Executive Council Chamber, and by the Secretary of the Province at the Hall, this Corporation at the head of the procession that may be formed for the purpose do proceed to the City Hall and there make the like proclamation, and afterwards proceed in like order to the most public parts of the City for the purpose of repeating the same, the procession to return and be dismissed at the City Hall."

On October 30th an address of thanks was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor for the confidence of Sir Francis in permitting all the troops to go to Lower Canada and in committing to the care of the corporation 6,000 stand of arms and complete military accoutrements. It was the presence of a portion of these arms in the City Hall that was the immediate cause of the Rebellion. For the remainder of the year there was but little business for the attention of Council, and oddly enough there was no meeting between December 2nd and December 29th. The insurrection began and was ended during the week beginning Sunday, December 3rd. No official mention of the disturbance was made on the 29th, but there is clear evidence in the minutes of 1838 that few Reformers had been successful at the elections. John Powell "the saviour of the city" was chosen as Mayor.

The roster of Council was as follows: St. Andrew's Ward: John Powell and John Armstrong as aldermen, John Ritchey and Hugh Carfrae as councilmen. St. David's Ward: Charles Stotesbury and James Newbigging as aldermen, George Henderson and Alexander Hamilton as councilmen. James Newbigging died on February 19th and was succeeded by Samuel E. Taylor. He, in turn, died during July and George Duggan, jr., was chosen for his seat. St. George's Ward: James G. Chewett and George Gurnett as alderman, George Walton and John Craig as councilmen. St. Lawrence Ward: George Monro and Alexander Dixon as aldermen, Joshua G. Beard and James Browne as councilmen. St. Patrick's Ward: George T. Denison and William H. Boulton as aldermen, James Trotter and Robert Blevins as councilmen.

This Council (like all succeeding ones until 1850) was elected for a two-year term. In order to bring the new system into effect the aldermen and councilmen of each ward who received fewest votes retired at the end of 1838.

At the meeting of March 2nd the first steps looking towards the establishment of a single fire-department were taken. Dissensions in one of the volunteer companies had resulted in its dissolution and Council determined upon a complete reorganization, putting the Department in charge of Thomas D. Harris as Chief Engineer.

An address of compliment to Sir George Arthur, the successor of Sir Francis Bond Head, was passed on March 29th. An extract follows:

While we contemplate with feelings of unfeigned regret the disturbed state of public affairs in consequence of the recent wicked attempt made by a number of disaffected and ungrateful inhabitants of this Province, and subsequently by a much greater number of citizens of the United States to overthrow the unrivalled constitution and laws under which we have the happiness to live we feel indescribable pleasure in the reflection that these attempts have been promptly and successfully repelled by the loyal and devoted of this portion of Her Majesty's Empire, who under the blessing of Divine Providence have been able to preserve uncontaminated the character for loyalty and attachment to the Crown of Great Britain by which the great mass of the people of Upper Canada have ever been so proudly distinguished."

Sir George Arthur, in reply, revealed stores of eloquence which remind one of the florid periods of his predecessor in office:

"Your address is the more gratifying to me at this moment, as by a full knowledge of, and confidence in its powers, The Executive Government is more at liberty, where justice does not absolutely forbid, to unfurl the banner of mercy. Harshness and severity are distinguishing marks of weakness and apprehension. The Country is strong enough to be magnanimous, and as the inhabitants of Upper Canada have the reputation of being a religious people, it will now be open to them, both individually and collectively, to give proof of their Christian profession by forgiving without any vexatious upbraidings the extreme injuries they have received."

At this point in his reply Sir George quoted the Shakespearean passage beginning "The quality of mercy is not strained." He continued:

"If the great victory which has been achieved be now wisely used with moderation and well-timed conciliation, the late seeming frown of Providence upon this noble Province may issue in a very great blessing, for I do not despair of seeing many persons now come forward openly and avowedly as loyal supporters of the Constitution, who, though hitherto advocates for some partial changes in the institutions of the country, nevertheless would be desirous to make the most public declaration of their detestation of Traitors, Murderers and Incendiaries, and thus you may become a more united and therefore a more happy people." Ten days after this declaration Lount and Mathews were executed.

In September Hon. John Elmsley proposed to lay a plank sidewalk on the west side of Yonge Street before his property if the City would recoup his expense at the rate of 12s. 6d. per rod. A Committee reported that sidewalks had usually been laid in the City at the rate of 7s 3d per rod, and in some cases as low as 6s. 8d. per rod. For that reason the proposal was not entertained. The suggestion was made to Mr. Elmsley that the corporation would be willing to pay 7s. 3d.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor communicated to Council on October 24th his fear that another invasion of the country was in preparation. He wrote:

"In consequence of a conspiracy to invade this Province entered into by a numerous body of foreign brigands, His Excellency has thought it right to take immediate steps for the protection of the City in anticipation of the employment and organization of an adequate militia force.

"His Excellency has reason to believe that he is in full possession of the designs of the enemy and that he knows the amount of their force and resources, and this knowledge enables His Excellency to assure you that there is nothing to be apprehended, which the exhibition of the loyal and gallant feeling which has hitherto distinguished your City and the Province will not easily overcome. . . . He is satisfied that the results, should the enemy make an attempt to land in Upper Canada will be as honorable to Her Majesty's loyal subjects of the Province as any which have attended the late wicked efforts to revolutionize the Colony."

In consequence of this communication Council officially requested the inhabitants to form themselves into volunteer companies and put certain rooms in the market building at the disposition of such volunteer companies as might be formed.

Hon. W. H. Draper informed Council on October 29th that the clock ordered by him for presentation to the City had arrived in New York. Later, Council requested the Governor to remit the duty on this particular importation. The request was granted and the clock ultimately found a place in St. Patrick's Market Hall.

On November 15th on motion of Mr. Gurnett and Mr. Boulton the following resolution was passed:

"The apprehensions of invasion expressed by His Excellency to the City having been but too soon realized by the official despatches received this evening of the invasion of the Province by a large body of lawless banditti, conveyed to these shores by steamboats and schooners from the United States, but too strongly confirms the necessity of all loyal men in the Province arming themselves immediately for the defence of their institutions, their property and the lives of themselves and their families."

This had reference to the windmill affair at Prescott under the command of Von Schultz.

On December 10th Council addressed an official inquiry to the Lieutenant-Governor to ascertain if there were any justification for the reported statement of the President of the United States that "disturbances had actually broken out anew in several parts of the two Canadas."

Sir George replied at stately and eloquent length to the effect that the statement was without justification and that he had communicated with the British Minister at Washington, requesting him to inform the Government of the very material mistake into which the President had been drawn. He had assured the Minister that not a single individual had joined the invading banditti. His Excellency was disposed to give credit to President Van Buren for the efforts he was making to suppress lawless aggressions, but expressed the opinion that he had been misled by "a licentious press" and by its "calumnious aspersions on the conduct of Great Britain."

A return made to Council on November 15th with reference to the number of votes cast in the election of 1838 shows the narrowness of the municipal franchise at the time. The average number of votes cast in the five Wards was 74. The members of Council receiving the highest vote in the various Wards were: Walton, 47; Dixon, Monro, Beard and Browne, 71 each; Powell, Armstrong, Ritchey and Carfrae, 81 each; Trotter, 81; Henderson, 90. Yet the population of the City exceeded 10,000.

In 1839 John Powell was re-elected Mayor, and as a result of a petition by Ridout Brothers and other citizens steps were taken to light the streets was gas. Inquiries were made in Montreal as to the cost of a gas plant and Mr. Daniel Blatchford of Buffalo was requested to come to Toronto and meet the Committee which had the inquiry in charge.

Mayor Powell was chosen for a third term at the first meeting of the Council of 1840, although he had to fight for the honor. Duggan, Dixon, Monro and Gurnett were proposed and beaten before his nomination was accepted.

The roster of Council for 1840 was as follows: St. Andrew's Ward: John Armstrong and John Powell as aldermen; John Ritchey and Thomas Young as councilmen. St. David's Ward: Charles Stotesbury and George Duggan, Jr., as aldermen; George Henderson and Alexander Hamilton as councilmen. Mr. Henderson resigned on May 20th and was succeeded by William Andrews. St. George's Ward: Dr. John King and George Gurnett as aldermen; George Walton and John Craig as councilmen. St. Lawrence Ward: George Monro and Alexander Dixon as aldermen; Joshua G. Beard and Robert Beard as councilmen. St. Patrick's Ward: George T. Denison and William H. Boulton as aldermen; James Trotter and William Mathers as councilmen. Clarke Gamble was City Solicitor and Thomas Young, City Engineer. In 1840 the civic business had been fully organized, a body of precedents had been assembled and Toronto was beginning to be a city of commendable appearance and commercial importance.

Complete control of the water-front did not come to the City at the time of incorporation. Representations were made from time to time by civic officials to the Executive Council of Upper Canada and finally in 1840 the Government ceded to the City all the water-lots between Berkeley and Graves Streets on condition that an esplanade should be created on filled land to the south of Front Street. The Deed of Gift is a document of much importance in the civic records of Toronto. It was considered by a special committee of Council consisting of Alderman Gurnett, Alderman

John Craig and Alderman John Ritchey, and the report of this Committee came before Council on April 13th. In part it was as follows:

"From the Deed it appears that the property surrendered is the whole of the water-lots not heretofore granted, extending southward into the Bay to an imaginary line drawn from the Windmill to the old French Fort, giving to the lots an average length from the shore to the said imaginary line of about 800 feet. The property is surrendered to the Corporation in trust for the public use and benefit of the inhabitants of the City forever, conditioned that the said lots which the Corporation cannot dispose of in Fee may be leased for periods not exceeding Fifty Years at one time, subject to the conditions that the said lots, whether leased to individuals or appropriated for the City's own use, shall within three years be filled up with earth to a certain other imaginary line laid out on the plan and extending about 350 feet into the Bay: a Public Esplanade to be created on land within the southern extremity of the space so to be filled up, which Public Esplanade is designed ultimately to extend along the whole front of the City."

"Besides the property thus described the Deed also conveys to the Corporation the whole of the strip of land in front of the City between Berkeley and Graves Streets lying between high-water mark and the top of the bank, together with the space lying in front of the water lots heretofore granted by the Government to individuals, that is to say, between the front of the said lots and the imaginary line first described."

The Windmill mentioned in this document was on the site of the blockhouse burned by the Americans in 1812, to the east of the old Parliament Buildings at the foot of Berkeley Street, and at the junction of the south and east shore of the Bay. The "Windmill Line" which has had a continual bearing on harbor improvement was roughly designated in comparison with modern surveying-description, but it served.

The Report continues:

"Before proceeding to the principal Object of this Report, your Committee would call the attention of the Council to the utter impossibility of complying with one of the conditions. A reference to the plan, and a calculation of the distance from the shore to the southern part of the proposed Esplanade, the depth of water at that point, and of the quantity of earth which would be required to fill up that space along the whole front of the City will demonstrate the entire impossibility of accomplishing such an object within the time prescribed by the Deed. A sufficient quantity of earth for such a purpose could not be obtained from the ordinary (and the only available) resources probably in half a century. To attempt to enforce such a condition therefore would render this otherwise valuable property alike useless to the Corporation and to individuals.

"From some explanations, however, which your Committee understand have been had between some members of the Government and some members of the Corporation, your Committee believe that it will be considered a compliance with the spirit of the conditions if the lots be filled up with earth to the depth of three feet of water in the Bay, and the further improvements to be carried out to the south side of the proposed Esplanade by means of piles and cribs to be filled when necessary with stone, the work to be constructed in a substantial and permanent manner, and upon this view of the case the recommendations of the Committee with regard to the future distribution of the property will be founded.

"The whole of the property thus surrendered to the City has been surveyed and laid out in lots, principally of the width of 66 feet, comprising altogether 40 lots. In considering the manner in which this property may be best rendered available to the interests of the City in the spirit in which it has been ceded, your Committee have consulted with a number of intelligent persons connected with the navigation, commerce and trade of the city and have therefore formed the opinion that the most advantageous and appropriate mode of proceeding will be to bring a limited number only of the said water-lots into the market. At the present time such a number (perhaps ten or twelve) as your Committee believe would be equal to the present demand for that description of property.

"That these lots be leased for a term of 42 years at a fixed rate per foot per annum frontage, payable half-yearly, the rate and the conditions to be prescribed in an Act of the Corporation, that these lots be then put up at public auction and the right to said leases sold at such premium as they may bring. The sum raised by such sale, together with the first year's rental of the lots so leased to be expended in carrying out the improvements prescribed in the Deed to such water lots as the Corporation may retain for its own use and upon the continuation of the streets into the Bay to the proposed Esplanade, in order that the Corporation may afford a specimen to others of the manner in which the proposed improvements are intended to be carried out.

"Your Committee would suggest that stores or warehouses of two storeys in height be allowed to be erected on the rear of the water-lots, immediately under the bank, and of three storeys in height on the north side of the proposed Esplanade."

It is difficult for a citizen of Toronto in the twentieth century to realize that up to 1840 Front Street was on the edge of the Lake bank and that the shore was well to the northward of the present Esplanade and the infinity of railroad cars that infest it.

The difficulty of compelling licensed hotel-keepers to "keep hotel" was marked in Toronto as early as 1841. A Special Committee of the City Council was named to inquire into the accommodation for travellers afforded by the several licensed inns. The Report, presented on January 4th, was as follows:

"Your Committee have examined every licensed inn in the city and liberties. In all cases where there could exist a doubt of the existence of the accommodation required by the statute, your Committee have proceeded through the entire premises, and have ascertained that twenty-two licensed innkeepers are entirely destitute of stables, that eleven are destitute of a single spare room for the accommodation of travellers, that fifteen have not a spare bed over those required for their families, and that six of the above number possess none of the accommodations of an inn except a bar."

Contemporary accounts of the manners and customs of the people and the trend of affairs in the Colony and its capital vary greatly in accordance with the personal view and predilections of the writers. "A Four Years' Resident" the anonymous author of "Views of Canada," published in 1844 said:

"The City of Toronto has much increased in population within these last four years, and with the recent introduction of gas and other improvements, its appearance is much like some of our provincial towns in Britain: and in several respects, such as the amount of trade and the general comfort of the inhabitants, the advantages, compared with the greater number of these towns, are on the side of Toronto. The principal streets are comfortably paved, the buildings, large and imposing, and the shops spacious and filled with every luxury to be had in the best cities at home. In 1841 there were as many as 90 four-wheeled open and close carriages, and 130 gigs and pleasure waggons returned upon the assessment rolls of the city. The churches and chapels amount to thirteen, and there are numerous benevolent and other societies: eight or ten newspapers are regularly published, three of which are twice-a-week papers, the others weekly. A Temperance Society which commenced in 1839 numbered in 1841 above 1,300 members. The Home District Agricultural Society holds its meetings and public shows in Toronto. Fourteen or fifteen, if not more, spacious and elegantly fitted-up steamboats which ply upon Lake Ontario are, some of them almost continually touching at the wharves close to the town. The building of King's College is at present in operation, situated within pleasantly laid-out grounds, and promises to be a fine structure of hewn stone, and to prove the chief ornament to the fast-growing and comparatively wealthy city of Toronto."

Mrs. Jameson, wife of the Attorney-General of the Province, and an Irishwoman of culture and charm, arrived in Toronto towards the end of December. Her "Sketches in Canada," dated 1839, contain the grim picture which follows:

"A little, ill-built town on low land at the bottom of a frozen Bay, with one very ugly church, without tower or steeple, some Government offices built of staring red brick in the most tasteless, vulgar style imaginable: three feet of snow all around and the grey, sullen, wintry Lake, and the dark gloom of the pine forest bounding the prospect: such seems Toronto to me now. I did not expect much, but for this I was not prepared."

One more contemporary description, written by Charles Dickens, is taken from American Notes."

"The country around this town (Toronto) being very flat is bare of scenic interest, but the town itself is full of life and motion, bustle, business and improvement. The streets are well-paved and lighted with gas; the houses are large and good; the shops excellent. Many of them have a display of goods in their windows such as may be seen in thriving county towns in England, and there are some which would do no discredit to the metropolis itself. There is a good stone prison here; and there are, besides, a handsome church, a court house, public offices, many commodious private residences, and a Government Observatory for noting and recording the magnetic variations. In the College of Upper Canada, which is one of the public establishments of the city, a sound education in every department of polite learning can be had at a very moderate expense, the annual charge for the instruction of each pupil not exceeding nine pounds sterling."

In a private letter to John Forster, quoted in the "Life," Dickens said:

"We have been to Toronto and Kingston: experiencing attentions at each which I should have difficulty in describing. The wild and rabid Toryism of Toronto is, I speak seriously, *appalling*."

While the British Government adopted the Durham Report it so publicly flouted the official acts of Lord Durham that the Governor in self-respect was forced to resign. In his place came Charles Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, with an instruction to secure the approval of the Canadas to the union of the Provinces and the setting up of a single Parliament. Legally established Government had ceased its functions in Lower Canada, and the administration was in charge of a Special Council of nominated persons, chiefly of the English minority. There was no difficulty in securing the approval of this Council which for the time being spoke for Lower

Canada, although there was a resolute opposition among the French-Canadian leaders.

In Upper Canada the Reformers of all shades of opinion were heartily in favor of the Union: the moderates because in contentment British connection could best be assured, the radicals, because in such a measure the power of the Family Compact would be broken, and because it followed one of the important recommendations of Lord Durham. The approval given by that "high seditioner" as he was called in English politics to a measure of responsible Government for the Canadas had raised hopes of a better day.

The Tories had a cordial dislike of the recommendations of Lord Durham, and Chief Justice Robinson wrote a pamphlet of some vigor against the Union. But the draft Bill presented in the Imperial Government showed clearly that Union was a settled policy, and the Compact soon realized that resistance would put them in a false light before the country. For this reason, the Legislature which was predominantly Tory—owing to the questionable activities of Sir Francis Bond Head in 1836—approved the principle of the Bill.

The Act of Union as passed by the Imperial Parliament provided that there would be one Legislature for the two Provinces, consisting of a legislative Council of not fewer than 20 members, and a legislative Assembly of 84 members, 42 from each Province. The executive authority rested in the Governor and a Council appointed by the Crown. No mention was made in the Act of the responsibility of the Executive to Parliament, but that the British Ministers had something of the sort in mind is shown by a letter of instructions sent by Lord John Russell to Lord Sydenham, in which he declared that the tenure of colonial offices would no longer be considered as during good behaviour, since officials would be called upon to retire from the public service "as often as any sufficient motives of public policy might suggest the expediency of the measure."

Robert Baldwin was invited in February, 1840, to become Solicitor-General of Upper Canada in Lord Sydenham's Government. Possibly he had seen signs that Sydenham would not willingly turn a hand to bring in the era of responsibility, for he wrote: "In accepting office I consider myself to have given a public pledge that I have a reasonably well-grounded confidence that the Government of the country is to be carried on in accordance with the principle of Responsible Government which I have ever held."

Sydenham wrote in 1839: "I am not a bit afraid of the responsible government cry. I have already done much to put it down in its inadmissable sense, namely, the demand that the Council shall be responsible to the Assembly, and that the Governor shall take their advice and be bound by it. I have told the people plainly that the Council is a Council for the Governor to consult, and no more."

Whatever people he told plainly Robert Baldwin was not among the number, or he would not have been found in the Sydenham Cabinet to help effect Union. Few politicians in the history of Canada have been as high-minded as this child of Spadina House, the son of that most honorable and learned citizen, Dr. William Warren Baldwin. Possibly also fewer have been as deadly serious. He was not of the democratic temperament. While political strife was the breath of his nostrils, his stateliness was not abated. His intrigue with Morin and LaFontaine was in his opinion merely a correspondence, which resulted in a community of interest. He was resolute and ardent, but there was a trace of contemptuousness in him. He disapproved of George Gurnett whole-heartedly, and when that active Tory was re-elected to the City Council in 1841, Mr. Baldwin resigned his Parliamentary candidacy in Toronto, evidently in contempt of the electorate. His friend Francis Hincks wrote in The *Examiner* on January 6th, just before the election: "The Court for revising votes has been for some time in session at the City Hall. It is composed of Mr. Ald. Denison, father of one of the candidates, Mr. Joshua Beard, brother of another, Mr. George Walton, the friend of and active canvasser for Alderman Gurnett, and Mr. Stotesbury. Questions have occasionally come up affecting the franchise of citizens upon which the Court was quite incompetent of forming a correct opinion and its decisions have been contrary both to law and to equity. The dominant party are determined to retain office if they possibly can, and they are not disposed to be very scrupulous about the means which they employ. The ensuing elections will decide the point whether the City is to remain a rotten borough under the control of an ignorant and violent faction, or whether its management will be entrusted to respectable citizens incapable of betraying the important trust reposed in them."

When the election was won by this "faction" the aristocratic Whiggishness of Mr. Baldwin became manifest. He had been chosen some time before as the Liberal candidate for Toronto in the general election fixed for the spring of 1841. He determined to make manifest his high displeasure with the electors by resigning.

In his address of resignation he wrote: "The events of the present week have sufficiently demonstrated that in this city corruption and intimidation are paramount. We have a Corporation so universally condemned that you cannot find a person of weight or property who pretends to have confidence in them, and yet that very Corporation has, at the late municipal elections, succeeded, with three exceptions, in returning their candidates for every ward in the City."

The accusation was too definite and too direct to be ignored. In the City Council on January 18th, 1841, the following resolution was passed: "Whereas, in an address recently issued by Her Majesty's Solicitor-General to the electors of the City of Toronto, an unwarranted attack has been made upon the Corporation, charging them with the exercise of intimidation and corruption, be it therefore resolved, that it is the duty of this Corporation to address His Excellency the Governor-General remonstrating against the libellous charges made by the Solicitor-General against that body, and requesting him to insist upon Mr. Baldwin's furnishing the evidence upon which he founds his charges, or on his failing to do so, that His Excellency would mark his disapprobation of conduct so reprehensible in an officer of the Government."

The resolution was carried unanimously and an elaborate and vigorous Address was prepared. In that document there was a quotation from a statement by Sir Francis Bond Head intimating that when the rebels of 1837 were preparing to murder the King's Ministers and burn the property of loyal citizens, neither Mr. Robert Baldwin nor his father had any occasion for alarm. Against the accusation that no persons of weight or property supported the Corporation, the Council suggested that the poll-books in the recent election would tell a different story.

There seem to have been no direct results from this Address, save in a left-hand way. Baldwin had been Solicitor-General without a seat in the Executive Council for about eleven months when this Address went to His Excellency. One month later he was called to the Council probably to the disgust of the Tory party in the City Hall. Hon. Mr. Baldwin became the Reform candidate for the 4th Riding of York and in due course was elected by acclamation, the nomination being held at Newmarket.

For Toronto the Reform cause was represented by J. H. Dunn and Isaac Buchanan, Sherwood and Monro representing the Conservatives. The election began on Monday, May 3rd, and of course open voting prevailed. Each party had its group of "direct action" men, who were found too often with cudgels in their hands to overawe the timid. The result of the election, which lasted for a stirring week, was as follows, the totals at the end of each day being given:

	Dunn	Buchanan	Sherwood	Munro
1st day	40	40	62	62
2nd day	70	69	70	71
3rd day	201	200	220	220
4th day	321	312	337	334
5th day	419	397	397	394
6th day	495	466	441	436

The Reformers arranged for a triumphal procession on Monday, May 10th. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon the successful candidates escorted by so many citizens that the parade was over a mile long, set out from the Ontario House on the Market Square, proceeded by way of Market Street to Yonge, along King Street to Simcoe, up Simcoe to Lot (or Queen) eastward to Yonge, then south to King and east past the City Hall and the Market. All along the route there were indications that supporters of the other party meditated some measure of violence. Too many bully-boys with knobby sticks were on the streets, and particularly on the grounds of St. James's Church. Mayor Monro was warned that police protection might be necessary, but he is reported to have said that they might go to the Devil for protection. Since His Worship was one of the defeated candidates his testiness may be understood.

East of the Market on King Street stood "The North of Ireland Coleraine Inn," where an Orange flag was displayed. The Reform hangers-on had a menacing attitude. They drummed on the doors and on the outside of the building with their sticks, and a woman threw a stone of protest against the Orange Order. The persons in the house appeared at the upper windows and one of them fired a pistol-shot at the crowd. A man named James Dunn, of course an innocent bystander, recently arrived from oversea as an immigrant, fell dead. Several other shots followed. Four or five persons were wounded, among them being F. Langril and a lad named Cathcart.

The mob would have torn the house to pieces if it had not been for the appeals of Dunn and Buchanan, the Members, but while their angry followers halted between two opinions a company of British Regulars came upon the double, pressed back the mob, and brought seven to eight persons out of the house, conveying them safely to the jail. These seven or eight were said by The *Examiner* to be "as bloodthirsty looking men as ever disgraced the human form."

Neither party had a monopoly of hard words and extreme statements, for the atmosphere was electrical. It was said by Francis Hincks that during the polling in the two Provinces from ten to twenty persons had been murdered and hundreds had been beaten and mauled. In Toronto during the week about fifty followers of Dunn and Buchanan had their heads laid open. The *Examiner* considerately neglected to mention how many Tories received similar treatment.

The feud between the Orange Order and the Reformers of Upper Canada was one of long standing. The early Orangemen, mostly natives of the North of Ireland, were used to striving against un-British, and rebellious persons and parties. They had made loyalty a fetish and had counted all criticism as sedition. Since the majority of the people of Southern Ireland were Roman Catholics and congenital foes of The Pale, the Orangemen made the unhappy generalization that all Roman Catholics in Ireland were fomenters of treason.

Members of the Order coming to Upper Canada found William Lyon Mackenzie declaiming against the King's Government, attacking veterans of American Loyalist families, who had borne a great part in the defence of the Province against American aggression, and criticizing the Church of England. They found him in correspondence with Joseph Hume, who had argued in favor of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, and who was a personage without merit in Orange eyes. They found him also on terms of hearty intimacy with a priest named O'Grady, who had plunged into a political activity which finally cost him the disapproval of Bishop Macdonell and the suspension of his ministry.

It was not surprising that the Orangemen were Tories in Upper Canada, as they had been in Ireland. It was not surprising that they made broad, inclusive generalizations with respect to those who differed from them. Moderate Liberals who had not followed Mackenzie into actual rebellion were not given the benefit of the doubt. Any Liberal was "a rebel" in their judgment.

When Mackenzie had been organizing the public assemblies which preceded the outbreak of violence young Orangemen were not averse from breaking up his meetings, and mounted bands of them were found upon the roads from time to time endeavoring to waylay the Reform leader. Thus the friends of Mackenzie had an enduring grudge against the Order, and the Moderates resented its lack of discrimination as between Mackenzie and Robert Baldwin. The hot-heads of both parties were too easily inclined to violence, both of speech and action. To Baldwin and Hincks George Gurnett and his friends were worthy only of continual denunciation. The distinct merits of Gurnett as a civic administrator they never perceived, and Gurnett in turn lost no occasion to block the reprehensible schemes of his political and personal enemies.

A list of the men who served as Buchanan's electoral committee is particularly interesting nowadays. It shows how many Liberal families of early Toronto have kept the faith even to this day. Thomas G. Ridout, chairman; William Hume Blake, C. Widmer, Walter Rose, William Colclough, John Eastwood, Richard Tinning, James Connell, jr., Hugh Scobie, William Ketchum, Walter Telfer, Angus McIntosh, James Workman, James Mearns, Thomas Dick, John M. Strange, Joseph D. Ridout, J. H. Price, John Boyce, D. H. Bradley, Thomas Webb, James Shannon, M. McLennon, Terence J. O'Neill, W. C. Ross, James Armstrong, Donald McLean, Robert Baldwin, John H. Palmer, Fred. C. Capreol, Walter McFarlane, Joseph Cawthra, M. J. O'Beirne, Charles Sewell, William McMaster, Robert Cathcart, George T. Ridout, R. H. Thornhill, R. C. Ferrier, William Ross, William Mathers, Richard Harper, George Ridout, James E. Small, P. Paterson, John Dodsworth, and Joseph C. Morrison, secretary.

At the period that Sydenham formed his Cabinet there were at least five political parties in the country; the extreme Tories, led by Sir Allan MacNab; the Sydenham group, led by W. H. Draper, of Toronto, the Governor's Attorney-General for Upper Canada; the Reformers, led by Robert Baldwin; the Ultra-Reformers, or Radicals, and the French Nationalists, among whom LaFontaine and Morin had the chief authority. Of Mr. Draper, such were the graces of his oratory, and such his marked effort to be pleasant towards all men, that he won the happy nickname of "Sweet William."

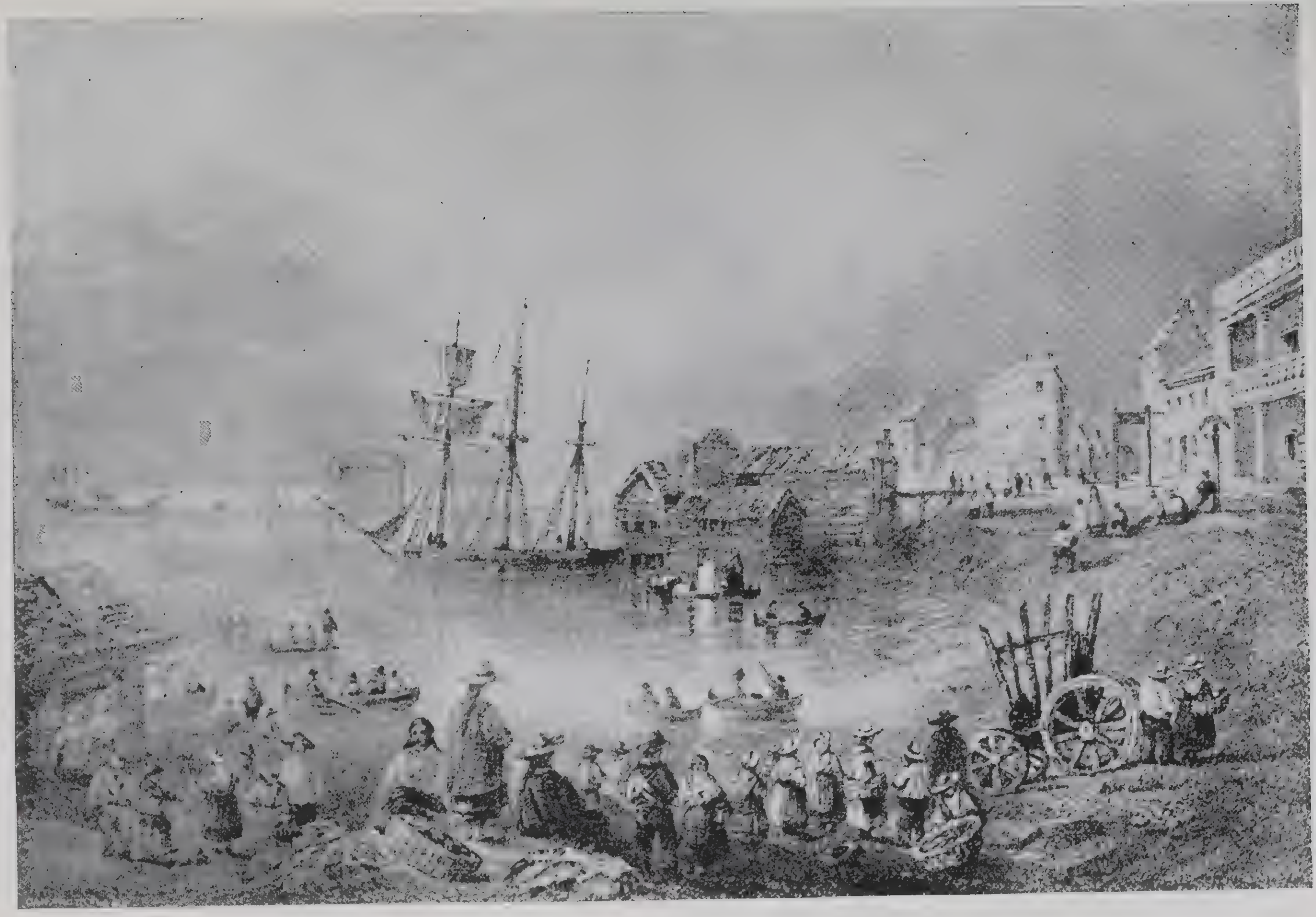
The Cabinet consisted of Draper, Robert B. Sullivan, President of the Council; J. H. Dunn, Receiver-General; S. B. Harrison, Provincial Secretary for Upper Canada; Robert Baldwin, Solicitor-General; C. R. Ogden, Attorney-General for Lower Canada; Dominic Daly, Provincial Secretary for Lower Canada, C. D. Day, Solicitor-General for Lower Canada, and, before the election, H. H. Killaly, Commissioner of Public Works.

The result of the election was the return of 7 High Tories, 24 Sydenhamists, 20 Reformers, 5 Radicals, 20 Nationalists and 8 in the doubtful column.

The definite announcement that the capital was to be Kingston instead of Toronto was made in February. The choice lay entirely with the Governor and his judgment was heartily anathematized by citizens of all parties. The apprehension that the value of real estate would show a serious decline was general, but time showed that it was a groundless fear. The city had become too important to be affected by the transfer of the Government offices, and no proprietors suffered as they might have suffered when the project of Union was first broached.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE ROARING 'FORTIES



Fish Market, 1841
From a drawing by W. H. Bartlett, engraved by J. C. Bentley

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE ROARING 'FORTIES

RELIGION had a large place in the private and public life of early Upper Canada. Theological disputation was the diversion of the community. Nor was it by any means futile. Out of the clash of opinions came a race of sturdy, clear-thinking, right-living Puritans believing in justice and public honor, rewarding with their favor men whose word was dependable and whose lives were upright, and subordinating private habits and ways of living, in which naturally they delighted, to the control of conscience. Thus in a drinking age, total abstinence societies were organized, in an age of rough living and rougher speech, men abandoned profanity, and cultivated the graces of life as taught in the New Testament. Churches appeared in profusion, for disputation bred an intense sectarianism. The Dispersion in Scotland was reflected in the variety of Presbyterians worshipping separately in Toronto. There were Episcopal Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians—to say nothing of the "New Connexion." There were Tunkers and Mennonites, Quakers and the Children of Peace. There were Roman Catholics and Anglicans. There were Baptists of varied kinds. In a word, everyone was religious, although everyone was not pious. Still there were enough real pietists to create a steady public opinion against open immorality, against Sabbath breaking, against undue frivolity. "Old Man Ontario" of those days was a hard worker, an opinionated theologian, a stern but just father, and a man of prayer. Smart personages of our day are inclined to patronize their ancestors because of these signs of "weakness" and "credulity," but whatever may be said the Puritan philosophy has proved its efficiency as a maker of men. The founders of Upper Canada and Toronto were firm as a rock in character; patient in tribulation, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.

A picture of a Puritan home of the period is found in Mrs. R. P. Hopper's "Old Time Primitive Methodism in Canada": "Father, Mother and all the professing Christians in the house were expected to take their turn in leading family worship. We had a man named Tom Smith. He never was hurt with religion, but father and mother tried to think the best of him. He had come out in the revival services and joined the society. It was his turn to read and pray in the morning. He got the place, and coming to the words, 'there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,' he halted and said in a solemn voice: 'I suppose them that have no teeth will have to gum it.' There was no reply; no countenance changed its expression, but no doubt Tom would hear a little on the subject privately from mother. The church and its services had first claim upon our time, thought and money. We children had to commit ten verses to memory each week from the Bible, and I can well remember how I wished the Gospels had never been written. I thought it would have been better if Matthew, Mark, Luke and John had died in infancy, since what they had written was of no particular use, only to punish children. There was far too much religion in our house to suit me. I would have enjoyed absence from one church service to see what it would have felt like to be away, while I knew the others were all there; but I never knew, for that experience never came. My mother always sided with the school teacher. No matter how unreasonable his demands might be we never heard his authority belittled. We must obey him or take the consequences. We never heard the minister discussed unless in his favor. He was God's ambassador and came with His message to us. Mother always expected us to obey father and grandmother on the instant; and she was generally the one who made us do it. 'No matter what I told you to do, if grandmother says you are to do another way you must mind what your grandmother says.' It was considered by us at the time very hard discipline, but I think now it was right, and it gives me a sweeter memory today than if it had been otherwise."

In houses where authority was sacred the doctrine of political reform never could go the length of rebellion. For that reason William Lyon Mackenzie failed. In this very house described Liberalism was a political faith. Heavy grievances were suffered by nonconformists and all felt that there was abundant room for improvement in the administration of the Government. But no member of that household bore a pike or shouldered a musket. On the contrary, the constitutional opposition of Robert Baldwin, and his toil for the establishment of responsible government found there a constant support all through the 'forties.

Two measures proposed by the first Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry roused much indignation in Toronto. They related to the reorganization of King's College on a non-sectarian basis under the name of the University of Toronto, and the suppression of all secret societies other than the Freemasons. The latter Bill was an answer to the fervent Toryism of the Orange Order. Implacable enmity existed between Baldwin and the Orangemen. At every election the Reformers blamed all opposition violence upon the Order rather than upon indiscreet members of it. Tories declared that the violence of "rebels" made it necessary to indulge in reprisals, and were offended because Irishmen were found with cudgels in their hands ready to attack "loyal" voters. In those days, as in times nearer to the present generation, one Party claimed a monopoly of loyalty to the British Empire.

The fact that Baldwin could propose and press forward a law so subversive of individual liberty tends to show that he was more a theorist than a man of the world, and but an indifferent apostle of the doctrine of *laissez faire*. Naturally the measure had the unanimous support of Roman Catholics, Irish and French, and passed the Assembly without difficulty. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the new Governor, did not sign the Bill, but reserved it for the consideration of the Imperial Government. In due time it was disallowed.*

Meanwhile an Orange demonstration of hostility towards the authors of the Bill was organized in Toronto. The following report of the happenings of November 7th, 1843, is taken from Francis Hincks's newspaper, *The Examiner*: "Last night between eleven and twelve o'clock a large body of

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* At the same time it must be remembered that the British Government at that period was distrustful of the Order, and permitted no Army Officer to be a member of it.

Orangemen was permitted by the City authorities to disturb the public peace with hideous yells and cries of 'Down with popery,' as they followed a cart in which was erected a gallows; from it hung two effigies on which they had inscribed 'Baldwin and Hincks, the traitors,' and 'No surrender.' The 'heroes' will, however, be compelled to surrender, and Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hincks would indeed be traitors to their long-expressed principles did they allow the present session to pass over without bringing forward the Act for the suppression of secret societies, as without that measure it is impossible to obtain security for life and property. P.S.—The effigies were burned amid the most indecent ribaldry immediately in front of the Hon. W. W. Baldwin's residence. It is well known that the venerable Doctor's health has been for some time in a very precarious state, which renders the outrage doubly atrocious. Our citizens may well rejoice at the opportunity which will soon be afforded them of displacing the present violent partizan City magistrates by the nomination of men possessing character, property and intelligence."

The principle of the University Bill had long been advocated by the non-conformists of the Colony. King's College was in essence an Anglican Divinity College supported by the revenue from Crown Lands, made valuable by the settlement of non-Anglicans in their neighborhood. While the original constitution demanded subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles by students, it had been modified by legislation of 1837. No religious test was required after that date, but the professors were all Anglicans, and Bishop Strachan was in command.

The natural result was the establishment in 1836, by the Methodists, of the Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, which was raised to University status in 1841 under the name of Victoria College. The Presbyterians founded Queen's University at Kingston in 1842, and the Roman Catholic College of Regiopolis was established about the same time. Meanwhile work on the main building of King's College began in 1842, Sir Charles Bagot laying the corner-stone. Actual teaching began during 1843, temporary quarters being secured in the Parliament Buildings on Front Street.

Mr. Baldwin proposed the federation of the Colleges in the University of Toronto, the Governor-General being Chancellor, and the Council being representative of the federated institutions. That is the status of the University today, but the suggestion was sacrilege to the friends of King's. Dr. Strachan "by Divine permission Bishop of Toronto," issued a protest from which the following sentences are taken to illustrate the temper of the document: "The leading object of the Bill is to place all forms of error on an equality with truth. It would utterly destroy all that is pure and holy in religion and morals."

The dispute between the Baldwin-LaFontaine Ministry and the Governor halted the project temporarily. Dr. Strachan and his friends never admitted the reasonableness of the proposal and never abated their claim that the terms of the original grant by George the Fourth were binding on his successors.

Parliament had not been long in session when the members realized that Kingston was not convenient as the seat of Government. The question came to a vote and the unsuitability of Kingston was affirmed by 40 voices against 20. Lower Canada favored Quebec. Upper Canada favored either Toronto or Kingston, but was resolute against conceding the privilege to the French Province. For a year the deadlock continued. Then Baldwin moved on November 2nd, 1843, that Montreal should be made the capital. The English-speaking Tories clamored against this new "betrayal" of Upper Canada. The French Party objected because Montreal was the home of the "Scotch Party" which had been dominant before the Union. But the situation of Montreal was undeniably good. It was already a large city, affording ample accommodation for the Members, and the resolution passed. The Parliament elected in 1844 had its first meeting in the old St. Anne's Market Building, Montreal.

Lord Sydenham's Executive Council was a ministry of all the talents, almost of all the opinions. High Tories and fervent Reformers were combined in a sort of armed neutrality directed against two groups—the advocates of independence on a republican plan, and the French Canadians. The Durham Report had advocated the union of the Provinces as a means of neutralizing French nationalism and here only the foresight of the great statesman failed. But his plan of ringing the French about with a pro-British population had a reasonable sound in the ears of the Loyalists of all shades of opinion, and this plan was the nexus which held the Executive Council together.

Baldwin alone held the opinion that the French-Canadians might be trusted to co-operate in the government of the country. He believed in representative and responsible government as a principle and did not shrink from the prospect of working it out in complete detail to its logical conclusion. The Governor and all others interested in preserving British connection, not only in Canada, but in Great Britain as well, could not visualize a condition of British sovereignty under which the regularly appointed Governor would act only on the advice of local constitutional Ministers. Under such a plan, they thought, the Governor would be an independent sovereign and the bond of empire would be snapped. How far have we come in eighty years!

Just before the opening of the first Parliament of the United Provinces, Robert Baldwin appealed to Lord Sydenham to give the French Canadian representation in the Government. Naturally Sydenham declined, and in that action gave proof that he had no intention of setting up complete responsible government as Baldwin understood it. As a consequence the Solicitor-General resigned and became the practical leader of the Opposition, in concerted action with the French Canadians.

La Fontaine was not in the House, having been defeated in Terrebonne. Baldwin had been elected in two constituencies. With the consent of his South York Committee he elected to sit for Hastings, and invited La Fontaine to become the Reform candidate in South York. He accepted the honor and in September, 1841, was elected by a majority of 210.

Meanwhile through the weeks of summer the work of the first session of Parliament had been completed. "Sweet William" Draper had conducted the business of the Assembly with uncommon diplomacy, avoiding a definite statement of the meaning of responsible government as the Government understood it, and holding the heterogeneous elements of the Executive together.

Early in September Lord Sydenham wrote in satisfaction to an English friend that he had secured the five things he had specially desired: 1, the establishment of a Board of Works with ample powers; 2, the admission of aliens; 3, a new system of County Courts; 4, the regulation of the public lands ceded by the Crown, and 5, the District Councils Act. This last-named Act is the charter of municipal government in Canada for all rural and semi-rural communities.

Lord Sydenham was a man of genius in diplomacy and of almost feverish energy. But his physical strength was not sufficient for the tasks he had set himself. On September 5th he was thrown from his horse in such a manner that his leg was broken and the flesh lacerated. Complications appeared, ending in lockjaw, and the Governor died on September 19th.

Sir Charles Bagot, a man of much personal charm, was named as Lord Sydenham's successor, and arrived at Kingston early in January, 1842. The appointment gave great satisfaction to the Tory party, for Sir Charles was known for his steady opposition to English Radicalism. He had been Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and had served in various diplomatic missions for Great Britain; from this experience he had learned the advantage of conciliation as the basis of public policy. Canada offered almost infinite opportunity for conciliation, inasmuch as each of half a dozen parties regarded each and all the others as undesirable in every sense.

Sir Charles spent the first months of the year 1842 in studying the situation, and in consulting with all sorts of people. He visited Toronto, Montreal and Quebec before taking any definite action. Then he appointed Judge Vallières as Chief Justice of the District of Mantreal, and Dr. Meilleur as Superintendent of Public Instruction for Lower Canada, following up that unexpected action by calling Francis Hincks, of Toronto, to the Cabinet as Inspector General.

All the hopes of the Tories were destroyed and they turned in anger upon Bagot. The Toronto *Patriot* said: The appointment of Mr. Hincks has been received with strong expressions of disapproval by the great bulk of the loyal party of the Province. He has long conducted a journal which has been accused of ministering sedition to its readers." Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, a steady and resolute Tory, had been invited to join the Cabinet, but he refused to serve with Hincks. Ultimately Henry Sherwood, of Toronto, joined, and as a contemporary writer said, "the lion lay down with the lamb."

It was clear to Sir Charles Bagot that only by giving the French-Canadians a measure of representation in the Government, would he be able to command support in the Assembly and carry on the King's business. Accordingly he wrote to La Fontaine on September 13th, 1842, asking for his co-operation and announcing that Mr. Draper's resignation was in hand if his presence in the Ministry were objectionable. La Fontaine, seeing that it was only a question of time until he and Baldwin must enter the Government on their own terms, declined the invitation.

There was a furious debate in Parliament and finally the Draper forces capitulated. Baldwin and La Fontaine entered the Government and A. N. Morin, a French-Canadian, became Commissioner of Crown Lands. The Ministers immediately followed British constitutional practice by resigning and going back to their constituents for re-election. Baldwin was defeated in Hastings, where the election was conducted with such ardor that two companies of the 23rd Regiment were sent up from Kingston to keep the peace. Following the precedent of the year before when Baldwin had provided an Upper Canada seat for his French-Canadian friend and colleague, La Fontaine cast about for a Lower Canada seat for Baldwin. Mr. Borne, of Rimouski, resigned, and the Toronto reformer took his place, having had the gratifying experience of half a dozen delirious demonstrations in his honor on the way from Montreal to his constituency.

To the Tories the whole arrangement was nothing short of a political crime. Sir Charles Bagot, in their opinion, had dragged the King's prerogative in the dust and had pandered to the traitorous designs of a group of rebels and republicans. The flood of vituperation poured out upon the head of the Governor undoubtedly shortened his life, particularly when the Imperial authorities also were vigorous in disapproval of his action. It is said that when news of the admission of French-Canadians to office reached London, the Duke of Wellington was furious and even Sir Robert Peel was gravely disturbed. British Ministers could not but believe that every step nearer responsible government in the Colonies was a step nearer Colonial independence. Sir Charles Bagot died on May 19th, 1843.

Two months before, his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, had arrived in Kingston. Metcalfe's determination to govern with or without "the advice and consent of Cabinet and Parliament" was not out of character with his Whig principles, as understood at the time. He wrote to Lord Stanley soon after his arrival: "I must be prepared for the consequences of a rupture with the Council, for I cannot consent to be the tool of a party."

The Governor and his Council held together for one session of Parliament. Then in November, 1843, the Ministers resigned as a protest against the unconstitutional acts of the Governor in making appointments without Cabinet recommendation. For seven months Sir Charles Metcalfe was the Government, against the violent protest of the Reform Party in both Provinces. The temper of the Reformers was not improved by a statement in the British Parliament on February 2nd, 1844, by Lord Stanley, Colonial Minister, to the effect that the Imperial Government fully approved of the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Throughout the early part of 1844 a political tempest raged throughout the whole country. The Tories resolutely supported the action of the Governor, declaring in a hundred articles and pamphlets that he had defended British sovereignty against the machinations of republicans and rebels. The Reformers claimed responsible government, "not a hair's breadth less and not a hair's breadth more," as Baldwin said. There was a banquet in honor of the Ministers in Toronto, at the North American Hotel, on December 28th, 1843, when a Reform Association was formed to organize a series of meetings throughout the country. The first of these meetings was held in Toronto on March 25th, 1844, in a hall at the corner of Front and Scott Streets. Among the speakers were Robert Baldwin, Robert B. Sullivan, his cousin and supporter, William Hume Blake, and a Scottish newcomer named George Brown, who on the 5th of that same month had founded a newspaper of some note in the country, the Toronto *Globe*.

Supporters of the Governor countered with the establishment of the United Empire Association; one of the charter members was a Kingston barrister named John A. Macdonald. Meanwhile Lord Stanley in the Imperial Parliament had referred to Baldwin and La Fontaine as "unprincipled demagogues" and "mischievous advisers," and Metcalfe had intimated that they were opposed to British sovereignty. The Canadians thus attacked, retorted by resigning their professional rank as Queen's Counsel—an action akin to the Chinese method of revenge: committing suicide on the enemy's doorstep.

Isaac Buchanan, elected as a Baldwin supporter, went over to the other side, and published a series of letters in support of the Governor. Dr. Egerton Ryerson was also found supporting the action of Metcalfe and indulging in a literary duel with Hon. Robert Sullivan. The Reformers were unsparing in their denunciation of Ryerson, particularly when he accepted the appointment of Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. He was charged with having been bought, an accusation which had no basis in fact.

By the middle of September, Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded in getting together the semblance of a Ministry. Mr. W. H. Draper was again Attorney-General for Upper Canada, and soon W. B. Robinson was Inspector-General. Parliament was dissolved on September 23rd, and the election writs were made returnable on November 12th, 1844.

That was a brave election—the Governor with his hat in the ring, the Tories rallying around the Old Flag, the Liberals clamoring for the Rights of the Subject and denouncing tyranny, absolutism, and corruption; the Orange boys with blackthorns and the Southern Irish boys with cudgels; Mr. Gowan seeking to force a duel on Hon. Francis Hincks, and the military rushing now to one polling place, now to another, to calm the raging passions of enthusiasts. More than one returning officer counted ballots by a new and wholly original method—to the advantage of Governor Metcalfe. The result of the polling was as follows:

	Tory	Reform	
Lower Canada	16	26	
Upper Canada	30	12	46 to 38

The majority was too small for efficient government, but "Sweet William" Draper "carried on" for three years by the exercise of the arts of diplomacy. For example, it was during this Parliament that French became co-equal with English as an official language of Canada.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was ill during this campaign with a cancerous growth in the face. He was forced to leave Canada in November, 1845, and died September 5th, 1846, leaving Lord Cathcart, Commander of the Forces in Canada, as Administrator.

There had been a change of Government in Great Britain. Sir Robert Peel was succeeded by Lord John Russell, and the second Earl Grey became

Colonial Secretary. This was a fact of high importance to Canada, for Earl Grey believed that the principle of responsible government could be granted to a Colony without putting an end to British sovereignty. In a letter of instructions to Sir John Harvey, Governor of Nova Scotia, dated November 3rd, 1846, the new Colonial Secretary wrote: "It is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of the inhabitants."

With this principle in mind the Imperial authorities named Lord Elgin as Governor General, and he arrived in Montreal on January 29th, 1847. Parliament opened in June and it was apparent that the days of Mr. Draper's diplomacy were at an end. The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne was carried by a majority of 2. Mr. Draper retired to the Court of Queen's Bench; John A. Macdonald became Receiver-General and the Sherwood-Daly Ministry continued on a precarious footing until the new election on January 24th, 1848. The result of the polling was a clear majority in both Provinces for Baldwin and La Fontaine. The standing was 26 to 16 in Upper Canada and 36 to 6 east of the Ottawa River. Promptly Lord Elgin summoned the Reform leaders to form a Cabinet and the "Great Ministry" of 1848-1851 was constituted. The Upper Canada section of the Cabinet, consisted of Robert Baldwin, Robert B. Sullivan, Francis Hincks, J. Hervey Price, who had been the first City Clerk of Toronto, Malcolm Cameron, and William Hume Blake.

In order to allow the new Ministry to perfect its policy and prepare its legislation the Session was postponed until the beginning of the year 1849. Parliament opened on January 18th and continued sitting until May 30th. The legislative programme was long and contentious, but a number of the Acts passed were momentous in their consequences. There was a measure of electoral reform. The Judicature Act was consolidated. Provision was made for the completion of the St. Lawrence Canals. The constitution of King's College was revised in harmony with the proposals supported before the country by Hon. Robert Baldwin. Bishop Strachan, taking the extreme view that the Church had been wrongfully despoiled by this legislation, determined upon the establishment of another College distinctively Anglican. He started a fund with a gift of £1,000, went to England and secured sufficient assistance to justify the foundation of Trinity College, which was organized in 1851, and had a worthy career as a separate Arts Institution until University Federation was effected half a century later.

Two tentative proposals were discussed by Parliament—the construction of an Interprovincial Railway and the transfer of the Postal Service from Imperial to Canadian authority. In due time both proposals were carried into effect.

The Rebellion Losses Bill caused a long and bitter controversy in Parliament and in the country. The proposal that those who suffered damage in property should be reimbursed, and that the acts of all rebels and offenders should be officially forgotten, roused the Tories to fury and was disapproved by many Moderates. The presence of Louis Joseph Papineau in the House of Commons—under a previous act of grace recommended by La Fontaine—did not ease the course of the Bill, for Papineau showed himself an irreconcilable, a bitter-end-er, critical of the Government at all times. La Fontaine on the floor of the House rebuked him with great severity. The Tories revived the slander that Baldwin was a republican and a friend to revolution and called the Bill a measure for rewarding disloyalty.

Those of Lower Canada rested chiefly upon that argument. Their friends of Upper Canada had an additional complaint; namely, that £180,000 taken from the Consolidated Fund for this purpose would work a hardship upon Upper Canada, since practically the whole sum would be distributed in the east. Claims arising out of the Mackenzie outbreak had already been settled from Government revenues collected in Upper Canada.

The Debate in Parliament was red-hot. Sir Allan MacNab was so vigorous in counselling resistance to the Rebellion Losses Bill that he was called a rebel, and retorted with the short and ugly word. Throughout Upper Canada there were meetings of protest, and the proceedings were embittered by the knowledge that William Lyon Mackenzie had returned to Canada, being freed from prosecution by the Amnesty Act. The Tory newspapers were implacable. Said the Toronto *Patriot*: "One bigoted personage hopes that if Mackenzie goes to Toronto he will be tarred and feathered, but another, of more liberal feelings, would prefer his being ducked in a horse-pond, as being more English and less personal."

Mackenzie never lacked courage. Threats and warnings did not deter him, and on Sunday, March 18th, 1849, he arrived from Montreal by stage and was received as a guest by Mr. Mackintosh, who lived on the west side of Yonge Street, a little north of Teraulay Cottage. On the third day following there were mutterings of violence, and by nightfall a mob of some 1,500 had assembled, bearing three effigies and a sufficiency of tar-barrels. Down Yonge Street they marched to King, then eastward past the City Hall and the central police office, then to Front Street, and westward to the residences of Hon. Robert Baldwin and Hon. Wm. Hume Blake, attorney-general and solicitor-general of the Administration. Here two of the effigies were burned. The third placarded with the name of Mackenzie was carried to Mr. Mackintosh's front dooryard and soon was blazing. Then the house was stoned until not a window in the front was unbroken. Three of four policemen were on duty in the neighborhood, but naturally they were helpless. The mob finally drifted over to Church Street and stoned the residence of George Brown, editor of *The Globe,* dispersing finally about four o'clock in the morning.

The readiness of Lord Elgin to follow English Constitutional practice in accepting all the advice of his Ministers exposed him to furious attack. Loud were the threats against him if he should dare to assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill, which had passed both Houses and now awaited his signature. On May 1st the Governor drove to the Parliament Buildings, accepted this and other bills, and returned to "Monklands," his official residence. On the way his carriage was pelted with eggs.

That night there was a Tory meeting on the Champ de Mars, with Augustus Heward, brother of the Toronto Hewards, in the chair. Inflammatory addresses were delivered by Mr. Mack, Mr. Esdaile and Mr. Ferres, editor of *The Montreal Gazette* and the meeting resolved itself into a procession bound for the Parliament buildings on St. Anne's Square. The House was in session when the mob arrived, and signalized its presence by throwing stones through the windows. Soon a body of roughs had penetrated to the Chamber and dispersed the Members. One sat in the Speaker's chair directing the destruction of furniture and papers. Another made off with the mace. In the midst of this pandemonium the cry of "Fire" was heard. The main gas pipe had been severed, the gas lighted, and soon the whole building was in flames. Sir Allan MacNab and a few associates saved the portrait of the young Queen and a few books from the library, but practically everything else was destroyed. On that night Montreal gave proof that it was not a suitable capital. Thenceforward until Confederation Parliament met for alternate periods in Toronto and in Quebec.

On the night of May 2nd a Toronto mob burned Lord Elgin in effigy. It is said that for some time afterwards Dr. Lett, of St. George's Church, omitted from the Anglican service the prayer for the Governor General. In August a public print referred to Lord Elgin as "the political Judas Iscariot who betrayed his sovereign and disgraced his office as Her Majesty's representative." In sheer disgust some Montreal Tory and Protestant leaders prepared a manifesto in favor of annexation to the United States, which made a noise in the subsequent political history of the country.

During the latter part of 1843 there was a celebrated criminal case tried in Toronto. Thomas Kinnear lived with a housekeeper, Nancy Montgomery, at his farm on Yonge Street, about 17 miles from the city. He employed two servants, James McDermott and Grace Marks. One morning the neighbors discovered Kinnear's dead body lying in the house. He had been shot through the heart with a musket ball. Further search revealed the body of Miss Montgomery in the cellar. She had been strangled with a strip of cotton. The servants were not to be found and a team of horses, with a light wagon, had disappeared also.

The pair succeeded in reaching Lewiston before being arrested.* The evidence against them was purely circumstantial, but it was convincing, and Chief Justice Robinson sentenced them to execution. The sentence of Grace Marks was commuted to life imprisonment. Ultimately she went insane. McDermott was hanged in public on November 21st. His confession named the Marks woman as the instigator of the plot. She, in turn, declared that she had been egged on by McDermott. It was merely one more of those sordid sex-dramas with which the courts of all countries frequently have to deal.

The official records of 1844 indicated that Toronto had not suffered by the transfer of the Government Offices to Kingston. The population was as follows:

St. David's Ward	6,432
St. Patrick's Ward	4,123
St. Andrew's Ward	3,616
St. Lawrence's Ward	2,696
St. George's Ward	1,553
A total of	18,420

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* The arrest was effected, not by police, but by Mr. Capreol, railway promoter and eminent citizen.

On August 28th, 1843, the Council had authorized the renting of a house at the corner of John and Lot Streets to serve as a police station "for the west end of the city."

A religious census of the city for the year 1844 had the following result: Church of England, 7,921; Church of Scotland, 1,860; Roman Catholics, 3,678; United Secession Church, 398; Independent Presbyterian, 426; Congregationalists, 629; British Wesleyan Methodists, 1,102; Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 840; Episcopal Methodists, 11; Primitive Methodists, 283; Other Methodists, 185; Lutherans, 8; Jews, 18; Disciples of Christ, 77; Universalists, 35; Apostolic Church, 123; Covenanters, 35; Baptists, 454; Quakers, 22; Millerites, 55; Unitarians, 4; Free Church, 5; All Churches, 22; Dutch Church, 7; Bethelites, 2; No Church, 210—a diversified and interesting list.

At this time Moss Park, the residence of Mr. William Allan, was a country estate. There was a market garden on part of McGill Square where the Metropolitan Church now stands. Between Bay Street and Yonge north of King, and south of Adelaide, was an orchard of apple and plum trees. North of Carlton and east of Church Street was "Molly Wood's Bush," where at certain seasons of the year the passenger pigeons assembled in clouds. The first St. James's Church, destroyed by fire in 1839, had been replaced by a spacious and convenient structure containing a pipe-organ, the gift of Hon. J. H. Dunn. Trinity Church, on King Street east, was in process of erection, and St. George's Church had just been completed. The bazaar and other money-making festivities at the opening of St. George's were the occasion of a stern article of rebuke in *The Examiner*.

Journalism consisted mostly of rebuke in those days. No modern moralist denounces horse-racing with the vigor shown by *The Examiner*. Yet racing flourished and some distinguished names are found in the list of stewards. There was a track on Scarlett Plains, part of which is now the Lambton Golf course; about a mile west of Runnymede, where Mr. Scarlett had his residence. In 1840 there were two days of sport, and a good number of entries for "The City Plate of £110," the "Garrison Plate, of £50," the "St. Leger Stakes of £30," and "The Governor-General's Plate of £75." The President of the Association was Colonel Airey, of the 34th Regiment; the Stewards were the Mayor, Major Magrath, Sir Allan MacNab, Captain Meecham, of the 32nd, Colonel Sparks, of the 93rd, Captain Campbell, A.D.C., 7th Hussars, Colonel Bullock, D.A.G., Captain Arthur, A.D.C., Captain Schonswer, Hon. J. H. Dunn, C. C. Small, and William Cayley. The treasurer was William Henry Boulton and the Secretary John Maitland.

A daily stage went to Kingston, another to Hamilton, and another to Lake Simcoe, but for nine months in the year the lake was the highway of Upper Canada. Mr. Weller—not the Immortal who "spelled it with a "We," but one of considerable importance in Toronto—was the owner of the more important stage-coach lines and once conveyed Lord Sydenham in winter from Toronto to Montreal at an average rate of 15 miles an hour. There was a bed in the sleigh for the Governor's greater comfort, but Weller remained on the box during the 24 hours, either driving himself or supervising the coachmanship of an assistant. It is good to know that Lord Sydenham was properly appreciative of the service. He paid Weller £100 and gave him a gold watch.

Railways were still in the future so far as Upper Canada was concerned. The first line in Canada connected LaPrairie and St. Johns, Que., and was sixteen miles long. It was opened for traffic in 1836, but for a year horses furnished the motive power. A locomotive imported from England went into operation during 1837. Meanwhile all sorts of public men were projecting various lines, notably the London and Gore, which was Sir Allan MacNab's promotion, and the City of Toronto and Lake Huron Railway, planned originally to connect Toronto and Sarnia. The Board of Directors elected on July 14th, 1845, was Hon. William Allan, President; George P. Ridout, Clarke Gamble, William B. Jarvis, the sheriff of the Home District; John Ewart, architect and contractor, who built Osgoode Hall; Hon. Henry Sherwood, W. H. Boulton, William Proudfoot, Frederick Widder, commissioner of the Canada Company; George Ridout, William Atkinson, and Edward George O'Brien, secretary *pro tempore*. The capital was £500,000, "in 100,000 shares of £5 each." For a good many years this railway was still a project.

The Mechanics' Institute reported for the year 1841 receipts of £46 2s 9d, and expenditures of £23 18s 9d. The surplus was used for improving the library which was established in the rooms of the Society in the Market building. The Secretary at the annual meeting expressed regret that many members "neglected to return books borrowed." Lectures were given under the auspices of the Institute. There was a course by Rev. Mr. Little on the Mind, another by Rev. Mr. Leach on Education. Dr. Lang lectured on Chemistry and Rev. Mr. Roaf on Geology.

The cornerstone of King's College was laid on St. George's Day, 1842, by Sir Charles Bagot. There was an elaborate procession up University Avenue; soldiers in uniform, judges in the ermine of office, clergy in surplices, and academic graduates in gown and hood. The 43rd Regiment lined the route of the procession, which, in the words of a contemporary, was "one moving picture of civic pomp. " Dr. Strachan, in this the day of his exultation, was supported by his friends and sympathizers, Chief Justice Robinson and Dr. John McCaul. The latter, who came to Canada in 1838, to succeed Dr. Harris as Principal of Upper Canada College, was soon named as Vice-President of the College, and Professor of Classics. He was the first President of the University of Toronto.

The building so happily begun was situated in Queen's Park, where the Parliament buildings now stand. It was of renaissance architecture, with stately pillars in front, and was not unlike the main building of Girard College, Philadelphia. It is said that the sum expended on the purchase of the avenue and the site, which comprised 160 acres, was £13,148 1s 9d—about $64,000.

Dr. John McCaul had much to do with the organization of the academic course as well as with the building operations. Soon he and Dr. Strachan were a joint target for all sorts and conditions of political mud-throwers. In 1844 an anonymous pamphlet entitled "The Origin, History and Management of the University" dealt with the real and fancied shortcomings of Dr. McCaul, with uncommon vigor. For some time afterwards no defence was made, and the contemptuous silence of the President led his critics to declare that the charges against him must be true, since they had never been denied. That drew a reply of protest, in which Dr. McCaul himself revealed unsuspected powers of invective. Of the anonymous pamphlet he said: "Its chief characteristics were strong efforts to pervert truth without the capacity to rise above the level of ordinary falsehood, heavy attempts at sarcasm, sinking into dull invective or coarse abuse, and particularly scrupulous care to vilify the characters of none but those whose position and circumstances warranted the hope that they could not or would not punish the insult." At this the writer of the pamphlet, Mr. John Macara, owned the authorship, and made a public demand for a Committee of University Reform.

The first convocation for the conferring of degrees was held on February 8th, 1848, Dr. McCaul presiding. The graduating Arts class consisted of Daniel McMichael, Arthur Wickson, W. Craigie, T. W. Marsh, John Boyd and Alexander Dickson. The degree of Bachelor of Common Law was conferred upon Samuel S. Macdonell, John Roaf, Ira Lewis, George Crookshank, Larratt W. Smith, James Patton and Rev. F. J. Lundy.

The legislation of 1843 permitting the establishment of public schools in self-governing municipalities and providing a Government grant in aid, brought a motion from Ald. Denison on May 1st, 1843, to the effect that the City Clerk be directed to advertise that he would receive applications from persons anxious to fill the office of teacher in the City of Toronto. A month later the business of the schools was committed to the supervision of a select committee of the Council. On July 5th the Board of Examiners recommended a better delimitation of school districts in the City, so that there would be no inequality in the number of children in the various districts. The Board also recommended that one or more of the schools to be provided should be devoted to the education of girls, that the system of education should be free from the distinctive tenets or practice of any church or denomination, and that the Rev. H. Scadding, Rev. J. Barclay, Rev. John Roaf, Rev. J. Jennings, Ald. Lesslie and Mr. O'Beirne should be a committee to devise a system of tuition and government for the common schools.

For the year 1844 Ald. Gurnett, Ald. Dixon and Ald. Boulton were the Select Committee of the Council on Schools, and Mr. George A. Barber was appointed Superintendent of Education for Toronto. He reported on November 27th that in the twelve district schools then in operation there were about 1,000 children, and that the work of the teachers was being done efficiently.

Within a few months Superintendent Barber was being vigorously attacked by *The Examiner*. He was charged with withholding teachers' salaries, with arrogance in office and with neglect of duty. Always it is necessary in reading *The Examiner* to make allowance for political animus. The fact that Mr. Barber was an appointee of the Gurnett faction was sufficient for the editor to cry "Thumbs Down."

In these times there is no division of opinion concerning the great services rendered to education in Ontario by Dr. Egerton Ryerson. For that reason one reads with surprise the following item in the *Examiner* for February 24th, 1847: "That Mr. Ryerson is incompetent to discharge the duties of Superintendent of Education is no longer a debatable question: the fact is insisted upon by Reformers, admitted by Tories, assented to by Conservatives and proclaimed by Moderates." So far political prejudice carried this particular Liberal editor.

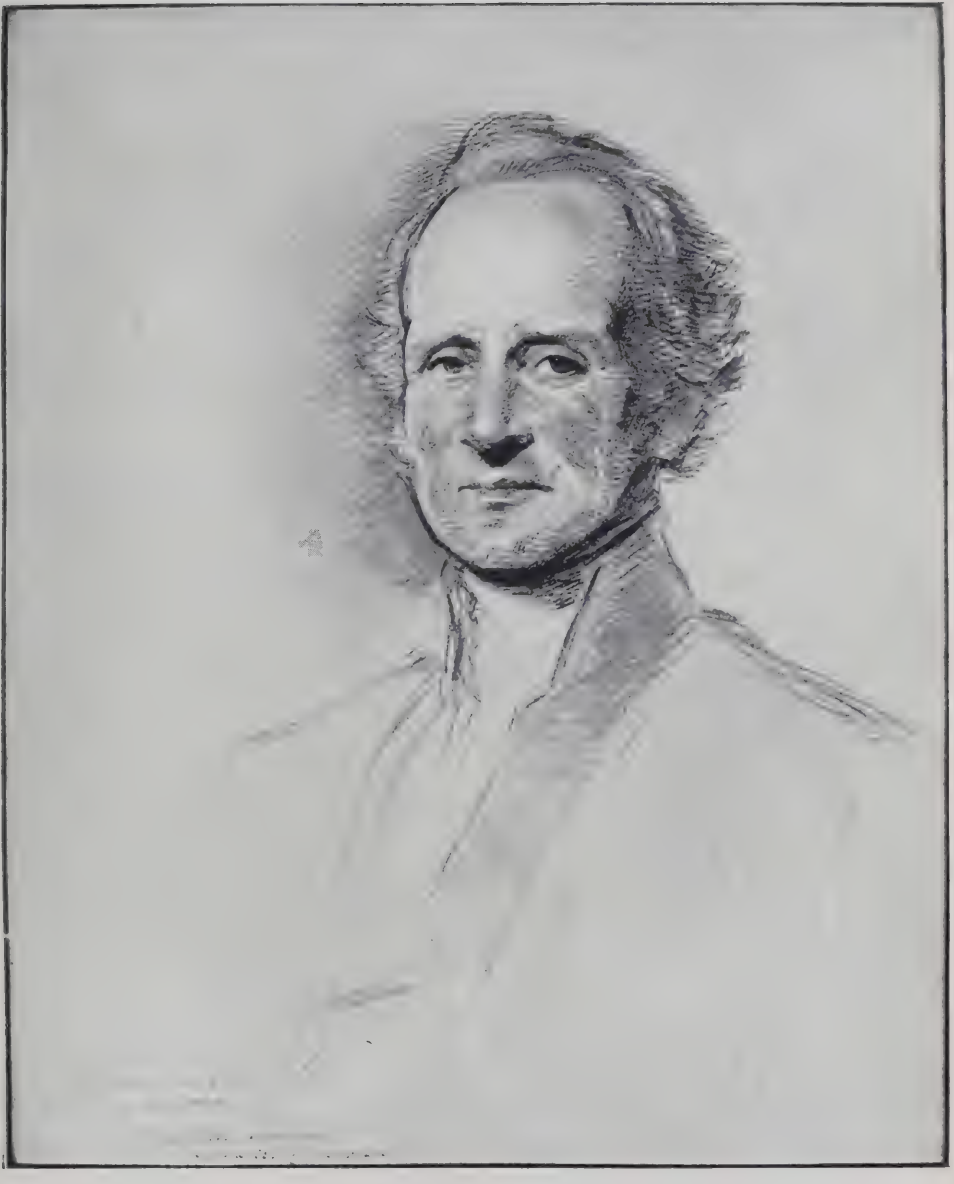
The first impact of the Common Schools Act upon the administration of Toronto came with the discovery that for the year 1848 £2,009 would be necessary for the management of the fifteen schools of the city. That meant an extra assessment of 4½d in the pound, a shade less than 2c on the dollar. A special committee of the City Council, consisting of George T. Denison, jr., Joseph Workman and George P. Ridout, reported on May 1st the facts of the case, expressed some resentment at the terms of the law and recommended a petition to the Government for a revision. The Committee pointed out that the special fees collected from parents in the previous year had amounted to £958 4s 11d. The opinion was freely expressed, not only within the City Hall but outside, that it was utterly unfair to burden all property with a school tax, when many of the ratepayers would derive no benefit from the impost.

Since there was no immediate prospect of changing the law which Dr. Egerton Ryerson was charged to administer, the Committee undertook to revise the estimates, and recommended on July 5th a tax of 1½d in the pound. There was a counter proposal to fix the tax at 1¼d and to close the schools for half the year. This resolution passed Council by a majority of 1, but obviously was not a solution of the difficulty. The outcome was the closing of the schools for a year, from July, 1848, to July, 1849.

Incorporation of a Company formed for serving the City with gas and water was secured at the Parliamentary Session of 1841. Joseph Masson, Albert Furniss and John Strang were authorized to establish a Company with capital of £40,000 and were given authority "at the request of the City of Toronto under its corporate seal and of divers inhabitants of the said City of Toronto" to do all necessary to provide the service as designed. The Company secured the right "to break up, dig and trench so much and so many of the streets, squares and public places of the said City of Toronto as would be necessary for laying the mains and pipes," taking full precautions against accident and guaranteeing to restore the streets to their former condition.

The gas works were to be in operation within a year from the date of the passing of the Act. Two years were allowed for the establishment of the waterworks, and the privileges granted to the Company were for a term of fifty years.

In practical operation neither the gas nor the water service was fully satisfactory, and the charges were counted too high. The waterworks reservoir was established on Huron Street just north of St. Patrick Street, and was filled with water from the Bay by a pumping engine established at the southern end of John Street. The Company was under obligation to



Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart.

provide a sufficient number of "fireplugs" or hydrants, not exceeding 20, but the pipes were too small and the water supply failed with regularity whenever the firemen needed it most.

Mr. Furniss by no means accepted the view of the majority of the citizens with respect to his water service. He complained on July 6th, 1846, of criticisms and applied for permission to erect six water houses at stated street corners to enable him to sell water to carters and other inhabitants of the city. He also declared that the outlet of the Peter Street sewer was too close to his intake, that the process of levelling King Street had brought some of the pipes which were placed six feet underground to within 3 feet 7 inches of the surface, where they were in great danger from frost, and that often water from the fire hydrants was used for purposes not contemplated in the contract with the city.

The Committee on Fire and Water was not impressed by the argument. It promptly refused permission to erect the tanks desired, since they would be unsightly and inconvenient; with reference to the King Street levelling the Committee reminded Mr. Furniss that he had full knowledge that the street was to be graded, since he had laid some of his pipes near Government House on the surface, trusting that they would be buried in the fill. The complaint concerning the Peter Street sewer was referred to the Works Committee for investigation.

There was another passage at arms in 1847 when the Fire and Water Committee presented an exhaustive report to the effect that the existing arrangement with the Company, "so far from contributing to the security of life and property had considerably enhanced the danger of both by leading the citizens to the entertainment of a deceptive dependence on a source of supply which had in almost every instance proved defective."

The Committee expressed the belief that the supply of water at fires formerly furnished by carters, was not only more prompt and abundant than that obtained from the hydrants, but much less expensive. The following figures were presented:

Paid to carters for water hauled to fires:

1839	£ 60	16s	
1840	£104	10s	9d
1841	£122	18s	6d
1842	£131	11s	
a total for four years of	£419	16s	3d

The waterworks were installed in 1843 and for four years the City paid to the Company £250 a year for fire service—£1,000. But owing to the failure of the supply it was still necessary to use carters. The aggregate paid to them during the years 1843 to 1847 was £584 15s. Thus the City was paying nearly £400 a year for service that had cost scarcely more than that for a quadrennium—1839-1842.

The documents in the dispute between the City and the first franchise-holding company reveal a bitterness of feeling similar to that engendered by the shortcomings of the last franchise-holding company which turned over the electric transportation system to the city in 1921.

Continuous complaint about the quality of the gas supplied by Mr. Furniss's Company resulted in the formation of the Consumers' Gas Company and its incorporation in 1848. The preamble of the Act declared that the great and increasing extent of the City rendered it desirable that more than one company should be established—a theorem which in these days would be vigorously combatted, and which subsequent events denied, since in due course the old company's property was purchased. The Directors of the Consumers' Gas Company as named in the Statute were Charles Berczy, Richard Kneeshaw, Ezekiel F. Whittemore, Hugh Scobie, James Beaty, Richard Yates, George C. Horwood, John T. Smith, Peter Paterson, Robert H. Brett and Davidson. Charles Berczy was president and Richard Kneeshaw vice-president. A capitalization of £25,000 .was authorized.

Waterfront improvement was not effected with any violent rapidity. Some of the owners of water-lots on the bay shore were not favorable to the plans of the City Council since they laid certain burdens and responsibilities upon the property holders. But the public feeling in favor of the construction of an Esplanade was too strong to permit the easing of the restrictions. During the winter of 1846-1847 the waterfront improvements and activities were as follows: Gooderham and Worts wharf at the extreme eastern end of the Bay was built. At Small's wharf a glue factory was erected, and a small bay steamer was built. In Cull's shipyard the schooner "Iceland," 130 tons, and the schooner "Ardelia," 75 tons, were constructed. A warehouse was built on Cawthra's wharf, and near Mr. Allan's wharf a new steam flour mill. The first filling for the Esplanade was made by Mr. Leak on his property. A new warehouse was built on Machell's wharf, some "breastworks" were put down at the front of the Market, Boulton's, Helliwell's and Gorrie's wharves were extended and warehouses were built on Maitland's, Browne's and Tinning's. These were the chief dockages afforded from the Don to the Queen's wharf.

In a review of the year 1846 the Toronto *Examiner* summarized the situation with respect to railway projects as follows: "The projected railroad from Quebec to Halifax is a child of 1846; part of the route has been surveyed, and as there is a hope on the part of the colonists, and we believe a promise on the part of the British Government, to give £1,000,000 sterling towards the undertaking, there is a distant prospect of its being at length completed. The offer of the British Government will be tempting and may be a sufficient incentive to exertion, but there will be a drawback in the reflection that even with so large a bonus the road would not at first be a paying concern.

"The estimated cost of the projected railroad from this city to Kingston is £865,000, and of that from Port Hope to Peterborough £60,000. . . . The Toronto and Lake Huron railroad has, we fear, made no progress during the year. Allan MacNab's Great Western scheme has survived the explosion consequent upon the jobbing of the stock, and its success is announced as unquestionable by some who are interested in it; but the truth is that the monetary aspect of the affair is gloomy."

Better reports could be given with respect to the "magnetic telegraph" which in 1846 became a practical means of communication. From *The*

Examiner of Jan. 6th, 1847, the following paragraph is taken: "On January 1st, 1847, the electric communication was opened between this city and St. Catharines. Yesterday it was opened to Queenstown, and there is every reason to hope that in a very short time it will extend to Buffalo, thence to all the cities down to the seaboard, and to Washington, the capital of the Union. So rapidly has this work been completed that some distant journalists have supposed the announcement was a mere hoax; it could hardly be believed that the public spirit of Toronto, the old capital of Canada West, should outstrip that of the United Provinces—Montreal. It has fairly done it, however, in this instance."

On March 17th the same newspaper said: "Messrs. Livingston and Wells, who constructed the magnetic telegraph from Toronto to Buffalo, have obtained the contract to erect the line from Montreal to this city, to be completed by the first of August next."

There was a certain liveliness also in telegraphic construction between Montreal and the Maritime Provinces, and the newspaper editors remarked upon the possibility of supplying the Boston and New York papers with European news secured at the landing of the trans-Atlantic steamers at Halifax.

The Cunard Line had already begun to make the world gasp at the size and majesty of its liners. The Glasgow *News* said late in 1847: "The Cunard Company has four vessels of enormous power in course of preparation. To give an idea to those who have never seen these monsters of the deep is utterly impossible. The America is 30 feet wide and is 250 feet long. She is 1,800 tons register, and is fitted up with engines of 700 horse-power. The engines baffle description. Their magnitude and splendor upset all our former ideas of engineering greatness."

That this warm expression of praise should appear to the people of 1922 as exaggerated is the best indication of the changes which invention and diligence have made in the life of the world during only two generations. Toronto has many citizens who have seen society transformed by the continual improvement of communication and transportation.

For the year 1847 Mr. Henry J. Boulton was Mayor, having been elected on a vote of 12 to 11. In a sense he was his own representative, since he was one of the 12 to support the Boulton candidacy. Lord Elgin was entertained with much cordiality during his term, but there was a lively discussion by the Council of 1848 with respect to some of the accounts arising out of the reception. It appears that the Mayor authorized the expenditure of £120 18s 9d without warrant of Council for the erection of triumphal arches. The debate afforded a glorious opportunity for *The Examiner,* which had no love whatever for any Boulton, past or present: "Who does not remember the admirable arrangements at the Grange? When the illustrious party arrived there Mr. Boulton's footman just in the nick of time bellowed out: 'Three cheers for our worthy mayor!' "

The beginning of the Park System of Toronto may be traced to the years 1846 and 1847. Early in the former year the Commissioner of Crown Lands communicated with the City Council to ascertain whether or not there would be any objection to the leasing to private individuals of certain lots on the south side of the harbor situated on the "Peninsula." A special committee consisting of George Gurnett and J. Hillyard Cameron, was appointed by the City Council to consider the communication. Reporting on March 12th, 1846, the Committee declared that there were most serious objections to the proposal "with reference to the present and prospective, interests of the inhabitants of the City." The property, it was believed, ought to be under the control of the Corporation, and the Committee suggested that if the Government would relinquish control in favor of the City, either by letter of license or upon any other tenure, Council could exercise its authority to prevent trespass or the removal of sand which in the period anterior to the report had caused much damage to the property. Furthermore, if private individuals owned or enjoyed the land they might prevent access to the fisheries which were of great advantage to the people. The Committee was of opinion that only the Corporation could make the improvements necessary to render the Peninsula a source of pleasant and healthful recreation and exercise to the inhabitants of the city generally, for which it was "so eminently calculated." Representations in accord with this report were made in due course to the Government.

The reference to the fisheries has more point when considered in connection with a special report on the subject which was presented to Council on March 2nd, 1846. The Standing Committee on Wharves, Harbors, etc., had visited the Peninsula to see the fishing plant of Mr. William Geddes, and had been favorably impressed. "Heretofore it has been remarked that this particular trade or business has been in a great measure carried on by idle and intemperate characters. Your Committee found all men in Mr. Geddes' employment in a perfect state of sobriety and presenting a cleanly and respectable appearance." For this and other reasons the Committee recommended that so much of the fishing grounds as extended from the "extreme point, in a south-westerly direction, running nearly north along the shore to the extreme northerly point of the fishing grounds now in use be leased to Mr. Geddes for two years at £100 a year." Tenders were to be invited for the remainder of the fishing grounds.

The negotiations for the fine waterfront area known now as Exhibition Park, dated from May, 1847: "The Select Committee to whom was referred the draft of a lease from the Office of Her Majesty's Ordnance Department beg to report that they have carefully examined the said draft by which it is proposed to grant for a term of 999 years at an annual rental of 1 penny sterling 287 acres of land, being a portion of the military reserve at the west end of the City, for a park for the benefit of the inhabitants of the City, provided that the City undertake to make certain improvements within a period at present blank in the lease. Your Committee upon due consideration recommend that your Worshipful Council should accept the said lease, and that, upon the terms which still remain blank being filled up with 'five years' or such longer period as the Ordnance officers may agree to, His Worship the Mayor be authorized to seal and execute the said lease on the part of the City." Three aldermen were opposed to the acceptance of the report—probably because of the high rental—but their opposition was vain, and in due time the City assumed control.

The application of Edwin Bell to the City Council for permission to erect a soap and candle factory within the city was the occasion for the laying down of the following civic policy, dated June 26th, 1846.

1. That the erection of such manufactories as could, either from noise or offensive effluvia, be an annoyance to the adjoining premises, should be prohibited upon the line of any street or road in the City or Liberties.

2. That no manufactories, blacksmiths' shops, etc., should be built of other material than brick or stone.

3. That such manufactories should be covered (or roofed) with either tin, tile or sheet-iron.

4. That in the erection of manufactories emitting any disagreeable effluvia the chimney should be of sufficient elevation to carry the same above the roofs in the immediate neighborhood.

Having established the principle, Council granted license to Mr. Bell to build his soap and candle factory, since it was to be roofed with metal and was to have a chimney 45 feet high.

Street extensions provided for about this period included the producing of Colborne Street to Yonge and the rectification of the lines of Caroline Street (now Sherbourne). In this connection the Presbyterian burying ground on Duchess Street was interfered with, and a claim for damages was filed by the Trustees against the City.

The Toronto Athenæum, a society formed for the establishment and support of a Public Library and Museum, came to the Council early in 1846, with a request that the Corporation make application to Parliament on behalf of the Society for a grant of some duplicate copies of books in the Parliamentary Library. The Council endorsed the application and sent a petition to the Legislative Council setting forth that the Athenæum had collected several hundred books of scientific and other subjects, in which it had been largely assisted by donations from learned societies in England and Scotland; that according to the report of a Committee of Parliament presented on September 8th, 1842, there remained 770 volumes of duplicate works to be divided between the two Houses of Parliament after each House had been supplied with a copy. The request was made that the duplicates should be sent to Toronto where they would be in safe custody and where they would be available to a larger public than in Montreal,

Bearing in mind the complaint by *The Examiner* that the City was dominated by an Orange faction, one finds particular interest in a resolution passed in October, 1847, by the Council on motion of Alderman Duggan and Mr. J. G. Beard "That Members of this Council attend on Tuesday next, October 5th, the funeral of the late Dr. Power, Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto, in token of the high esteem and respect which that most deserving prelate has won for himself from the citizens of Toronto."

The Board of Trustees for the Common Schools, as appointed by Council on November 8th, 1847, consisted of F. W. Barron, Hon. John Elmsley, John Cameron, William Cawthra, John G. Bowes and John McMurrich.

George Gurnett was Mayor for the year 1848, and during his term something was done towards stabilizing the civic financing. The City had the power under the amended Act of Incorporation to issue notes to cover capital expenditures. These notes were interest-bearing and might be purchased at any time. The statement of the civic debt on March 23rd, 1848, showed a total of outstanding notes reaching £14,592. The debenture liabilities were £60,699 5s, and various small items brought the total to £77,870 19s 4d. Grave doubts as to the desirability of note-issues were expressed for the first time officially in the report of the Finance Committee dated May 15th, 1848: "As regards the payment of Corporation notes now in circulation, your Committee are under the necessity of recommending that a similar amount, say, £13,500, be authorized to be issued this year, but would strongly recommend that as soon as it became practicable the whole should be redeemed and debentures issued for the amount, as they are convinced that the issuing of City notes is a system that should be discontinued."

Three of the items of civic expenditure in 1848 were "For lighting the city with gas, £1,108.74; for the Fire Department, £775; for cleaning and repairing streets, £750." The total budget was £14,528.

There was a serious fire on Yonge Street during the second week of January, 1848. *The Examiner* of January 12th said: "As usual the fire engines, although early on the ground, were of no use for about a quarter of an hour. No water could be had at the hydrants, and when at last it did come the quantity was insufficient to supply one engine. The waterworks are justly regarded as a public nuisance instead of being a public benefit to the city, yet the Corporation has been deaf to the loud and repeated appeals of the citizens to be relieved from the imposition practised upon them by the agents of this Company. Now we learn that as a final step the whole Fire Department design in a body to resign their office until means are employed to enforce a supply of water, either from the Company or from some other source. So indignant were the firemen at the state in which they found the hydrants at this fire that they were inclined to go up *en masse* and pull down the waterworks."

Three weeks later Rennie's Tavern was burned, but as the fire was close to the Bay there was a full supply of water, "but at first for nearly an hour it was impossible to get any from the hydrant on Church Street."

The census of 1848 showed that there were in Toronto 23,503 people, occupying 3,795 houses. Three hundred and forty-one houses were vacant. There were 10 public halls, 21 churches, 4 colleges, 51 schools, 318 merchants' shops and 142 inns. The provision against thirst seems to have been ample. The number of householders being also landed proprietors was 1,358.

A record of the people according to the country of origin showed that 9,044 came from Ireland; 7,997 were born in English-Canada, and 122 in French-Canada; 3,789 came from England, 1,605 from Scotland, 763 from the United States, 59 from Germany and Holland, and 159 from other countries.

Queen Victoria had been on the throne for eleven years before the "Queen's Birthday" was formally recognized as a public holiday. The shops were closed for the first time on May 24th, 1848.

From *The Examiner* of August 9th, 1848: "The first experiment of crossing the Niagara Suspension Bridge with horses and carriages has been successfully made. Mr. Elliott drove the carriage. The scene was very exciting."

During the summer of 1849 Asiatic cholera again appeared in Toronto. The majority of those attacked were immigrants weakened by the hardships of a long journey and herded in unsanitary sheds. Up to the end of August there had been 713 cases and 428 deaths. The Board of Health materially improved the methods of dealing with the disease, and the City Council at the instance of Mayor Gurnett enacted a by-law to compel householders to notify the authorities of all new cases of the disease.

L. J. Privat maintained a hotel on the Peninsula, near the present Eastern Gap, and operated a side-wheel ferry propelled by horses on a treadmill. His advertisement headed "Cheap Pleasure" appeared in the papers of 1849. "That safe and convenient horse-boat the Peninsula Packet, will make her usual trips from Mr. Maitland's wharf to the Peninsula Hotel every day at the hours of 10, 12, 2, 4 and 6, returning to the City at the hours of 11, 1, 3, 5 and 7. Fare to and fro, 7½d. Family season tickets £1."

Between 1844 and 1846 considerable additions were made to Osgoode Hall. Part of the east wing had been erected in 1832 and 1833. During the period from 1837 to 1843 the building was used by the military authorities, but on their vacating the needs of the Law Society were considered. A west wing and a central structure connecting the two wings were built and served the lawyers until 1855-1856, when further additions were made.

PART II.

The City in its Progress

CHAPTER I.

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

HON. ROBERT BALDWIN, C.B.
Premier of Canada Before Confederation

SIR OLIVER MOWAT, K.C.M.G.
Premier, then Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario

CHAPTER I.

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

THE MONTREAL movement formerly mentioned in favor of annexation to the United States, had its echo in Toronto. Early in 1850 a Toronto Committee favoring peaceful departure from the British Empire issued a manifesto signed by Richard Kneeshaw and H. B. Willson, the secretaries, urging the apparent advantages which Canada would find in unity with the Republic. Some sentences from this manifesto follow: "The endeavors of those, whose individual interests are not identified with the community at large, to retard the early consummation of this great and glorious object must be firmly met by a manly determination to overcome every obstacle. Let it be borne in mind on all occasions that the connection of these Colonies with the Mother Country is no longer regarded by any class of politicians, either in England or in Canada, as a thing of permanence. The course of action recommended is merely to accelerate inevitable events and shorten a state of transition."

Undoubtedly there was truth in the statement that none of the politicians could envisage an Empire of free Colonies such as the British Empire is to-day. The expert in government being logically minded assumed that a Colony which was not ordered and directed from Downing Street could not be a Colony at all; therefore, that Canada must go peacefully into independence, and thence comfortably into annexation. But the politicians did not count on that illogical but potent spiritual impulse called sentiment. The inhabitants of Upper Canada, as distinguished from the political activists, had a pride in their birthright as British subjects. They knew that somehow or other it was possible for them to be at once free democrats and ardent monarchists. For that reason the annexation campaign left them cold and unconvinced. The busy energy of the Government in "amoving" certain Justices of the Peace and other officials who were favorable to a change of flags was scarcely necessary. If the movement had had any real popular strength the administration would not have been able to check it by specific acts of punishment.

The Parliamentary Session of 1850 opened in Toronto on March 14th, with A. N. Morin as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly; W. B. Lindsay as Clerk, Felix Fortier as Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and Frederick Starr Jordan as Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. The Speech from the Throne announced the death of the Queen Dowager, the transfer of the Postal Service from Imperial to Provincial hands, and the disapproval of Queen Victoria at the loose talk of annexation to the United States. "I have deemed it to be my duty in the exercise of the Prerogative with which I am entrusted to mark Her Majesty's disapprobation of the course taken by persons holding Commissions at the pleasure of the Crown, who have formally avowed the desire to bring about the separation of this Province from the Empire of which it is a part. The views put forward by these persons and by those who act with them, do not, I have reason to believe, find favor with any considerable portion of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects." One thinks of Strachey's quotation—the devastating sentence of Her Majesty, "We are not amused!"

Whether this paragraph was wholly the product of the Responsible Ministers of the Crown, or was inspired by a hint from the Colonial Office as to Her Majesty's views, it had the Victorian atmosphere of chilly dignity, and cooled the ardor of some who had signed the Montreal manifesto on account of the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1849. A return during the Session of 1850 showed that the total of claims from Lower Canada for Rebellion losses was £202,080. The Commission of inquiry up to that time had not passed upon any of these claims.

The Government was of Liberal complexion, but in Radical eyes it was Conservative in temper. Thus arose dissension in the Reform Party. The political quarrel between Baldwin Reformers and "Clear Grits" was marked by much bitterness. George Brown in *The Globe,* referred to the Clear Grits, as a "miserable clique of office-seeking, bunkum-talking cormorants." Malcolm Cameron called Brown "a fanatical beast," and William Macdougall in *The North American,* said that the founder of *The Globe,* was "a servile adherent of the Baldwin Government."

The more prominent men of the Clear Grit party, in addition to Cameron and Macdougall, were Peter Perry, Caleb Hopkins, David Christie, James Lesslie and Dr. John Rolph. The expressed demands of this faction included the adoption of the elective principle in the filling of all public offices, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, biennial Parliaments, the abolition of property qualifications for Parliamentary representatives, a fixed day for the holding of general elections and for the meeting of the Legislature, retrenchment in public expenditure, the abolition of pensions to Judges, the abolition of the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Chancery, the reduction of lawyers' fees, free trade and direct taxation, an amended Jury Law, the abolition or amendment of the usury laws, the abolition of primogeniture, and the secularization of the clergy reserves.

Many of these principles were favored by Baldwin Reformers, but some of them were out of harmony with British Parliamentary and administrative practice and were opposed by the friends of the Government. George Brown was not wholly satisfied with the deliberation of the Government in finding a settlement for the Clergy Reserves question, and was vigorous in his denunciation of an alleged "unholy alliance" between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics to resist secularization. For this and other reasons the editor of *The Globe* drew upon himself the bitter hostility of the Roman Catholic people. Further, when he became a candidate for Parliament in Haldimand in the Government interest he found himself opposed by William Lyon Mackenzie, representing the Radicals. He was beaten, and the former rebel went to Parliament in his stead.

Early in the Session the Speaker of the Assembly announced that in view of the loss by fire of the Parliamentary Library of 25,000 volumes, he had communicated with the various representative governments of North America soliciting their aid in the reconstruction of the collection, and hoping that they would send such copies of Journals, Statutes, etc., as could be spared. All the other British Provinces and also the State Government of New York made a generous response.

The report of the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada showed that in Toronto during 1849 there were 15 common schools. Eleven of these were conducted in rented houses, and four were of brick. The dimensions in feet of these schools seem small in modern eyes—18x24, 20x24, 22x24, 24x30, etc. The grant to Toronto from the Consolidated Fund was £423 19s 2d, and the rate collected by the municipality brought £474. Since the annual salaries of teachers amounted to £1,575, the school revenue was insufficient.

The average attendance of pupils in summer was 1,260; in winter, 1,432. The schools were kept open for an average period of only 6 months each and the teaching staff numbered 16—13 being men and 3 women. The average salary of the men was £122 10s, of the women £45.

In addition to these Common Schools there were in Toronto 3 Colleges, with 350 students, 1 district grammar school with 30 pupils, and 10 private schools with 190 in attendance. In only 4 of these secondary institutions were the Classics taught. Instruction in French, music and dancing was given in 3. There were no day-school libraries, but the Sunday School Libraries were 3 in number with a total of 800 volumes. There were two public libraries (the Mechanics' Institute and the Athenæum, no doubt) with 1,000 volumes on their shelves.

The population of Toronto was reported at 23,503; of York Township, 7,120; of Scarboro', 3,728; of Etobicoke, 2,914. James Hickman was the light keeper on Toronto pier and James Durnan at Gibraltar Point, and the harbor dues for 1849 were £682 6s. 2d.

At the instance of Sir Allan MacNab Parliament gave authority to municipal corporations to subscribe for stock of the Great Western Railway "and otherwise to aid in completing that undertaking." It was a dangerous authority to commit to any municipality, particularly when the only safeguard proposed was representation on the Directorate of the Railway Company. In later years when promoters had completed their various arguments many of the municipalities of Upper Canada found themselves in an unenviable financial position.

The Session of 1850 was noteworthy for yet another debate on the Clergy Reserves Question. Finally, the Government, on the motion of Hon. J. H. Price, proposed the submission of an Address to Her Majesty reciting the history of the question and asking for the repeal of the Imperial Act of 3 and 4 Victoria, so that the Canadian Government would be able to dispose of the Reserves and apply the proceeds to general educational purposes. The Address cited the nine separate occasions from 1827 on which the representative branch of the Legislature had favored such a settlement only to be balked of their will by the action of the Legislative Council.

A statement of the expenditure on the Provincial Lunatic Asylum in Toronto was submitted to Parliament in June, 1850. The total outlay was £56,574 13s. 11d., of which £44,022 1s. 1d. was for the erection of the building. The cost of fencing and improving the grounds was only £515 10s. 3d.

During 1850 a series of letters from Washington appeared in *The Examiner* over the signature of William Lyon Mackenzie. While there is apparent no decline in controversial power the bitterness of spirit is considerably abated. The following sentences from one of these letters might serve as the constitution and by-laws of any one of the political parties of to-day:

> "I would like to live long enough to see Canada happy, and deservedly so—her sons united as one man to promote the common welfare, her lovely daughters rearing a young race of manly, mild, yet temperate freemen, and teaching them to hate every form of government through which the human mind is enslaved or enshrouded in mental or moral darkness, her hills and valleys, her hospitable homesteads, towns and hamlets filled with tolerant, kindly citizens, each serving God as his conscience might dictate without the fear of persecution or the hope of recompense, and taking for his guide the Golden Rule. . . . To this millennial state of things the worn-out wanderer that now addresses you can scarcely hope to reach, but surely the child is born among you who will see it. We live fast in these times and the ball is rolling in the true direction."

At the next Session, during the summer of 1851, Mackenzie moved a resolution to the effect that the Court of Chancery should be abolished and secured a majority of the Upper Canada members in favor. Since this was in the nature of a vote of want of confidence Robert Baldwin resigned office and retired from politics. Soon afterwards LaFontaine followed suit.

January 3rd, 1850, was appointed a day of public thanksgiving for the disappearance of the cholera. The worst ravages of the disease during the previous summer and autumn had been among immigrants worn by fatigue and misery, and among the lower class of the static population who were steady patrons of the small drinking shops with which the city abounded. *The Examiner,* in discussing the approach of the municipal elections which were held on January 7th and 8th urged that only such candidates as were pledged to the early appointment of a police magistrate should be supported. The Act of the previous Session permitting such an appointment provided that the licensing power should rest in the magistrate's hands. The article continued: "Under the wise management of such a magistrate the nuisance of from 600 to 700 taverns and grog-shops—these nurseries of wretchedness, disease and crime—would be abated, while if the licensing power be allowed to remain in the hands of the aldermen, many of whom as landlords are interested, it is said, in the renting of taverns and groggeries the evil will only be perpetuated, if not increased." *The Examiner's* advice stirred up no great interest and most of the aldermen and councillors offering for re-election had little serious opposition.

A lottery for the benefit of the nebulous Toronto and Lake Huron Railway was one of the curious projects of the "Railway era." Mr. F. C. Capreol, who was the promoter of the enterprise, persuaded a good many leading citizens that the city might well invest £100,000 in tickets. There was a public meeting on January 25th at the City Hall, with Mayor Gurnett in the chair; called to consider the propriety of advising the City to make the investment.

Mr. H. J. Boulton moved the resolution, pointing out that a person buying a £5 share might get £10,000 or he might get nothing. If he got nothing, his property would be increased in value by the additional trade brought by the railway.

Mr. William Taylor protested against all lotteries, and considered that this particular one would have a debasing and demoralizing influence. This was answered by the argument that the permissive Bill as passed by the Canadian Parliament had been reserved for the Queen's pleasure, that the Royal assent had at last been given, and therefore that if Her Majesty's advisers were satisfied with the morality of the project, it was not for others to object. The meeting was with Mr. Boulton, and in due course the City Council introduced a By-law to provide the money—subject to the approval of the electors. The question was submitted at the polls on June 3rd and 4th and was answered with a negative so emphatic that no one could misunderstand it. The result was as follows:

	For	Against
St. George's Ward	70	49
St. Andrew's	31	88
St. Lawrence's	15	95
St. David's	11	135
St. James's	38	158
St. Patrick's	31	144
	196	669

It is to the credit of the Toronto Board of Trade that on May 28th it had condemned the proposal by a vote of 19 to 4.

In 1850 there was a pleasant, friendly feeling between Canada and the United States. Business relations were comfortable and easy. There was talk of reciprocal free trade, and the communication established by telegraph between cities on either side of the border increased the desirable sense of neighborliness.

In August, 1850, at the invitation of the Legislature and the City Council some two hundred prominent citizens of Buffalo were invited to visit Toronto. This was in response to a reception which Buffalo had given in honor of some Toronto official folk some months before.

On August 8th the steamer *"Chief Justice Robinson"* was chartered by the reception Committee consisting of Mr. Morrison, M.P.P., Ald. Campbell, A. H. Armour, and M. Ridout, and taken to Lewiston to meet the contingent of guests. The streets of Toronto were elaborately decorated with bunting and entwined flags and the arrival of the steamer was signalized by a salute of cannon. Of course it rained and the decorations were bedraggled by the time the procession of welcome was formed. Besides, a high wind sprang up and endangered the flagstaff of St. Lawrence Hall, weighted by two wet banners, so that it was necessary to strike the colors. Nevertheless the procession was most imposing, consisting of the fire companies, the national societies and a band. The visitors were escorted to the North American Hotel and in the evening there was a Grand Ball in St. Lawrence Hall, then almost completed. The room was decorated with evergreens and flags, and a canvas passage 500 feet long led to the old City Hall, where a midnight supper was served. At the head table were Mayor Gurnett, Lady Elgin, The Governor-General, Mrs. Judge Sill of Buffalo, the Mayor of Buffalo, Mrs. L. H. LaFontaine, the Speaker of the Legislative Council, Mrs. (Ald.) Tiffany, the Speaker of the Assembly and the Hon. Mrs. Bruce.

The Mayor's address of welcome which ended by proposing the health of the Queen, was lost to posterity for reasons which are plainly set forth in a contemporary report of the rout: "The Mayor began to address the assembly, but the popping of champagne corks and the excitement created by so large an assembly busily engaged in showing their appreciation of the good things of this life prevented his remarks from being heard distinctly." There was a toast to the President of the United States and one to the Guests and then dancing was resumed with great enthusiasm.

On Friday at noon the 71st Regiment under Sir Hew Dalrymple was reviewed on Garrison Common, and in the afternoon Lord Elgin gave a garden party at his official residence, Elmsley House, near the present corner of College and Yonge Streets. On Saturday the guests witnessed the prorogation of the Legislature and departed for home in the late afternoon.

The Garden Party was not graced by any of the members of the City Council, a fact which was the occasion for a vigorous official protest at the next ensuing meeting. Alderman Dempsey, after assembling a formidable number of Whereas clauses in the nature of a preamble, moved:

> "That the Corporation in justice to themselves and their constituents, inhabitants of the City of Toronto, cannot forbear animadverting in the strongest terms upon the pointed conduct of His Excellency in not extending to this Corporation as a body an invitation to the public demonstration at Elmsley (Government) House on the afternoon of Friday last, the second day of the visit, a demonstration in honor of and given to the common guests of His Excellency and this Corporation to the Mayor and Corporation of Buffalo; conduct which they cannot otherwise than view either as a wanton and intended insult or a gross neglect towards them as a body and towards those whom they represent:
>
> "That this Corporation deny that the occasion in question, although on His Excellency's own premises was or could be looked upon as a private one, but the contrary, to all intents and purposes, as a continuance of the previous civilities to the visitors and one that was so understood, as forming part of the programme for some time previously arranged.
>
> "That although the Corporation feel that many amongst its members would not have availed themselves of this proffer of civility on the part of His Excellency, had such been made, yet as a body, as the highest civic Body, as the representative of the people of this city, they cannot permit the conduct of His Excellency on the occasion to pass without stigmatizing it as they deem it deserves; namely, as under the circumstances exceedingly ill-judged, partial, impolitic and improper."

There was a guffaw in the press over this resolution. *The Examiner* spoke of "their worships" not being able "to luxuriate in the gustatory pleasures of that rich and rustic banquet," nevertheless the Council was right in making protest in the interests of the citizens. The official recognition of all classes on official occasions is just and reasonable.

One of the important shops on King Street in 1850 was the Mammoth House conducted by Thomas Thompson. His advertisement in the papers after "respectfully announcing" a stock of staple and fancy dry goods ends as follows: "As the subscriber is much opposed to the system of puffing, now so common, he would merely request the public to call and examine for themselves." A portrait of Mr. Thompson shows a lean man with resolute features, deep-set eyes, a drift of side-whisker, and a high black stock. He had been a teacher in England and came to Toronto in 1830, establishing a school on Colborne Street. His venture into business proved profitable and he was a prominent merchant of the city until his death in 1868.

The Toronto Industrial Exhibition, promoted and organized by the Mechanics' Institute was held in September, 1850 in the Citv Hall. It consisted mainly of industrial products, but there was also an exhibit of pictures. Special merit was found in the paintings of Paul Kane, a name well known in Canada to this day. Among the distinguished visitors to the city during the autumn were Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, and John B. Gough. That there was need for temperance oratory is found in the fact that at this time there were in Toronto 152 taverns and 206 beer shops under license.

Continually in the City Council there were complaints concerning the difficulty of maintaining public order in the city and neighborhood owing to the free drinking habits of the time. The Peninsula was said to be a horrible sink of iniquity especially on Sundays when gambling, drinking and fighting were common.

On January 21st, 1851, Mr. George Gurnett became Police Magistrate, closing a long and useful term as a member of the City Council. There was a motion of thanks and appreciation in the following terms: "This Council desires to record the high opinion entertained, not only by the members thereof but by the inhabitants generally of the valuable and efficient services rendered by Mr. Gurnett during the sixteen consecutive years that he has been a member of this Council."

The enactment in the United States of the Fugitive Slave Law, perhaps the prime cause of the Civil War which broke out ten years later was the occasion for continuous protest in the Northern States which was reflected in Upper Canada by anti-slavery meetings. There was one in Toronto on February 26th, 1851, which passed a series of fiery resolutions and brought to the newspapers a letter of protest signed by "Common Sense." This writer could see no reason for interference with the business of the neighboring country, merely because of the crotchet of a few abolitionists. Frederick Douglass spoke in St. Lawrence Hall on April 3rd, 1851, and had a most cordial reception.

The personnel of the City Council for the year 1851 was as follows: Aldermen, Richard Kneeshaw, Richard Dempsey, John H. Cameron, George P. Ridout, Robert Beard, Joshua G. Beard, John B. Robinson, Joseph Sheard, George Gurnett, John G. Bowes, E. P. Whittemore, and Samuel Thompson; Councilmen, Adam Beatty, David C. Maclean, John Ritchey, John Carr, John T. Smith, Samuel Platt, Jonathan Dunn, John Bugg, Jas. Ashfield, E. Wright, Jas. Price, M. P. Hayes. Alderman Bowes was elected Mayor.

Two buildings of importance to the city and the Province were started in 1851; Trinity College, designed by Bishop Strachan to make head against the "godless" University of Toronto, and the Ontario Normal School which was the child of the Bishop's most doughty antagonist, Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education. The respective corner stones were laid on April 30th and July 2nd. The foundation stone of St. James's Cathedral, the structure now standing, was laid on November 20th, 1850.

Dr. Ryerson's speech at the Normal School in the presence of Lord Elgin, who laid the stone, contained the following paragraph:

"There are four circumstances which encourage the most sanguine expectations in every patriotic heart with regard to our educational future. The first is the avowed and entire absence of all party spirit in the school affairs of our country, from the Provincial Legislature down to the smallest municipality. The second is the precedence which our Legislature has taken of all others on the western side of the Atlantic in providing for Normal School instruction. The third is that the people of Upper Canada have during the last year voluntarily taxed themselves for the salaries of teachers in a larger sum in proportion to their numbers, and have kept open their schools on an average more months than the neighboring citizens of the old and great State of New York. The fourth is that the essential requisite of a series of suitable and excellent text-books has been introduced into our schools."

June and Company's Oriental Circus, one of a long procession of summer entertainments of spectacular sort, exhibited its galaxy of wonders in Toronto on July 3rd and 4th. The advertisement in *The Globe* contained an excellent woodcut of an equestrienne and was couched in the superlative language which has long been associated with the sawdust ring. This "mammoth establishment, the largest in existence, comprising more new and peculiar features than any other equestrian exhibition travelling" arrived in the city headed by "a gorgeous Band-Car drawn by eight Syrian Camels imported from Egypt at vast expense expressly for this establishment." Among the performers were Lavater Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Cole, Mr. Lipman and Miss Caroline Sherwood, with John Gossin the American clown.

But something even more pretentious arrived on July 1st, 1852, in P. T. Barnum's "Grand Colossal Museum and Menagerie" with ten elephants, a baby elephant, General Tom Thumb the famous midget, 110 horses and 90 men. The circus-tent, or "big top" had a more dignified name in those days as the following quotation from the advertisement shows: "The pavilion of Exhibition has been enlarged until it is capable of accommodating 15,000 spectators at once." The admission was 25 cents, children half price. The circus was at Bowmanville on June 26th, Whitby on the 28th, Markham Village on the 29th, Richmond Hill on the 30th and came down Yonge Street like the cohorts of the Assyrians "all gleaming in purple and gold."

In those days of wagon-transportation the circus-procession was not a mere spectacle. It was the arrival of the galaxy of wonders, a necessary progress to the circus lot, with such pageantry as could be devised at the halt on the outskirts of the community.

The eternal controversy over the Clergy Reserves flamed into a street-riot on July 23rd, 1852. A meeting of the anti-Clergy Reserve Association had been arranged for that evening in St. Lawrence Hall. Those of the other way of thinking had already given evidence of hostility towards the Association by breaking up one of its meetings, but on this occasion a counter demonstration was attempted. There was a great outdoor meeting addressed by Henry Sherwood, Ald. Dixon and E. G. O'Brien, and then the mob stoned the hall where the enemy was in conclave. In the confusion Mayor Bowes got a broken head. Ald. Kneeshaw read the Riot Act and a company of the 71st Regiment was called to restore order.

Jenny Lind sang in St. Lawrence Hall on October 21st and 22nd, 1851, and had a triumphant success. *The Globe* in commenting on the concert made a sage remark: "Wonderful as her voice is, the magic, we suspect, is with herself." The city entertained the songstress at an expense of £92 9s.

The financial status of Toronto at the beginning of 1851 was not unsatisfactory. The debenture debt was £73,032. The outstanding civic notes amounted to £19,632 and the notes redeemed made a total of £14,403. The income for 1850 was £40,896, and the expenditure £39,735.

The Fugitive Slave Law made any Northern State a hunting-ground for Southern overseers, despite the sentiment of the people. The escaped slaves who were settled in Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and New York, realizing that their security was at an end came in large numbers to Canada, settling mainly about St. Catharines and Chatham. The Anti-Slavery Society of Toronto was exceedingly active in serving the necessities of the refugees, and administered large sums. More than £1,000 was sent from England for the work of the Society.

The rejection by the electors of the lottery scheme for the building of the Northern Railway did not discourage Mr. Capreol and his associates. The proposal was made that the City should make a grant of £100,000 and a by-law to that effect passed the City Council and was submitted to the electors—without success. Then the Council determined to make a cash grant of £25,000 and to buy Company bonds to the amount of £36,000. Early in 1852, at the request of the Company, the terms were varied, and the City took stock in the Railway to an amount of £50,000. With this assistance the Company was able to go on with the work.

The Globe of October 5th, 1852, contained this item:

"The Queen's Wharf has become the scene of altogether unusual bustle for the last few days; three steamers and a schooner have been discharging there the rail for the Northern road. The locomotive, the arrival of which we noticed before, has attracted a great deal of attention. On Wednesday next we understand that steam will be got up and the machine will be used in the construction of the road. The first turn of the wheels of the first locomotive of Upper Canada is a revolution pregnant with great events."

In accordance with the promise here made, and in the presence of a large crowd, the great revolution occurred on October 7th, 1852. A track had been laid along the wharf. The wood fire was kindled and in due course the warning bell was rung. "She stirs: slowly at first, but presently with more speed. Amid the cheers of the crowd she moves along the wharf, the steam whistle waking the echoes of the Bay."

This locomotive was named the *Lady Elgin,* and in due time did service in company with the *Toronto* and the *Josephine.* The construction work on the line continued during the autumn of 1852 and the spring of 1853 and by June trains were running regularly as far as Bradford. There was a temporary station at the southern end of Bay Street, though it was inadequate to serve the needs of the traffic. The fare to Bradford was 4s 6d, about 2¼ cents a mile, and there the steamer *Morning* lay to carry passengers to Barrie, Beaverton and Orillia. From Orillia there was a stage line to Sturgeon Bay, where the steamer *Katoolah* waited to take passengers to

Georgian Bay ports, Bruce Mines and Sault Ste. Marie. A contemporary account of a journey northward from Toronto contained the following sentence with reference to the stations at Thornhill, Richmond Hill and King: "It is an interesting thing to see these stations in the middle of the forest with only a few houses in sight, and a little building set down at the side of the road for the accommodation of passengers and officials."

Construction work was completed on the section of the Great Western line, connecting Hamilton and Niagara Falls in the autumn of 1853. The first train ran on November 1st. It consisted of six cars containing a large company of guests who were to celebrate the great occasion by a dinner at the Clifton House. The last few miles of the journey were accomplished in carriages, owing to a break-down of the locomotive, but the dinner was achieved—and the convivial exercises which followed.

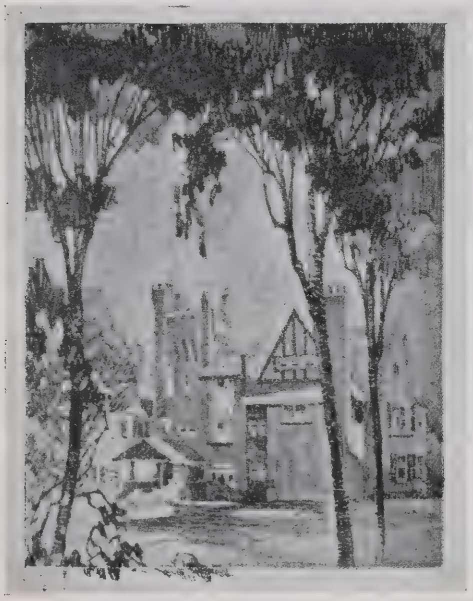
The Railway Suspension Bridge at the Falls was the wonder of the time. A few details of the construction were given in a contemporary newspaper: "The Towers are 60 feet high, 15 feet square at the base and 8 feet at the top. When this bridge is covered with a train of cars the whole length, it will sustain a pressure of not less than 405 tons. The speed is supposed to add 15 per cent. to the pressure; equal to 61 tons. The weight of the superstructure added, estimated at 782 tons, makes the total aggregate weight sustained 1,273 tons. Assuming 2,000 tons as the greatest tension to which the cables are likely to be subjected, it is considered safe to allow five times the regular strength, and provide for a weight of 10,000 tons. For this, 15,000 miles of wire are required." The span of 800 feet was at that time the greatest ever attempted.

Robert Stephenson, the great English engineer, was in Canada in 1853 reporting on the project of building a bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal in connection with the proposed Grand Trunk Railway. At a dinner in Montreal he warned the public men to be careful in providing legislation for the construction of new lines, so that the mistakes of Great Britain might be avoided. He said that of £300,000,000 expended in the United Kingdom on railways at least £60,000,000 had been wasted. Such advice was not too pleasing to promoters and to the optimists of every community. Certainly it was not followed, for a considerable number of municipalities bought stock in private companies with more generosity than judgment. City of Toronto debentures were issued in 1852 for £90,000 to purchase stock in the Northern Railway and in the proposed line from the city to Guelph.

The associates of Mr. Capreol on receiving their subsidy of £50,000 sold the debentures at a discount of 20 per cent. in order to get ready money. The transaction was completed through the Bank of Upper Canada and because the securities were said to have been purchased by Mayor Bowes and Premier Hincks as an investment there was hot complaint. A committee of the City Council investigated the supposed scandal and reported that the interests of the City had not suffered in the slightest degree, that the contractors were satisfied and that the Mayor and officers of the Corporation had had nothing to do with the negotiation of the debentures.

The acceptance by a majority of Council of this report was called the "whitewashing" of the Mayor, and on October 27th, 1853, eight members

Normal School



Sir Edward Kemp's Residence
On the site of "Castle Frank"

Colborne Lodge, High Park

of Council resigned in protest. Their attitude was endorsed by the electors at the January elections. All the eight were successful and only two of the thirteen who had supported the Mayor were found in the Council of 1854. Meanwhile the case had got into the Court of Chancery and on October 9th, 1854, a unanimous judgment was rendered ordering Mr. Bowes to refund his share of the profits of the speculation.

The beginnings of the railway system of North America were marred by frequent accidents. Light rails, inadequate grading and metalling, small and ill-balanced locomotives and cars of flimsy construction made any attempt at high speed dangerous. Train-despatching was imperfect and officials naturally lacked experience. On October 17th, 1853, near Richmond Hill, a Northern train left the track and rolled down the bank. In view of the present-day cost of an accident it is startling to learn that the damage amounted to at least $3,000. On November 30th the southern section of the Buffalo and Goderich line went into operation, and on December 15th trains began running on the section of the Great Western between Hamilton and London.

The Globe of May 6th, 1852, contained the following item: "Yorkville, that little offshoot of Toronto, which a few years ago consisted of a couple of taverns and a store, has waxed populous and strong and now takes upon itself the cares and responsibilities of villagehood. It has been gazetted a municipality and the first election of councillors takes place on the first Monday in January next. It will soon come to be a subject of discussion whether Yorkville ought not to be annexed to Toronto. It is not to be expected that the city will remain 'cabin'd, cribb'd, confined' within its present narrow limits for any great length of time. It will soon grow too large for its garments and a good slice of the Township of York will be necessary that it may have 'ample room and verge enough' for its gambols. Yorkville would then, of course, be swallowed up, but in the meantime we presume that by way of apprenticeship to the higher and graver duties of citizens of Toronto the people of Yorkville may be allowed to become villagers." At this time the population of York County was 104,963, of Toronto 30,763, of Upper Canada 950,520.

During 1852 the buildings of the Normal School were completed and the institution was formally opened on the evening of November 24th, Judge Harrison being in the chair. One of the chief speakers was Chief Justice Robinson whose address had power and distinction. One of his sentences follows: "It would be as wise to reject the use of railways because an occasional train runs off the track as to hesitate to give education to the multitude for fear it might in some instances, as no doubt it will, be perverted to bad purposes." Other speakers included Hon. Francis Hincks, Rev. Dr. McCaul and Rev. Dr. Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education. Dr. Ryerson paid a tribute of respect to the architect, Mr. Frederick W. Cumberland and reviewed the progress of the work. The cost of the building had been £17,200.

The die-hards of the Episcopal Party who regarded with detestation Ryerson and all his works, were scandalized at the action of the Chief Justice in countenancing the occasion. The Hamilton *Gazette* said: "Deeply do we regret to learn that the Hon. Chief Justice Robinson appeared upon the platform at the educational festival and otherwise took part in the proceedings. We respect this gentleman not merely as a sound and upright judge but as one of the leading Christian patriots of the Upper Province. What could have induced him to row even for a few yards in the ill-omened boat of Egerton Ryerson? . . The Chief Justice ought never to be found in company where he could not meet his reverend Diocesan, and right certain are we that John, Lord Bishop of Toronto, would sooner cut off his right hand or pluck out his right eye than countenance Ryersonianism in any shape or in any degree."

The expenditure of the City on the Common Schools during 1852 reached £2,704 18s 6d. That provided the salaries of 9 male teachers and 7 females attached to the Public Schools, and of 1 male and 2 female teachers in the Separate School. The salaries of the local Superintendent and the "visitorial teacher" for 10½ months made a total of £265. The City bought 561½ cords of wood for school fuel at a total cost, including cutting, of £60 18s 8½d.

Popular dancing was taught by Mr. Robertson at 64 King Street West. His advertisement said that in the course of the season of 1852 and 1853 would be introduced the highly admired new dances, the Esmeralda Gallopade and the Zingarella Mazurka.

Many complaints have been made in modern days because the civic politicians of the Railway Era were too complaisant in meeting the demands of the companies. The surrender of the waterfront of mid-Toronto is cited as an instance. Yet the aldermen and councillors eagerly endeavored to preserve the front, by constructing "an Esplanade or Terrace." The following resolution was moved in Council on June 6th, 1853, by Mr. Gowan:

1. "That the preservation of a healthy and ornamental frontage is a subject of the deepest interest to all classes of the inhabitants of this noble and rapidly increasing city, and should engage the immediate and serious attention of the worshipful Mayor, aldermen and commonalty.

2. "That in making suitable arrangements for the accommodation of the various railway termini now about to centre in the city and to be clustered along its frontage it is desirable to consider whether some general and comprehensive plan cannot be adopted by means of which the several railway tracks may be carried along the entire frontage of the city on a level or as nearly so as practicable, with the wharves now erected on the Bay; also whether Front Street may not be built upon an uniform line, reserving space in front thereof for a public terrace and pleasure grounds with such other ornamental and necessary improvements as the taste, health and requirements of the City may suggest." The resolution was submitted to a Select Committee.

It is apparent from this resolution that the Council had in mind an arrangement similar to that of Chicago today; Michigan Avenue corresponding to Front Street, Grant Park to the proposed Esplanade, with the railway tracks beyond. The vision of our ancestors was admirable, but circumstances were too strong for the realization of it.

Council adopted an elaborate plan for the construction of such an Esplanade as Mr. Gowan and his associates had in mind, but there were difficulties over the railway entrance and the plans were varied to suit the water-lot owners on the Bay front, and the Grand Trunk Railway Company.

The result was the construction on made land at lake-level of a street which served the railways for the unloading and loading of freight, but brought no æsthetic pleasure to anybody.

It must be remembered that no one at the time could visualize a railway expansion so great as to kill, practically, water-borne commerce. The railways were regarded as an adjunct to the waterways. It was necessary for them to be convenient to the wharves, but who could have believed that their switching tracks would ever be counted by dozens, and their trains by hundreds daily?

Gzowski and Company's tender to build the Esplanade from Brock Street (Spadina Avenue) to the Don River was £150,000. The cribs were to be built of 12 x 12 timber to a height of one foot below water level. Above that point the breastwork was to be constructed with one continuous face to 4½ feet above high water level (of October 7th, 1853). It would thus be 14 feet high and would be filled to the top with stone laid by hand. All within the breastwork was to be filled with earth to a height of one foot over the breastwork and levelled. The space would have a width of from 500 to 580 feet. The cost of earth-filling was estimated at 1s 6d a cubic yard.

Mr. Adam Wilson and his associates in the City Council caught odors of graft—or thought they did—in the Esplanade contract, and promptly ended it. The rate of 1s 6d a square yard for earth filling was considered by these critics to be too high, since an estimate on filling by Mr. W. Shanly, the engineer, had been placed at 1s 3d. They held that the proposed work could be done for £120,000, and that the £30,000 additional as provided for in the contract would be used to enrich the contractors unduly.

There was a long controversy between C. S. Gzowski and his critics, filling column after column of the contemporary newspapers. The merits of the question are set forth in complete summary in a letter to the Government which was approved by Council in May, 1855, and was signed by the City Clerk.

The firm of Gzowski and Co. which consisted of C. S. Gzowski, David Lewis Macpherson, Luther H. Holton and Alexander T. Galt, made the claim that under the contract which had been so summarily denounced, £30,000 had been expended and immense liabilities had been incurred, without any contribution having been received from the City. The firm declared that 22 acres of land had been reclaimed from the Bay, and that the contract had been dishonored by the Corporation without reason and without notice.

The City's letter said that the contract was entered into particularly for railway purposes, without much regard for the rights and interests of the City. In the opinion of Council also the contract had been fraudulently obtained. The disinclination of the company to accept the invitation of the City to ventilate the entire affair before the Courts did not lessen the suspicions that were held. Figures were presented to show that the total expenditure had been far below the figure named by the company, and that the land reclaimed had not been 22 acres, or anything approaching that amount.

Apparently the case of the City was too strong for the Government to interfere, even though its relations with the Grand Trunk promoters and hangers-on were uncommonly close. A few weeks after this letter was sent Hon. John Ross, on behalf of the Grand Trunk, offered to complete the Esplanade for £15,000 exclusive of bridges, to take over the work done by Gzowski and Co. and have it valuated by arbitration, and to reach a settlement with that firm.

On Saturday, Feb. 5th, 1853, *The Globe* printed the following: "On Monday the Post Office will be transferred from Wellington Street to the new premises in Toronto Street. Not many years have passed since the office was removed to the place it is now deserting, but how few of our present citizens remember the little old house at the foot of Yonge Street. At that time there were not 15,000 people in Toronto. Now there are probably 35,000. The Markets, the Banks, the St. Lawrence Hall, the Asylum, the two University piles, the Normal School, eight splendid churches and cathedrals and whole streets of elegant buildings, have all sprung into existence since then, and yet but ten years have gone past. It seems like magic to look back upon it. We question if there is a town in the world which has advanced more rapidly than Toronto." Concerning the new Post Office the article said: "The provision for the accommodation of the public, in beauty of design and practical convenience far surpass anything we have seen in North America, and do great credit to the architect, Mr. Cumberland." The building is now used by the Collector of Inland Revenue.

An elaborate Report on the Harbor by the engineer, W. Shanly, was published on February 10th, 1853. It suggested the diversion of the Don into Ashbridge's Bay and discussed the possibility of cutting a channel through the narrows of the Peninsula where the Eastern Gap now is.

On February 22nd, 1853, there was an important curling match between Toronto and Scarborough. The game had been flourishing in the Township and on this occasion the champion rink was defeated "for the first time in 20 years," although Scarborough won the match. The record follows:

Toronto.		Scarborough	
1—G. Ewart		1—Thos. Brown	
W. B. Phipps		John Torrance, skip	
Dr. Primrose, skip		A. Glendenning	
J. Hutcheson	—39	A. Fleming	—16
2—William Gibson		2—Wm. Purdy,	
J. Dick		R. Gilchrist	
S. G. Patton		J. Wilson	
J. Ker, skip	—18	John Crone, skip,	—27
3—Hon. W. Cayley		3—John Torrance, Jr.	
J. O. Heward		J. Stobo	
John Ewart, jr.		James Green	
A. Morrison, skip	—19	Andrew Young skip	—29
4—T. Patterson		4—William Clark sr.	
A. McFie		Hugh Clark	
A. McPherson		William Clark jr.	
J. Baine, skip	—19	J. Gibson, skip,	—37
Total	95	Total	109

On February 1st, 1854, the Parliament Buildings in Quebec were burned and a convent was rented as a temporary place of assembly. This building in turn, was destroyed by fire on May 3rd, and the Music Hall was secured for the public business. There was a general election in July, which resulted in the defeat of the Hincks Ministry and the formation in September of the MacNab-Morin administration. The inclusion in this Ministry of men of both parties gave rise to the name the Liberal-Conservative party.

On July 12th, Hon. L. H. LaFontaine and Chief Justice Robinson were created Baronets and Hon. Robert Baldwin became a Companion of the Bath. The end of the year saw the close of Lord Elgin's term as Governor-General and the arrival of Sir Edmund Head.

A political era ended in 1854 when the Clergy Reserves were secularized by Act of Parliament. The Bill passed the Assembly on November 3rd by a vote of 62 to 39 and on December 10th the Legislative Council assented unanimously to the project. Politicians who had depended for their munitions upon the question of the Reserves, demagogues who had played upon the passions of the people, suddenly found themselves with nothing of vital importance to say. Of course they could advocate Reform and Retrenchment, a delightfully vague formula, and they could continue the denunciation of their opponents, as they did; but they did not succeed in rousing the electorate to more than a momentary interest. The people, with the Reserves question disposed of, abated their concern for public affairs. The result was the sporadic appearance of minor and major political scandals, the stirring up of racial jealousy as between French and English, and a period of partial deadlock as between the parties which did not end until after Confederation. The Upper Canada delegation had a continual complaint against the Administration on the Seat of Government question. The original plan of making Toronto and Quebec joint capitals was carried out unfairly; two years at the one place, four years at the other. The reference of the question to Queen Victoria was denounced by Oppositionists of both Upper and Lower Canada, as a dodging of responsibility on a major question. When her Majesty selected Ottawa in 1857, there was complaint from all parties. The Government under John A. Macdonald, and Georges Étienne Cartier, stood firm, realizing the common sense of the suggestion, but every civic patriot in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec and Kingston was bubbling over with scorn and indignation.

The agitation of George Brown in favor of representation by population was based on sectional considerations and was hotly resisted by Quebec. Only slowly did it waken the interest of the people. The election of Mr. Brown as Member of Parliament for Toronto was due more to Orange approval of his anti-Catholic attitude than to any definite disapproval of the Government policy. Brown was always serious. For that reason he was at a disadvantage in his long quarrel with John A. Macdonald. The Tory chieftain could fight and laugh at the same time. He must have laughed over the "double shuffle" of 1858, the "smoothest" political trick in the annals of Canada. There was a reorganization of the Ministry and the portfolios were re-distributed. To avoid a bye-election the Ministers resigned their new posts and were immediately re-appointed to the portfolios they had formerly held. George Brown looked upon the action with amazement and indignation, and from that moment regarded Macdonald as a suitable target for unending vituperation.

Reciprocity with the United States had been achieved in 1854 by the personal activity of Lord Elgin in Washington. His urbanity and tact overcame factious opposition on the part of the Americans and brought about a trade agreement that was of uncommon advantage to Canada, especially during the Civil War. The customs returns for the Port of Toronto in 1855 showed imports of £356,908 2s 4d. Goods to the value of £237,024 2s came from the United States. British imports were worth £112,842 2s 4d.

After the recurrence of cholera in 1854 the City Council passed the following resolution: "That the thanks of this Council be presented to the worthy chairman of the Board of Health, Mr. Joseph Rowell, Councillor for St. John's ward, for his indefatigable zeal and perseverance during the late epidemic, he having spared neither time nor trouble in endeavoring to arrest the ravages of that dreadful disease; cleansing filthy habitations, visiting the sick, and even coffining the dead. He was a daily gratuitous visitor of the hospitals, providing for the comfort and medical attendance of the unhappy victims of that destroying infectious disorder, there being no duty, however disagreeable or dangerous, that he did not cheerfully undertake, to the very great and material assistance of the Board of Health in the execution of their arduous and responsible duties. And that the said thanks be engrossed upon parchment and presented to the said worthy Chairman."

The story of a fine public service could hardly have been told in more dignified and touching language or in fewer words.

There was a printers' strike in Toronto during the early summer of 1854. The rate for composition in the newspaper offices had been 1s 4d per 1,000 ems, with 4d an hour additional for night work. The men demanded 1s 6d per 1,000 ems and 6d an hour night bonus. The employers' compromise was 1s 7d without a bonus. On a ten hour day a good compositor would set on an average about 2,000 ems per hour, so that the wages which he had considered insufficient were approximately 3s an hour—about 72c.

The eagerness to maintain Toronto as the commercial capital of the district showed in anxiety over the construction of the Buffalo and Goderich line. *The Colonist* of December 11th, 1854, said: "We lose patience when we see our merchants and capitalists squabbling about a comparative trifle expended on the Esplanade and throwing difficulties in the way of the Grand Trunk Railroad, the Northern Railroad and everything destined to enrich them whilst the great prizes of commerce and wealth and enterprise are being snatched from under their very eyes."

There is enough circumstantial evidence to show that the enthusiasm for railways which lightened the eye of every considerable politician had not intoxicated the ordinary electors of Toronto. Twice before the Esplanade was planned the citizens had voted against granting heavy subsidies to the Northern line. When the Gzowski firm secured the contract to build the Esplanade there were protests, not alone from the owners of water-lots in the eastern part of the City, but from aldermen in Council who knew the temper of their constituents. Adam Wilson, who led the opposition, and who succeeded in securing finally the cancellation of the contract, was fervently denounced by *The Colonist*, which newspaper idealized the railway promoters of the time; but in due time he had his revenge. In 1859 he was elected Mayor—not by his fellow aldermen, but by popular vote.

In April 1855 the City was disturbed by the news that the Grand Trunk was seeking legislation for rights on the streets of Toronto. A petition was sent by Council to the Government asking for the privilege of being heard against this project of law. The Government was reminded that in no case could private property be taken for railway purposes without compensation, nor could the highways be used without a license from the municipality. For that reason the bill was unusual and it would be only just to allow the Council to show cause why the Grand Trunk Railway should not be allowed to traverse streets without the consent of the City. This appears to be the first engagement in the long war the City of Toronto has waged against the pretensions of corporations anxious to use their influence in Parliament to the disadvantage of the municipality.

Perhaps there is no city in America where there is a stronger feeling in favor of public ownership than in Toronto. The cause can be traced to the unsatisfactory attitude of various corporations in their dealings with the municipality. Before 1855 the City had suffered seriously by the failure of the Water Company to live up to its contract, and by the methods of the Railway Companies and their promoters. Thus the back of the people was stiffened against the projects of smooth-tongued advocates, and they began to consider the possibility of using their own money and their own corporate credit for the expansion and betterment of the community.

In September, 1855, Hon. Francis Hincks, speaking at London, intimated that the Grand Trunk Railway did not intend or desire to establish its terminus at Sarnia, but rather at London, leaving all business west of that point to the Great Western line. This utterance stirred the Toronto City Council to protest. The City had consented to the amalgamation of the Grand Trunk and the Toronto and Guelph Railway on condition that the railway should be constructed by way of Guelph and Stratford to "the waters of Lake Huron on the St. Clair River at Port Sarnia," and had invested £100,000 in the stock of the Grand Trunk Railway with that connection in mind. The aldermen did not mince their words in dealing with the apparent effort of the Company to avoid its obligations, and Council instructed the City officials to warn the Railway Company and to take "such steps as might be necessary to protect the City's interests."

During the early summer of 1855 work was pushed on the Hamilton and Toronto Railway. By the 5th of June when the annual meeting of the Company was held, all the grading from Hamilton to Port Credit had been completed, steel was laid for twenty-three miles, and about half the necessary bridges were completed. Communication between the two cities was established on December 3rd and the event was celebrated three weeks later by a luncheon in the hall adjoining the main building of the station on Front Street. It was followed in the evening by a public ball. The line was a branch of the Great Western Railway.

Real estate speculation was one result of the construction of railways. On April 26th, 1855, *The Colonist* printed an advertisement offering for sale in lots a parcel of land near Davenport Station: "These lots form the high ground immediately above the Davenport Plank Road at its junction with the Weston Plank Road." The advertiser explained that the property was only fifteen minutes from town, by railway train, and intimated his opinion that the village of Carlton would ultimately form the principal suburb of the City of Toronto.

Although there was a good deal of "subdividing" in the suburbs, land prices within the city were not excessive. A block of land between Adelaide and Richmond Streets near Tecumseh—in the neighborhood of the present Stanley Park—seven and a half acres, brought in 1855 £9,150. Gloucester Street lots were sold at £4 6s a foot and Lot No. 1 on Yonge Street, 28 feet 3 inches wide, was transferred at £5 a foot.

The completion of the various lines was celebrated with great enthusiasm in practically all communities. Toronto sent delegates to Brantford, Buffalo and Detroit to aid in the rejoicing, and on December 20th, 1855, a similar occasion was provided at St. Lawrence Hall.

The failure of the police force to deal efficiently with a circus riot in July, 1855, was followed by the appointment of a Special Committee of Council charged with the task of discovering the cause. The Committee reported that the Chief's authority had been undermined by the fact that undue influence was frequently brought to bear—presumably by members of Council—in favor of particular individuals on the force. While the difficulty of the Chief's position was recognized, the Committee thought the time had come for a change. A man was needed with "the habit of command." For that reason it was suggested that the Mayor should communicate with the police authorities of England or Ireland and see if they could recommend a suitable chief. Meanwhile the Committee expressed the opinion that the appointment and dismissal of constables should be taken out of the hands of the Council and given to a Committee consisting of the Magistrate, the Recorder and the Chief of Police. The proposals were carried by 10 votes to 8. Towards the end of the year the Mayor reported that Sir Richard Mayne, of London, England, had recommended Police Inspector Handcock as a suitable man for Chief, but he had declined the honor.

The beginning of a dispute which has lasted until our own time is noted in the following resolution of Council passed on December 24th, 1855: "That a select committee be appointed to petition the Legislature to restrict the Trustees of Common Schools from incurring an expenditure which will require an assessment of more than 3½d in the pound upon the assessed value of property in the City in any one year."

Mr. Barber's report on the Public Schools of 1854 was published on January 17th of the following year. There were 2,002 registered pupils, with an average attendance of 1,367. On the day of inspection at the beginning of the autumn term, the attendance at the various schools and the members of the teaching staff were as follows:

George Street School, 280. Messrs. Boyle and McLoughlin, Miss Bethel, Miss Barton, Mrs. Carruthers.

The Park School, 184. Mr. Brooke, Mr. Shaw, Miss Julia Robinson, Miss McLean and Miss E. Robinson.

Louisa Street School, 369. Mr. Hunter, Mr. McCausland, Mr. T. Baxter, Miss Corbett, Mrs. Flaherty, Miss Kennedy.

The Juvenile School, (Louisa Street), 126. Miss Brown.

The Western School, 207. Mr. Thompson, Mr. R. Baxter, Mrs. Cilley, Miss Williams.

Sayer Street School, 105. Mr. Coyne, Mrs. Mitchell.

Trinity Street School, 65. Miss Smyth, Miss Foggin.

Melinda Street School, 35. Miss Emily Clarke.

The John Street School was opened on March 22nd, 1855, Dr. Ryerson being present and delivering an address.

The Crimean War awakened much interest in Canada and particularly in Toronto. A Patriotic Fund was established at a meeting held in St. Lawrence Hall on Feb. 15th, 1855, and there was a public holiday on October 5th to celebrate the fall of Sebastopol. The price of wheat in Toronto during 1854 and 1855 reached $2.29 a bushel (9s 2d.)

A. and S. Nordheimer advertised towards the end of the year 1855 the following new and popular pieces of music: "The Queen's Letter (Hobbs), "Mother, is the Battle Over?" (Roefs), "The Ratcatcher's Daughter," (Cowell), "Sebastopol is Ours" (Hume), "Sebastopol is Won," (Stephen Glover), "The Battle of Alma," (Albert Lindahl), "Barnum's Baby Show Polka," (Brown), "Cupid's Polka" (Tretcar), "Victoria Polka-Mazurka", (Faust).

In 1855 the city assumed metropolitan standing in the eyes of the inhabitants by the erection of the Rossin House, the largest and best appointed hotel west of New York. It was opened on December 4th with appropriate ceremonies. The cost of the hotel was £50,000.

The officers of the Toronto Cricket Club for 1855 consisted of Kivas Tully, president; J. O. Heward, vice-president; G. L. Maddison, secretary-treasurer. The Committeemen were G. A. Barber, J. B. Robertson and Joseph Bradbury. Mr. Barber, the retiring president, was presented with a piece of plate at the annual meeting in May.

The following news item appeared in *The Colonist* on June 21st, 1855: "A new light produced from an oily liquid extracted from bituminous coal or native bitumen, rock oil or naphtha, has been tested lately in New York and is said to afford a light exceeding the best gas in brilliancy and whiteness. A Company in New York have erected a manufactory and will soon supply it in abundance. It is called Kerosene and is very cheap in its manufacture." The long reign of the candle was nearly over.

An ocean-going, full-rigged ship, the *"City of Toronto"* was built in Toronto during the winter of 1854 and 1855. She was launched on April 30th, her dimensions being 168 feet long over all, 32½ feet beam, 18½ feet in depth of hold. Her framing was of white oak. That the construction of this vessel in a Toronto shipyard had stirred the interest and civic pride of the inhabitants appears in the following resolution adopted by the City Council on July 30th, 1855: "That inasmuch as our enterprising citizens the Hayes Brothers have been patronized by the Corporation of this City, by presenting them with a set of colors for the ship *'City of Toronto'*, being the first Toronto-built ship to cross the Atlantic Ocean, her enterprising commander Captain Kidd being the first inland navigator of these our magnificent inland seas to navigate the Atlantic be presented with a chronometer, as a mark of esteem for his zeal and perseverance in attaining to that qualification of being able to guide her over the billows of the Atlantic from the Port of Toronto."

The resolution, stately and involved as it was, was passed by a small majority, but the project came to an untimely end. On August 30th Councillor Wright and Alderman Smith were sponsors of a motion to the effect that no further action be taken in the matter of a chronometer for the '*City of Toronto*' since Captain Kidd had been removed from the command."

The new village of Yorkville tendered on October 8th, 1856, a complimentary banquet to Mr. Jesse Ketchum, formerly of Toronto, but then residing in Buffalo. He had given to the community two acres of land worth £2,000 on condition that it should be made the site of a public school, planted with trees and laid out as a Park.

The census of 1856 showed that Toronto had a population of 41,760, and 6,205 houses of which 84 were vacant. The national origins of the people showed that the native-born numbered 12,554. There were 14,015 Irish, 6,855 English and 3,085 Scots in the city. The growth of the city is shown thus: 1834, the date of incorporation, 9,254; 1844, 18,420; 1852, 30,775.

During the week of November 10th, 1856, the City of Montreal had a colossal celebration to mark the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway between that city and Toronto. There were ten cars of guests from Toronto, drawn by two engines, and the journey down occupied fifteen hours, as compared with nine hours, the present running time. There was a subsequent breeze in the Toronto City Council over the expense account of the civic delegates — $485 for what *The Globe* called "champagne and oysters." It was in 1857 that decimal currency was adopted in Canada.

Among the interesting events of 1857 was the utter destruction of a house on Front street occupied by David Gorman owing to an explosion of gas. None of the members of the family was killed but the house was reduced to a heap of ruins.

It was announced early in the year that the total contributions of Canada to the Patriotic Fund established during the Crimean War had reached £27,358 2s. 11d. Of this £10,000 was a Government grant.

March 13th was the date of a railway accident which caused the death of over 60 persons. A Great Western Railway train was crossing the swing bridge over the Desjardins Canal at Burlington when the timbers gave way. The engine, tender and two first-class cars fell to the ice below. In September of the same year there was a public meeting in Toronto to urge that the western territories of the Hudson's Bay Company should be acquired by Canada and opened for settlement. Interest in this question was intensified by the discovery of gold in the Fraser River. On July 23rd, 1858, *The Globe* said: "The settlement of the Pacific Coast by the British people will inevitably lead to a demand for communication across the Continent, which can be applied through our territory much better than by that of the United States. We look to see the fertile prairies of the Saskatchewan traversed by the iron horse within a very few years." A generation elapsed before that prophecy was fulfilled.

The members of the City Council for 1856 were: Aldermen: William Henderson, J. G. Bowes, John Worthington, Robert P. Crooks, John Beverley Robinson, Jonathan Dunn, Alexander Manning, William Strachan, John Duggan, George A. Philpotts, John Bugg, Richard Dempsey, John Harrington, John Hutchison; Councillors: Adam -Beatty, John Carruthers, Henry Prettie, Henry Sproatt, Thos. Shortis, Theophilus Earl, William Davis, William Murphy, Edward Wright, George Netting, Joseph Rowell, Robert Moodie, John Wilson and John Cameron. Mr. John Beverley Robinson, son of the Chief Justice, was elected Mayor.

On September 10th, 1856, a Committee of the City Council recommended the purchase of the Waterworks from Mr. Albert Furniss. This was the first definite move towards the public ownership of this important civic utility. Despite complaints and legal actions the Toronto Waterworks Company had consistently failed to carry out its contract and the Council was determined to make a change in the system. The Fire, Gas and Water Committee reported on April 28th that the Company had offered to sell out either for a fixed sum, or on an independent valuation of its property. The fixed sum named was £38,246 16s. 5d., which was supposed to represent the construction account. It was made up as follows:

Contract of sale to Mr. Berczy July 1st, 1851	£22,000		
Contract for extension to 1853	9,000		
Expended by Mr. Berczy in construction	808	5s	
Expended by the Water Company			
in 1853	1,034	5s	6d
in 1854	1,317	14s	3d
in 1855	3,586	11s	8d

The Committee reported that a waterworks plant adequate for the requirements of the city could be constructed for £160,000 and recommended the appointment of Thomas C. Keefer, C.E., to procure plans and surveys and to supervise the construction.

Undoubtedly the Council was aided in making up its mind by the disastrous fire in July which consumed the wood-working factory of Messrs. Jacques and Hay and threw many persons out of employment. As on many other occasions the existing water-service was totally inadequate to cope with the fire.

As the Committee had discovered an extraordinary cloudiness with respect to the assets represented by the sale-price of £22,000 it recommended purchase on the present value of the property, to be fixed by arbitration.

Meanwhile the Metropolitan Gas and Water Company was formed and approached the Council urging that the City should petition the Legislature in favor of giving the Company the right to levy water-rates within the municipality. The Council refused to become entangled with another private water company, being of the opinion "that the waterworks for the supply of the City should be the property of the City only."

At first the majority of Council was not sure of the soundness of this view but by the middle of July enough of the doubters were convinced and Mr. Joseph Sheard was appointed as the City's representative in the arbitration.

Here follows the complete Civic Salary List as reported to the Council of 1856:

J. B. Robinson. Mayor	**£500**	
A. T. McCord, Chamberlain	**450**	
Charles Daly, Clerk of Council	**350**	
G. Gurnett, Police Magistrate	**500**	
G. Duggan, Jr., Recorder	**250**	
S. Sherwood, Chief of Police	**375**	
R. W. Hudson, Deputy Chief	**200**	
Robert Beard, Inspector of Licenses	**300**	
John Boyd, Chamberlain's assistant	**300**	
John Wilson, Clerk's assistant	**250**	
J. Ashfield, Chief Engineer, Fire Dept.	**250**	
Thomas Garlic, City Inspector	**175**	
C. J. McLennan, Health Inspector	**175**	
H. J. Bennet, Inspector of Buildings	**150**	
S. Radcliff, Clerk, Clerk's Office	**150**	
W. Andrews, Jr., Clerk, Clerk's Office	**200**	
F. B. Orris, Clerk, Chamberlain's Office	**75**	
R. H. Trotter Market-keeper	**150**	
James Mills, assistant Market-keeper	**125**	
John Dempsey, weighmaster	**175**	
G. A. Barber, City Auditor	**40**	
N. Gatchell, City Auditor	**40**	
Rob. Roddy, messenger	**100**	
John Argue, Housekeeper, City Hall (with £25 for assistance)	**150**	
Robert Tweedy, Housekeeper, St. Lawrence Hall	**100**	
William Caiger. Clerk St. Patrick's Market	**35**	
William Sutherland, bellringer, Knox Church	**22**	**10s**
City Assessors	**750**	
City Collectors	**700**	
T. H. Harrison City Engineer	**600**	
Thos. Booth, Deputy City Engineer	**300**	
50 Police Constables at £100 each	**5,000**	
5 Police Sergeants at £125 each	**625**	
	£13,562	**10s**

The Council of 1856 purchased from Mr. Scadding a parcel of land along the east bank of the Don as a jail site and industrial farm. There were 135 acres and the price was £10,000.

Major Frederick Wells, a Toronto soldier attached to the 1st Royals, made a reputation for himself in the Crimean War and was decorated by the Emperor Napoleon III. On October 27th, 1856, the City Council resolved that owing to the safe return of Major Wells, who was "connected with the City of Toronto by birth and education" £100 should be appropriated for a complimentary address and a Sword of Honor to be presented to him publicly.

On November 17th, 1856, the Council suspended its chronic quarrel with the Grand Trunk Company long enough to pass the following resolution, sponsored by Alderman Bowes and Alderman Manning: "That the thanks of this Council are due and are hereby tendered to the President, Directors and Superintendents of the Grand Trunk Railroad for the liberality shown and care taken in conveying thousands of the people of Canada to and from the great celebration at Montreal free of charge, this conduct on the part of the managers of the Grand Trunk Railroad being in marked contrast with the policy adopted by the managers of the Great Western Railroad on the occasion of the opening of their railway between Toronto and Hamilton."

The municipal election of 1857 was attended by not a little ill-feeling. In St. David's Ward on the second day of the polling a riotous group of amateur civic politicians stopped the voting and the returning officer was unable legally to make a report. He said in an affidavit that he was placed "in bodily fear by an outrageous party forcing their way into the poll room and taking possession of the premises." He added that he had reason to believe that the violence was "premeditated and concocted."

The fact that the new Council was not complete raised the question of its competency to select a Mayor. Hon. John A. Macdonald, the attorney-general, Clarke Gamble, the city solicitor, and Skeffington Connor gave varying opinions, but the concensus was that the elected members of the Council could fill the vacancies by resolution. Accordingly John O'Donohue and John Ritchey were chosen as aldermen; William Ramsay and William Ardagh as councillors. The other members of Council were: Aldermen: John Worthington, Robert P. Crooks, John Beverley Robinson, Thomas Shortis, Oliver Mowat, Alexander Manning, Alfred Brunel, George A. Phillpotts, John Harrington, John Hutchison, Richard Dempsey and John Bugg; Councillors: James Prettie, Henry Sproatt, Theophilus Earl, George Simpson, William Davis, William Murphy, Edward Wright, George Netting, Robert Moodie and James E. Smith.

John Hutchison was chosen Mayor, by a majority of 1, Oliver Mowat being his sponsor. In the course of the year the Council asked for an amendment of the act of incorporation permitting the Mayor to be elected by the people, and abolishing the distinction between aldermen and councillors.

Progress was made towards the construction of a suitable waterworks under civic ownership, and a start was made in the building of the Jail—which was planned according to the arrangement of the prison at Pentonville, London.

In 1858 the City Council appropriated £5,000 for a Crystal Palace on a part of the Garrison Reserve which had been granted to the City by the Government on condition that accommodation should be provided for the Exhibition of the Agricultural Association of Upper Canada. (The first exhibition of the Association had been held in Toronto during 1846 on grounds just west of the present University Avenue.) The city's contribution was increased by £1,000 from the united counties of York and Peel.

Work was begun on the building in May and it was completed on September 5th. Its dimensions were 250 feet by 90, with wings 16 x 64 and 16 x 44 respectively. It stood just south of the Provincial Asylum on the north side of King St., and was opened by the Governor-General Sir Edmund Walker Head for a four-day-fair in the third week of September. The Metropolitan Choral Society of 250 vocal and instrumental performers had an important part in the ceremonies. Under the direction of Mr. Lazare, with Mr. Fripp at the organ the choir sang "The Heavens are Telling," "The Hallelujah Chorus" and the Hundredth Psalm.

The exhibitions of the Agricultural Association had been held as follows: 1846, Toronto; 1847, Hamilton; 1848, Cobourg; 1849, Kingston; 1850, Niagara; 1851, Brockville; 1852, Toronto; 1853, Hamilton; 1854, London, 1855, Cobourg; 1856, Kingston; 1857, Brantford. The respective Presidents had been E. W. Thomson, John Wetenhall, J. B. Marks, T. G. Street, W. Matthie, Sheriff Treadwell, David Christie, Baron de Longueuil, George Alexander, W. Ferguson.

In 1859 the first Annual Exhibition in Toronto, as distinguished from the peripatetic Provincial fair, was held at the Palace on August 24th and 25th. That was the real beginning of the Canadian National Exhibition which is visited every autumn in our time by over 1,000,000 persons, and which has been an important factor in the industrial development of the City and of the Dominion.

The copestone on the tower of the new University Building, which still is regarded as one of the most worthy architectural monuments of Toronto, was laid by the Governor-General on October 4th, 1858. The building was designed by Cumberland and Storm.

A six-oared rowing match was held at Detroit on October 15th, 1858, between a crew from the Shakespeare Rowing Club of Toronto and one from the Metropolitan Rowing Club of Chicago. The water was rough, but by reason of superior steering the Toronto crew won, making the distance of five miles in 42 minutes, and capturing $1,000, with the championship of the Lakes.

On the return of the triumphant crew, it was immediately challenged by the Hibernian Rowing Club of Toronto and was beaten on November 8th, on the Bay, by about 20 yards. The crews were: Shakespeare: John Tinning, T. Tinning, M. Teedy, W. Dillon, James Mackay, Joseph Gifford, with R. Tinning, Jr., as coxswain. Hibernians: D. O'Halloran, J. Law, John Murphy, M. Morin, M. Murphy. P. Gleason, with William Ward as coxswain.

Dr. Widmer, one of the oldest medical practitioners in Toronto, died on Monday, May 3rd, 1858. He had begun his professional career as staff-surgeon of the Fourteenth Light Hussars, and served throughout the Peninsular campaign. He was present at Vittoria, Salamanca, Fuentes d'Onore, Buasco and Talavera, and came to Toronto in 1815. According to *The Globe* he was somewhat rough, retaining some of the manners of the camp, but he had skill and promptitude and was greatly respected. In 1849 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council.

Hon. Robert Baldwin died in Toronto in December, 1858.

Police records in Toronto during the year 1859 showed that there had been 4,593 arrests. Eighty-one of the offenders were charged with selling liquor without a license. The hundreds of public bars were not sufficient, it seemed. It is interesting to note that only 610 of those who were arrested were natives of Canada. Much disorder was caused by railway construction laborers between 1852 and 1860.

CHAPTER II.

THE DECADE BEFORE CONFEDERATION

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MAYOR WILSON'S administration during 1859 had been generally satisfactory and he was re-elected for 1860, against Mr. M. C. Cameron, by a majority of 509—despite the fact that he was a Liberal politician and had the Party nomination for North York. In due course he was elected to Parliament and was absent from the City during the Session. On January 7th, 1860, Mr. Wilson made a Report to Council on the state of the City's affairs. An extract from that document here follows:

"While the harbor is in the hands of one body which will do nothing for it, but which draws all the profits of it, it is unjust to ask the City to take all the labor and incur all the expense of keeping it up by replacing that portion of the Peninsula which has been washed away, (in 1854) or by protecting it from further devastation, or by maintaining as a permanent entrance the breach that has been already made. If the City must bear the charge of the harbor let it also have the income and control."

Concerning the Esplanade, the Mayor said: Everyone knows that the Council for the years 1852 and 1853, urged on for railway projects, procured this work to be done at the cost of the City in the first instance. They applied for and obtained an Act of Parliament (16 Vic. cap. 219) compelling the owners and lessees of the water property to construct this work themselves, or on their default, enabling the City to do so and to charge them with the expense. This is the origin of all the mischief and misery which has since arisen. The City did not desire the work to be done. The owners of property did not at first desire it either. But some few members of the Council for these years, and the railway jobbers strongly wished it.

"What has been the result? Does anyone say it was a wise or judicious act? Would any one claim to have it done now if it were yet undone? Ask the citizens at large. Ask the owners and lessees in particular what they think of it. They all know now but too well the folly of this job and the extravagant price that was paid for it. They know now that instead of 1,000,000 cubic yards of earth filling, there are only 705,551 yards, which is equivalent to a loss of nearly $120,000 for over-measurement only, for work that was never done. . . . They know also that instead of the earth filling costing 40 cents per cubic yard which at that rate even was too high, it will cost about 70 cents, entailing a further loss of $200,000. And they know also that the right of way which has cost more than $40,000 to construct was given away for that sum to the Railway Company — given away without equivalent to the City. . . .

In whatever way this subject is considered it is the most disastrous project for all the parties but the speculators, jobbers and railway contractors and companies, which was ever conceived, and the greatest calamity which has ever fallen upon this City. It was commenced badly, it was conducted disgracefully and it has ended disastrously. If it be possible to take a lesson from the past — when railway jobbers want a road constructed let them construct it themselves as best they can at their own expense."

By legislation of 1858 the government of the Police Force was given into the hands of a Board of Police Commissioners, consisting of the Mayor — to be elected by popular vote — the Police Magistrate and the Recorder. The removal of police patronage from the members of Council caused long debate and at times open quarrel between the Commissioners and the aldermen, and among the supporters and opponents of the innovation in Council. In one case the difference flamed into violence, Mr. Councillor Pell being buffeted by the fist of Alderman Godson — to the stern disapproval of *The Globe*. That censorious newspaper said on March 29th, 1860: "Toronto, the Queen City of the West, is at the mercy of a set of men so low in the scale as almost to be beneath the reach of public opinion. With a temporary president for whom they have no respect, each night of meeting is a carnival of disorder. The gallery and the space outside the bar are crowded with their supporters who cheer their 'buncombe' speeches. All the laws of debate are cast aside."

On October 1st, 1860, Mr. Alexander Easton applied to the City Council for the exclusive right of constructing and operating a street railway. He proposed to build a double track on Yonge Street northward to Yorkville, a single track on Queen Street from the junction of King Street, near the River Don, to the Lunatic Asylum, a single track on King Street from the same junction to Niagara Street, and thence along Niagara Street to Queen. The fare was to be 5 cents for either long or short trips. In return for the privilege Mr. Easton offered to keep in good repair a strip of the roadway seven feet wide, or fourteen feet wide, depending upon whether a single or double track was used.

On the reading of the Communication in Council there was a motion to refer it to a special committee for a report, but opposition appeared. Alderman Moodie thought that the question should be discussed at a public meeting of citizens. It was too important to be decided by the Council alone. If a street railway were to be built what would become of the cabmen and omnibus men? Councillor Conlin thought that the country had too many railways and in any case he, for one, declined to give countenance to a Yankee speculator.

Alderman Sherwood intimated that Mr. Easton was an Englishman whereupon the Councillor modified his remark, saying that it was hard to tell what influence this moneyed man from England might have upon the Committee. Councillor Carruthers was also in opposition, saying that the privilege sought was worth $100,000 and he saw no reason why it should be given away.

At a subsequent meeting when the Committee recommended the grant of the franchise Mayor Wilson halted things by expressing a doubt if the City had authority to grant rights on the streets to any private individual. He suggested getting the necessary power from the Legislature. By November the Mayor, having communicated with the officials of several American cities, formulated the opinion that the City ought to get something for the franchise. For some months there was a sharp conflict of opinion in the Council for and against Easton, and the meetings were frequently disorderly. On one occasion, the Council being in Committee of the Whole, with Alderman Medcalf in the chair, Councillor Baxter suggested that the Chairman should maintain order as there was considerable noise. The Chairman's retort deserves to stand as a classic municipal apothegm: "If you'll tell me how to do it, I will, but I don't see how, unless I get up and catch 'em by the neck."

The Special Committee appointed to consider the offer of Mr. Easton to construct a street railway reported on March 14th, 1861, recommending the acceptance of the proposals on certain conditions which were formulated in an agreement of twenty-four paragraphs. All work was to be of substantial nature, and was to be constructed under the supervision of the City Surveyor and to the satisfaction of the Council. The right of the City to take up pavement for sewer repair was affirmed, and Easton would be required to pave and keep in repair the track-allowance and keep crossings in repair. The flat rail, "such as was used in Philadelphia" was to be used and the cars were to be of modern type. Each one of them would be subject to a City license-fee of $5 a year. As to the service, the cars were to run at intervals of not more than 30 minutes. (The official Journal-Appendix of Council says "not less," which is an obvious error.) During summer the system was to be in operation for sixteen hours a day; in winter time, fourteen hours, and the speed was not to exceed six miles an hour. The fare was not to be higher than 5 cents.

Paragraph Eighteen has had an important bearing upon street railway politics in Toronto. After declaring that the privilege should extend over a period of 30 years, it said: "At the expiration thereof the Corporation may, after giving six months' notice of their intention, assume the ownership of the Railways and of all real and personal property in connection with the working thereof, on payment of their value, to be determined by arbitration, and in case the Corporation should fail in exercising the right of assuming the ownership of the said Railway at the expiration of 30 years as aforesaid, the Corporation may at the expiration of every five years to elapse after the first thirty years, exercise the same right of assuming the ownership of the said Railway, and of all real and personal estate thereunto appertaining, after one year's notice to be given within the 12 months immediately following the expiration of every fifth year as aforesaid, and on payment of their value to be determined by arbitration."

Paragraph Nineteen provided that if the proprietor should default in operation of the lines for three months the property would be forfeited to the City.

In place of the lines proposed by Mr. Easton in his original communication which included a track on Niagara Street the proposed location of the tracks was as follows: Yonge Street, from King to Bloor Street; Queen Street, from Yonge to the Asylum; King Street, from the Don to Bathurst Street. In case other parties should offer to build lines on other streets, Easton was to be offered the option of building them himself. If he refused, the Corporation might grant the privilege to the tenderers.

There had been before the Committee also an offer from Mr. H. B. Williams to lease a proposed Yonge Street line to be built and owned by the City, on the basis of one-third the gross receipts; the fare to be 3 cents. The Committee declined to consider this proposal.

By early autumn the line up Yonge Street was completed and there was a suitable celebration on September 10th, 1861, beginning with a *déjeuner* at Yorkville, at which the members of the Toronto City Council fraternized with the Solons of the sleepy northern village centred at Bloor and Yonge Streets. The first car was hitched up at 4 in the afternoon and went jingling away, the Artillery Band sitting on the roof and playing spirited airs. Twice the caravan was derailed before it reached the city, but the young men and boys on the car soon made matters right.

In the evening there was a concert in Yorkville Town Hall, J. P. Clarke, Mus. Bac. being the director, and after the concert there was a grand ball.

Although a succession of Courts, from the Editorial bench of *The Globe* to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council condemned J. G. Bowes for his manipulation of City debentures issued for the benefit of the Northern Railway, the majority of people sympathized with him as a man unduly persecuted. He was an Irishman and a Tory, demerits which always have been regarded without sternness in Toronto, and when he offered himself for the Mayoralty in 1861, he found good support. The Liberal Press was bitter. An extract from a newspaper of January 3rd, 1861 shows at once the spleen of the writer, and his disregard for libel laws. "Mr. James Beaty is chief proprietor of the Toronto Waterworks Company which has been absorbed by the Metropolitan; and as the contract for supplying the City with water expires next year, there is an exceedingly valuable axe to be ground in the shape of a new contract. Now, though Mr. M. C. Cameron is a Conservative, he is one of the few honest men who belong to that tribe. He is altogether too honest to suit Mr. Beaty's purpose." The writer intimated that Mr. Bowes would suit Mr. Beaty perfectly and then warned the electors to vote for Cameron.

The result of the polling was: Cameron, 1,811; Bowes, 2,148 — a majority of 337. There were gloomy comments in the newspapers of Montreal concerning the "moral sense" of the Toronto electors, and the Reform editors throughout Upper Canada were in deep concern. Still the City "muddled through."

The Census of 1861 gave the following result in the City: St. James's Ward, 8,247; St. John's Ward, 8,249; St. David's, 8,185; St. Andrew's 6,606; St. Patrick's, 5,872; St. Lawrence's, 3,751; St. George's, 3,335—a total of 44,425.

By 1860, the railway fever which had swept from town to town like the plague was beginning to subside. Municipalities which had been permitted by the Government to borrow large sums for investment in Railway stock suddenly discovered that the prospect of immediate dividends was rather remote, and that in all probability the annual charges on debentures issued for stock-buying purposes would come out of the taxpayers. The Government had made no restriction on municipal borrowing. On the contrary it had enacted the Consolidated Municipal Loan Act (1852) which encouraged reckless borrowing "for the construction of Court Houses, Jails, Harbor works, Railways and other enterprises of importance to the convenience or the necessity" of the communities. The Province undertook to borrow in England at 6 per cent. on the security of debentures issued on the credit of a Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, and to loan this money to the municipalities at 8 per cent. The difference of 2 per cent. was to provide for the expense of administration. Cobourg borrowed $500,000. Guelph became liable for $120,000, Woodstock and Stratford, $100,000 each. Many municipalities found themselves involved in obligations difficult to discharge. But the Government was a too-lenient creditor and when this fact was observed many municipalities refused to trouble themselves any further. The control which the Party in power was able to exercise over debtor municipalities was a fruitful source of corruption.

The City Council of Toronto determined to take stock of the corporation's financial position and appointed a Special Committee under the chairmanship of Alderman Brunel for this purpose. The Committee reported on January 17th, 1862, that the total debt by the end of the year would be $2,510,751.55, of which $1,162,820 represented the Railway debt. This latter sum was made up as follows:

Stock in the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railroad	$200,000.00
Bonds to settle the Grand Trunk Railway stock purchase by the City	229,706.66
Debentures issued for Esplanade purposes	733,113.33

The Railway Debt Charges were $88,431.45 annually, an average interest and sinking fund of 7.6 per cent. The entire debt-charges were $230,875.55—about 8.88 per cent. per annum.

The Committee submitted the following table showing the position of the debt at various times:

1845	$ 238,477
1850	292,131
1855	1,281,346
1856	1,915,977
1857	2,017,767
1858	2,333,750
1859	2,429,444
1860	2,409,418
1862 (est.)	2,510,751

The Report continued: "It will be seen that the Railway Debt is 46.3 per cent. of our whole liabilities. . . . Previous to 1858 it was confidently believed that every municipality would be compelled to bear its own burthen; to have hinted at the contrary prior to that date would have been to convey a deadly affront. In Canada, repudiation had been regarded with as much horror as in Lombard Street. Since then, however, more than one municipality has succeeded in finally fixing its liabilities on the public Chest, and others have in effect done so, through the maturity of the Municipal Loan Act. Of the burthens thus thrown on the Consolidated Revenue, Toronto bears a share in proportion to her commerce, while her trade has been placed at a disadvantage by the commercial policy which the Government, in deference to Provincial interests, has deemed it expedient to follow, a policy which your Committee believes has caused the transfer of a portion of her legitimate trade to the Lower Ports. An annual increase in our assessed value promoted by a favorable adjustment of the tariff, justified in some measure, and instigated in a still greater, the incurring of the liabilities which tax the industrial interests of the City to the utmost, while they are still further taxed by compulsory participation in the burthen shifted on the Provinces by municipalities unwilling or unable to meet their liabilities."

The Report then showed how the Railway investments of Toronto had tended to the profit of outsiders, and had stimulated through traffic from Sarnia to Montreal rather than local traffic to and from Toronto. The following paragraph may be Pharisaic in sound, but it laid down a financial principle which has never been departed from by the City Treasury: "Your Committee emphatically disclaim all sympathy with those municipalities which under any circumstances would hold out the threat of Repudiation. Toronto is both able and willing to pay all just claims on her exchequer. Her citizens may be taxed with burthens unwisely incurred and grievous to be borne but your Committee confidently assert that they will take no part with those who seek relief on the grounds of inability to meet their creditors."

A list of Toronto schooners engaged in the grain-carrying trade on Lake Ontario during 1860 may give a glimpse at an old-time traffic which railway development finally wiped out. In those days every little port around the Lakes had a wharf and warehouses for use rather than for ornament. The names and carrying capacity in bushels of these Toronto schooners were: *Son and Heir*, 12,000; *Omar Pasha*, 14,000; *Marco Polo*, 9,000; *Northerner*, 9,000; *John A. Torrance*, 10,000; *J. G. Beard*, 12,000; *Australia*, 8,000; *Isabella*, 10,000; *Coquette*, 10,000; *Royal Albert*, 10,000; *Flying Cloud*, 7,000; *Sarah*, 12,000; *Sardinia*, 9,000; *George Laidlaw*, 8,000; *Charm*, 5,000; *Alliance*, 12,000; *Paragon*, 9,000; *Arabian*, 8,000; *Resolute*, 4,000; *Echo*, 2,000; *George Henry*, 3,000; *Olivia*, 7,000; *Oddfellow*, 4,000; *Perseverance*, 6,000; *Josephine*, 6,000; *Canadian*, 9,000; *Almeda*, 7,000; *Atlantic*, 3,000; *Caledonia*, 7,000.

The combined burden of all these little sailing craft would about fill one hatchway of the modern Upper Lakes steamer.

On the evening of December 1st, 1859, John Sheridan Hogan, M.P.P., disappeared. He had made no preparations to leave the city and there was clear evidence that his departure had not been voluntary. Sixteen months later, on March 30th, 1861, his body was found in the Don. The police had suspicions of robbery and worse, but no definite clue could be discovered until one Ellen McGillick was arrested on charge of disorderly conduct. She sent word to one of the detectives that she had some information to give. The story she told was such as to rouse the keenest interest of the public. She directly charged three men and one woman with the murder of Hogan, and claimed to be an eye-witness — not participating in the crime. She said that the victim, who was intoxicated at the time, had been assaulted on the Don bridge, the woman striking him on the head with a stone tied in a handkerchief and causing blood to flow freely. Then the man's legs had been tied together and he had been thrown over the parapet into the river. McGillick said that there had been blood on the railing but that the wood had been chipped afterwards to conceal it. An analysis of the wood near the freshly chipped railing showed human blood-stains, and to that extent corroborated the woman's testimony. The names of those she accused were Jane Ward, Brown, Sherrick, and McEntameny. The last-named man had died before the finding of Hogan's body.

At the trial Sherrick established an alibi, Ward was acquitted and Brown was found guilty. A new trial was demanded for Brown and was granted. Early in 1862 he was again found guilty, and was executed in Toronto on March 10th, 1862. To the last he protested his innocence.

The lecture as a form of popular entertainment was developed in New England and naturally enough the taste spread to Canada. On October 20th, 1860, *The Globe* said editorially: "The popular lecture we consider a most useful, nay, in every well-organized community a most necessary institution. During the past two or three seasons the wants of Toronto have been exceedingly well provided for. We remember the time when it was otherwise, when the list of lecturers and the syllabus of subjects were drawn up by a Committee in which respectable Old Fogeyism largely predominated, and which year after year presented the same stereotyped list of lectures on the same trite subjects by the same merely local celebrities. Under such management the popular lecture was a failure. At last a body of spirited young men organized under the title of the Ontario Literary Society took the matter out of the hands of the Old Fogey Committee, and by adopting an entirely different method have succeeded in making our annual course of winter lectures something like what ought to be. Under the auspices of this Society we have had lectures from Horace Greeley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Giles, Dr. Chapin, Bayard Taylor and D'Arcy McGee." Continuing, the article mentioned the coming of Rev. Dr. Lewis of Brockville to speak on "Inducements to Literary and Scientific Pursuits," of Joshua R. Giddings, the eminent American anti-slavery politician, Governor Banks of Massachusetts and G. W. Curtis. There was a half-promise that Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips and John B. Gough would come later in the season.

In our time the peripatetic lecturer is too frequently the intellectual curio. All sound and useful lecture courses are in connection with the Universities — with the admission free. That does not prove that our civilization shows a decline. There has been a decay of oratory in our time because, generally speaking, the public has found out the superficiality and uselessness of it, either as a means of entertainment or instruction.

Between 1846 and 1859 the price of wheat showed a very considerable variation. In the hard times of 1851 it touched 61 cents, and that for October delivery. Its highest point was reached in June, 1855, $2.35. As a sample of current prices during 1860 here is an extract from the advertisement of William Anderson, furniture dealer, "next door to *The Globe* office."

Walnut dresser, five drawers	$8.00
Walnut dresser, four-drawers	5.50
Walnut bookcase, glass doors	6.50
Chairs, each	.30
Walnut bedsteads	4.50
Walnut chiffoniers	8.50

The Globe of January 26th, 1860, contained this item of news: "Tuesday's mail via Pembina and St. Paul brought us the initial number of *The Nor'Wester,* dated December 28th; being the first newspaper published in the Red

River settlement, and of which Messrs. Buckingham and Coldwell formerly of Toronto are the editors and proprietors." In more ways than this the City of Winnipeg is a child of Toronto.

The first Council for the Village of Yorkville was composed of Peter Hutty, Robert Robinson, George Severn, William Rowell and Thomas Demmery.

The visit of the Prince of Wales was the great event of 1860. The year consisted of nine months of anticipation, one feverish week of celebration and the remaining weeks of happy retrospection. All the prominent men of the City were on the reception Committee. The Council granted a Fund of $12,000 for the uses of the Committee, and when some irresponsible talkers questioned the manner of its administration the Executive resigned and had to be coaxed back.

Before the arrival of His Royal Highness there was a virulent newspaper debate over the official decision that there could be no Royal recognition of the Orange Order, since it was a sectarian society, under official displeasure in London. Upper Canada had watched with interest the progress of the Prince from Quebec to Montreal and some vexation had been created by the reports of his visits to Roman Catholic institutions. Then it was that an Orange leader conceived the idea of preserving Protestantism by public Orange demonstrations of loyalty to the Throne in whatever Upper Canadian cities the Prince might visit.

Kingston members of the Order made all preparations to receive His Royal Highness as a worthy descendant of William III., but the Duke of Newcastle issued a prohibitory order. In case the order was disregarded, he said, the Royal visit would be cancelled. The Orangemen were obdurate. The Duke was no less resolute, and after a wait of many hours in Kingston Harbor* the steamer bearing the party turned its prow towards Cobourg. The pro-Orange press blamed the Duke of Newcastle. *The Globe* laid the responsibility upon the Tory Government and its leading spirit, John A. Macdonald.

The Prince arrived in Toronto on Friday, September 7th, by the steamer *Kingston*. A great crowd was massed on the Esplanade and the school children, in their best bibs and tuckers, sang the National Anthem with shrill enthusiasm. Then followed a procession to Government House.

A most happy account of the week's festivities is found in The London *Times* of September 25th and 27th, 1860. The special correspondent of that exalted newspaper, Mr. Woods, may well be considered as a detached and unprejudiced observer, since he travelled with the Royal party and by the time Toronto was reached was frankly weary of formal addresses, Princely replies, balls and celebrations of all sorts. There is a note of humorous complaint in his letters, particularly relating to the weather. With respect to the attitude of the Orangemen, he was like other official visitors in a state of puzzled wonder which was reflected in the elaboration of his despatches on this point. He could not know, naturally, of the long and bitter contest to keep the Colony away from Republicanism, in which the Orange Association had steadily taken the British side. He could not enter into the thoughts of the loyalist of Ulster ancestry or appreciate what he considered as an unnecessary affront by stilted officials.

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* From Reminiscences by Sir Richard Cartwright: "Many years afterwards I had occasion to be presented to the Prince of Wales at a state ceremony in London, and he inquired with his usual courtesy what part of Canada I came from. I replied that I belonged to a town which I was afraid he would recollect quite too well, in fact that I came from Kingston. 'Ah,' he said, 'It looks well from the water.' "

After the Royal Party had declined to land at Kingston because of the erection of an Orange arch of welcome, a sort of compromise was effected in Toronto. The *Times* report continues: "It was agreed that the Orange demonstration should take place at 2 o'clock and be over by 3, an arrangement to which everyone consented, as His Royal Highness was not expected to land before six or seven o'clock. Before this decision was reached, however, the Orangemen had erected an Orange arch in the main street under which the Prince would have to pass on his way through the town. It was not colored orange, being erected to represent the gates of Londonderry, but it had several Orange insignia on it, with a transparency of King William III. crossing the Boyne, with the figures 1688 and the motto 'the glorious, pious and immortal memory of King William III.' These transparencies were placed on both sides of the arch, while the top was surmounted with the usual Orange emblem of a Bible and Crown and its accompanying motto, 'These we maintain.'

"Of course the Governor-General and the Duke of Newcastle heard of this arch and Mr. Wilson, the Mayor of Toronto, was at once written to and informed that the Prince would pass under no Party memorials of this kind. The Mayor immediately replied that the Orange insignia would be removed, and that the Orangemen had consented to take down the transparencies of King William with their Party motto, substituting transparencies of the Prince of Wales. The change was to be made in the night."

After the Mayor's letter was sent the Orangemen changed their minds. When the Royal Party arrived the arch had not been "edited" in the slightest degree. The carriage containing the Prince and the Duke passed under and His Grace, having his back to the horses discovered the fact a moment too late. He was exceedingly warm on his arrival at Government House, sent for the Mayor, and presumably, rated him vigorously — for His Worship afterwards referred to "the painful interview" of the 7th of September. The City Council just escaped being wholly ignored but apologies were forthcoming and the dudgeon of His Grace died down. Nevertheless on several occasions during the stay in Toronto the Duke was pointedly criticised—aloud. On Sunday after the service at St. James's the criticism flowered into unmistakable hooting. One more triumph the Orangemen had. The Royal Party went to Collingwood by the Northern Railway on Tuesday, September 11th. Near Bradford an Orange arch spanned the track and of course the train went under it. The whole quarrel was petty and foolish—discourteous to the Prince on the one side, and unnecessarily high-handed and insolent on the other.

The *Times* correspondent's report continued: "The decorations of Toronto were exceedingly beautiful. At the landing place a pavilion had been erected surrounded with a wide amphitheatre of seats, with a magnificent lofty arch in the centre which cost upwards of $3,000. The main street, too, was a perfect arcade of arches, having in the centre where four streets meet, a trophy which deserves special mention. It was in shape like the old Market Cross at Salisbury, or the peculiar vaulted arch which supports the spire of Salisbury Cathedral. It was composed entirely of pine covered with rough pine bark. Where the four ribs of the arch met in the centre, over King Street was a magnificent Crown almost large enough to accommodate a dinner party inside it. All the ribs of the arch were covered with sheaves of ripe corn. At the corners whence the arches sprang were tall, waving plants of Indian corn, with large openwork baskets filled full of melons, apples, peaches, grapes, with other fruit and vegetable products of the Colony which are just now in full season. Altogether the whole idea, as a kind of autumnal harvest-home welcome was admirable, and the beautiful lines of the arch enabled the effect to be carried out to the best and most poetical advantage.

"As the Prince came to the landing place all the amphitheatre was filled with ladies and gentlemen, the lower seats being occupied by 3,000 children dressed in white. As His Royal Highness stepped on shore all these infant voices broke out with the National Anthem, and the effect of the whole scene — the dark, gloomy sunset over Lake Ontario, the cheering of the crowd outside, just heard over the strong, solemn chorus of the children, the flags of the arches and the dim illumination of the city in the distance, along the streets of which the crowds were running with a great rush by thousands — all made it one of those pictorial and poetical displays which no description however vivid can recall. An address was presented by the civic authorities which there was considerable difficulty in reading, even with the aid of lights for the night had now fallen, and was dark and windy.

"The greatest blaze of light which was shed on the subsequent procession was at the Rossin House, the principal hotel in Canada, where many of the Royal Suite were to stay, and which was illuminated from top to bottom as if it were on fire.

"Saturday, the 8th of September, was fixed for a grand review of the volunteers but the weather was in the highest degree unfavorable and only the levee took place. On the evening of the 8th, after the banquet at Government House, His Royal Highness held a reception at Osgoode Hall. This Hall, which like all the other buildings at Toronto is a really magnificent structure, is at once both the Middle Temple and Westminster Hall of Upper Canada. The external features of the architecture much resemble on a smaller scale the noble entrance to the British Museum. . . . In different parts of the building the various Courts of Law are situated, all loftier, more commodious and better ventilated than those of Westminster Hall. One side of the Hall is entirely occupied by a splendid Library and in this, as the largest apartment a raised dais was placed for the Prince."

After describing the presentation of an address by Mr. Cameron, Treasurer of the Law Society, and the other formal features of the occasion, the correspondent of *The Times* continues: "Dancing was commenced in the library with some eight or ten sets of quadrilles. Spacious as this apartment was, it was too limited to accommodate all who wished to dance; so, as there were plenty of bands, auxiliary polkas and waltzes were soon formed in all the learned nooks and corners of the building. Courts of Common Pleas and solemn Halls of Convocation resounded with galops, music, laughter and the little whisperings of half-concealed flirtations. The Prince as usual danced every dance till nearly twelve o'clock."

The following Tuesday, September 11th, after the return of His Royal Highness from Collingwood is thus described: "This was a day set apart for an inordinate number of grand festivities. It rained — of course it rained, and nothing but bedraggled and bemired processions were to be seen about the streets all day. The first festive effort was a regatta at which, as usual, without the slightest preconcerted signal a crowd of small yachts stood out into Lake Ontario and disappeared in the rain. This interesting ceremony over, the crowd left them to their own devices, and, all roofed in by umbrellas went splashing and squattering through the mud to another grand celebration — the inspection of the volunteers. On this latter event I must really drop the veil. An inspection is not an exhilarating ceremony and when to its natural drawbacks must be added the fact that the 'troops' were short of a strong regimental company, that the spectators under their *parapluies* looked as muddy and damp as a group of fungi; that the ground was little better than a dilapidated watercourse, and that everybody was in a hurry to get home and change their clothes I think I have told enough. Waving handkerchiefs to the Prince that have occasionally to be wrung dry has not a cheering effect and the aspect of crowds of countryfolk come in for a great holiday, standing up to their ankles in slush, cheerless, dripping and weary has on the whole rather a depressing influence than otherwise."

The correspondent must have been really wet and uncomfortable as he trudged from the Review of Volunteers to the Queen's Park, newly acquired by the City from the University authorities. He says: "So with the opening of the Park (which it would have been an act of humanity to shut on such a day) the rain was heavy and incessant, driving in eccentric rushes under umbrellas and bouncing off the ground with such violence that it seemed to be coming up as well as down. Here His Royal Highness laid the foundation stone of a statue to the Queen. . . . A hurried lunch over, the Prince had to start again to visit the University, which like all the other public buildings in this city is a spacious and handsome structure and one which would do honor to either of the Universities in England. Here he was received by the heads of the University and the various professors and conducted through the fine building, signing his name in the students' book. . . . Over the Prince's chair while he remained in the spacious hall to hear the address was the motto 'Imperii spem Provincii spes salutat.' (The hope of the Province salutes the hope of the Empire.)

"From the University the Prince drove to inaugurate the Horticultural Society's grounds. It was not a day for inaugurating anything but ponds, aqueducts and waterworks, but the Prince went to it * nevertheless. There was a magnificent display of fruits and flowers under the tents and a wonderful collection of garden stuff in the way of mangolds and swedes, cucumbers, carrots, squashes and pumpkins, with other vegetable eccentricities of grotesque forms reminding one of lobsters grown upon vines.* These the Prince inspected with his suite and then proceeded to inaugurate the grounds by planting a meek-looking vegetable called a young maple tree."

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* Modern slang may or may not be modern.

Concerning the Ball which ended the Royal visit the *Times* correspondent said: "The ball was a beautiful display — better, I think, than that at Quebec, but, of course, infinitely inferior to that of Montreal. It was given in the Crystal Palace Exhibition building. (Exhibition buildings are as common in Canada as Government or Parliament houses) and this was as admirably adapted to the purpose as any ballroom not specially built for the occasion ever could be. It was sufficiently crowded to show the anxiety of the people to be present and sufficiently spacious to accommodate all without inconvenience. The Prince as usual danced till 4 in the morning."

His Royal Highness had as his partners on this celebrated occasion: Mrs. Wilson, wife of the Mayor, Miss Gzowski, Miss de Blaquière, Miss Powell of Niagara, Miss Killaly, Miss Ridout and Miss McCaul. On the next morning the Prince went to London.

The Toronto newspapers were not particularly pleased with the work of the *Times* correspondent. *The Globe* intimated that while Mr. Woods was in Canada he was "the special guest of Mr. Smooth-and-easy Rose, of the Board of Works** and too often reflected the opinions of that gentleman. He was said to be "a mere pen-and-ink landscape painter who knew nothing of public affairs," but the only direct error with which he was charged was with reference to the Orange Arch. It did not bear the mottoes "the glorious, pious and immortal memory of William III.," and "1688." It seemed that Mr. Woods in his correspondence neglected to mention the occasion of the Orangemen's demonstration — the undue attention given by the Royal Party to Roman Catholic dignitaries and institutions in Lower Canada, and the rudeness and hauteur displayed by the Duke of Newcastle towards the governors of McGill University and towards representatives of Presbyterians and Methodists. There was an undertone of contempt in some of Mr. Wood's despatches, particularly in those relating to the militiamen of Canada. Like many of his countrymen before and since he could not understand how ill-trained and awkward levies could be useful to the country. He could not grasp the incontrovertable fact that the spirit of a good soldier might be found beneath an ill-fitting and rusty tunic, and that an expert rifleman might not be able to keep step in column or line.

The death of Sir John Beverley Robinson on January 31st, 1863, at the age of seventy-one, brought a keen sense of personal loss to all citizens. Even those who remembered the political conflicts of an earlier time and had been in opposition to Sir John, had respect for his fine qualities of mind and heart and undoubtedly considered him the first citizen of Upper Canada. *The Globe* said: "He is remembered by those who had to contend with him as a formidable antagonist, though his kindliness and dignity very seldom allowed him anywhere to be led into embittered personal contests."

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* Evidently the tomato was not common in England in 1860.

** Afterwards Sir John Rose, London banker, who became one of the financial advisers of the Prince of Wales.

From noon until four o'clock on February 5th, the day of the funeral, all business was suspended. Despite very severe weather all representative public bodies had delegates in the cortège, which proceeded from Osgoode Hall to St. James's Church, through an immense crowd of citizens. Bishop Strachan was in his place in the chancel. None mourned the loss of the Chief Justice more than he. For fifty years they had been as brothers and comrades in arms, the two most eminent men of the colony.

Dean Grasett was in charge of the service and the anthem was "Blessed are the Dead," from Spohr's "The Last Judgment." The body was laid to rest in St. James's Cemetery, in a vault which the Bishop had given to Sir John in 1848.

As early as in 1838 a Knighthood had been offered to John Beverley Robinson for his services to the Crown. On that occasion modesty had moved him respectfully to decline. The Baronetcy came to him in 1854 when he had made for himself a shining reputation as a Judge, and was in a position to sustain the honor with a proper dignity. In all the relationships of life he was a very great man. As Mr. Justice Riddell properly says, his life was practically the history of the Province.

Soon after the Prince of Wales and his entourage of writers and attendants had left this Continent the spirit of the Canadian militia was made manifest. The first campaigns of the American Civil War were ended, to the apparent advantage of the Southern Confederacy, and the South had a brighter hope of recognition of its Provisional Government by the European powers. Accordingly two diplomatic commissioners, Mason and Slidell, set sail for Europe on the British Steamer *Trent.* A United States warship, the *San Jacinto,* overhauled the *Trent,* removed the commissioners and their papers, and caused an international crisis of the first magnitude. The English newspapers which were favorable to the South called upon the Government to demand an apology for the outrage. The American journals asserted the right of the United States Government to search neutral ships for contraband.

For six weeks there was grave danger of war. In Toronto volunteer companies were recruited by a score of different organizations. The militia regiments were reconstituted. The City Council granted the use of St. Lawrence Hall and the Crystal Palace for volunteer drill. *The Globe* of December 20th said: "If the formation of volunteer companies continues at the same rate as during the last week, by January 1st, 1862, there will hardly be a dozen men in Toronto who will not be associated with the movement." On the following day the Government called out one Company of 75 men from each of the existing Regiments of "sedentary militia," a muster, on paper, of between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Reports came also from England announcing that the 6th Battalion of Royal Artillery, the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Regiment, the 2nd Battalion of the 16th Regiment, the 3rd Battalion of the 45th Regiment, and a detachment of the 16th Lancers, had been ordered to be in readiness for service in Canada. Meanwhile the Toronto press was reviewing the events of the War of 1812 to kindle enthusiasm, and to show that the project of invading Canada was not as easy as some Americans might imagine.

President Lincoln and Secretary Seward had no desire for European entanglements, The task of subduing the South was sufficient without additional distractions. It was clear also that the Confederate game was to secure European allies by hook or crook. The Government at Washington, therefore, made amends to Great Britain by expressing regret at the action of the commander of the *San Jacinto*, and by releasing Mason, Slidell and their two secretaries. The announcement was made on December 30th, aand a dangerous crisis was past. The Canadian militia had shown a fine spirit and a fervent enthusiasm.

Through the long years of the American Civil War the general sentiment of the people of Toronto was heartily in favor of the North, despite the irritation over the *Trent* affair. For many years there had been a strong anti-slavery society in the city, and the frequent performance of the sentimental melodrama, Uncle Tom's Cabin, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, at the Royal Lyceum Theatre, would not have been possible if the friends of the South had been in the majority.

There were some Southerners in the City, refugees from the battle-zone, or adventurers who sought to serve the Confederacy on neutral ground. With these a few ultra-Conservative families of Toronto were in hearty sympathy, but the generality of Canadians, like the generality of English people, naturally found themselves on the anti-slavery side of the controversy. Not a few young men from Canada served in the Northern armies.

On April 14th, 1865, President Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth. The news came upon Toronto like a thunderclap. The strong, patient leader of the North had won the admiration of his neighbors as well as of his own people. The stately periods of the second Inaugural were still resounding in the ears and hearts of men. It seemed a thing almost incredible that a man could be found so base as to end a life that had such high promise of usefulness.

All flags went to half-mast. The stores of the leading American residents were closed and arrangements were made for memorial services on the day of the funeral. At a meeting of Americans in Toronto a deputation consisting of Edward Kimball, Mark H. Irish and Ezra C. Carpenter was appointed to attend the funeral in Washington.

Some Southern hot-heads revealed themselves too clearly, as the following paragraph in *The Globe* of April 16th, indicated: "It can hardly be believed that men could be so lost to feeling as to exult over such an act as the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, but nevertheless it is nothing more than truth, for soon after the news of the President's death had been received some Southerners drank the health of the assassin in bumpers of champagne in a public bar-room."

This announcement provoked several replies, tending to show that the best Southern people had no sympathy with any such demonstration. It roused *The Globe* to the following rejoinder: "The Southern refugees who have conducted themselves properly during their residence here have never received a word of censure from us. But those who have behaved improperly—and their number is far larger than their apologists are willing to admit—have no claims to our forbearance. When a ruffian among them assaults a lady in the street simply because her husband has done his duty as a magistrate; when Southern ruffians drive men from places of public amusement simply because they are Americans, or hunt men through the streets for the same cause; when they disgrace our courts by unseemly demonstrations, we take the liberty of speaking of their acts as they deserve."

The City Council on April 18th, 1865, passed a resolution of regret at the President's death and ordered the suspension of business for two hours on the afternoon of the funeral. Only one councillor opposed the motion, a man whose hostility towards the North never varied, and who had knowledge of at least one raiding expedition planned by the refugees against American lake shipping.

A memorial service was held in Zion Congregational Church, Rev. Mr. Ellerby, Rev. Mr. Marling and Rev. Dr. Willis participating. Service was held also at the Wesleyan Methodist Church on Adelaide Street, Rev. A. J. Williams presiding. Here there were addresses by Rev. Dr. Ryerson, Rev. William Gregg, of Cooke's Church, and Rev. Dr. Caldicott. Rev. W. F. Clarke read the Scripture and Rev. W. Rowe offered prayer.

Times of unrest breed unrest. In the very year that the Southern States flung defiance at the Washington Government the Fenian Brotherhood of America was organized. Its object was sufficiently grandiose—to snatch Ireland from the British Empire and make it a republic. The "fierce dreamers" planned a campaign of anti-British propaganda designed to compel the support of the United States Government—counting on the natural anglophobia of a large proportion of the population, and the apparent friendliness of Official England for the Confederacy. The *Trent* difficulty was their opportunity. Fenianism spread with great rapidity under the direction of John O'Mahony, the "head-centre" of New York, and in Ireland itself a body of determined revolutionists was enlisted under James Stephens.

At first the activities of the society were secret, but soon there were open conventions in New York and elsewhere, and as might have been expected, open quarrels among the leaders. The speeches against the British Government and people breathed threatenings and slaughter, but nothing practical was attempted until the Civil War was ended.

Then great numbers of trained soldiers were available for further adventuring. The Irish needed no incitement. Many of them were already members of the Fenian brotherhood. Some others being misled as to the sentiments of Great Britain towards the United States, and expecting the sympathy of the American Government, expressed a willingness to fight.

An invasion of Canada was proposed and approved. General Sweeney, with a force of almost 35,000 men, scattered it along the frontier; at Rouse's Point under General Reilly, at St. Alban's, Vermont, under General Spear, at Malone, N.Y., under Col. M. C. Murphy, and at Buffalo under General John O'Neill. Greatly to the surprise of the warriors the United States Government seized a large shipment of arms and equipment which was intended to be used in the expedition. From that moment the crusade degenerated into opera bouffe. But the Irish-Americans are an imaginative people, and have an infinite capacity for serious pretending.

The Fenians pretended that the United States would wink at a filibustering expedition against a friendly neighbor. They pretended that Canada was weary of its British constitution and laws. They pretended that 200,000 Canadians were ready to join an invading force. They pretended that an insurrection in Ireland could succeed. They pretended that without adequate commissariat, and without sufficient arms they could defeat the British regulars and volunteers in Canada and seize the country. Sometimes enthusiasm is akin to madness.

The project seemed to be so visionary that it was not taken seriously in Canada. The newspapers were contemptuous of an Irish Republic functioning in a New York house and going through the motions of government. The members of the Administration at Quebec did not dream that an invasion would be attempted. A few military officers, notably Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, expected a raid, but their warnings were not seriously regarded.

Towards the end of May, 1866, the American press despatches mentioned the movement northward towards the Canadian frontier of many hundreds of men. Some came from near Cincinnati, some from the former Confederate States, some from Philadelphia and New York. There was a concentration at Buffalo, but not in the open. Government officials had been warned to prevent any demonstration against Canada, and the United States Revenue Steamer *Michigan* was lying in the river—but not too watchfully. On the night of May 31st-June 1st 1,340 Fenians with 2,500 stand of arms and abundant ammunition, boarded some canal boats at Black Rock and were towed across the river by a tug. Landing at Fort Erie at five in the morning, they cut the telegraph wires, tore up the railway track for some distance from the station, and made requisition on the inhabitants for horses and provisions. Then with most unmilitary precision they went into camp instead of marching northward and seizing the exposed points along the frontier. There was as yet no force to oppose them.

On the evening of May 31st there was a concert in the Music Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, Toronto (now the Church Street Branch of the Public Library). At the end of the programme an officer of the Queen's Own Regiment of Volunteers announced that the Battalion had been ordered out on active service and called upon all members present to assemble at six o'clock next morning. The audience cheered and sang God Save the Queen most vociferously.

There was nothing wrong with the spirit of the volunteers or of the people. Battalions paraded over-strength for service and so far as could be ascertained there was no Fenian sentiment of any consequence within the Province and City. The Government department controlling militia and defence apparently had neither spirit nor intelligence. It had waited too long in the hope that the invasion would not be undertaken. Then with the raiders standing on Canadian soil it called out battalion after battalion, sending the men forward without blankets, great coats or proper field equipment. The ammunition was old and scarce. The commissariat was unorganized. The quality of the leadership was questionable.

Near Fort Erie a detachment of the Welland Canal Field Battery, without field guns, and of the Dunnville Naval Company, came in touch with the enemy and was forced to give way. At Ridgeway the Queen's Own and the Thirteenth Battalion began a fight with the main body of the Fenians, but did not prosper in it. By some absurd error the volunteers were ordered to prepare for cavalry. They formed in square and confusion was the result. Before the force could be extricated there were 29 casualties. The killed were Ensign McEachren, Pte. Mewburn, Pte. McKenzie, Pte. Tempest, Pte. Defries, Pte. Alderson, and Pte. Smith. Two were so desperately wounded that they died in a few hours—Sergeant Matheson and Corporal Lackie. The date was June 2nd, 1866.

On the same day—Sunday—word reached the Mayor of Toronto that the men in the field had nothing to eat. His Worship sent word to the various churches. Collections were taken and that very night a train-load of provisions was shipped by the Great Western Railway.

Although the Fenians had been successful in two skirmishes the rapid influx of troops showed them that their enterprise could not succeed, and they determined to evacuate Fort Erie. In attempting to retreat across the river they were captured by the United States ship *Michigan* and were landed in Buffalo as prisoners. The Fenian Raid was over.

The funeral of the fallen volunteers on June 5th was a notable and impressive ceremony. On that same day there arrived in Toronto 56 Canadians of Chicago who had come home at their own expense to offer their services against the enemy. They were commanded by Captain Ford. The City received these patriots with enthusiasm. They were complimented and feted on every side, but when they returned to Chicago most of them found themselves without employment. Fenian influence was against them and more than one employer was threatened if he should dare take back any of these good Canadians.

The names of the Chicago volunteers were: C. T. Wright, John Ginn, B. Baskerville, R. Gilbert, T. English, G. Mackay, R. Mason, J. Cornish, J. Moore, F. Gatrell, T. G. Rice, W. F. Collins, R. S. Shenstone, W E. Richards, W. Cram, — Skinner, J. Allen, C. J. Mitchell, S. Langford, J. Cavers, S. Ridout, J. Ford, R. McKay, G. B. Roberts, — Hillman, F. Baker, J. J. Innes, C. Rubige, L. Weeden, W. Orr, J. Fraser, J. Wickens, J. G. Kinnear, G. Fitzsimmons, W. H. Rice, G. Morehead, J. Sheppard, W. Beck, L. E. Kingsmill, S. Gordon, E. Smith, G. Mothersill, W. S. Cottingham, H. Ross, G. Kingsmill, J. W. Dunn, S. McCallum, W. Ford, O. S. Hillman, — Healy, C. C. Barnes.

The Queen's Own Battalion was sent to Stratford after the brush at Ridgeway, and returned to Toronto on June 19th. The Tenth Royals arrived home on the evening of the 18th. Both Battalions were given a very hearty public greeting.

Stragglers and human odds-and-ends hanging loose upon the Fenian "army" were picked up by the troops on service and sent to Toronto for safe-keeping. Over four score of these interesting invaders occupied the old jail for several months. Their misfortunes were not bitter in comparison with what might have overtaken them if they had gone filibustering elsewhere, but they complained of lack of interest in their fate on the part of the Fenian leaders.

The trial of the prisoners was under civil process before the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and began during the term opening on October 8th, 1866. Mr. Justice John Wilson in his charge to the Grand Jury said: "I am sorry to say I find a very long list of about ninety cases of a very unusual character, in which most of the accused are said to be citizens of the United States, but a few are alleged to be subjects of Great Britain. These cases arose from an armed invasion of this Province."

Judge Wilson then reviewed the Fenian movement in general and described briefly the events leading up to the raid on Fort Erie. He dwelt at some length upon the sympathetic attitude of many American citizens and protested against it in the following sentences: "The native-born citizen of the United States seems earnestly impressed with the belief that the American type of a republican government is the very best; he seems to take it for granted that rational liberty can be enjoyed under no other, and that all nations would eagerly adopt it if they had the opportunity of shaking off the governments which oppress them. He appears to discredit the fact that under a monarchical government it is possible to enjoy freedom less trammelled by the tyranny of office than under a republican government. He thinks it impossible that here we can really be devoted to our beloved Sovereign and her Government, a Government which he affects to believe is overbearing, perfidious, and envious of the power and greatness of the American nation. Unfortunately for our peace of mind we have been reaping the fruit of these opinions."

In another part of the charge, His Honor said: "The accused might have been tried by militia court-martial, but it is better they should be tried here by the ordinary course of law. War, its usages and tribunals, are alien alike to our agricultural and commercial people, who would have been shocked when they reflected upon it, that men should have suffered death upon the sentence of a court-martial."

Robert Blosse Lynch, of Louisville, Ky., was the first arraigned. The prosecution was in the hands of Hon. James Cockburn, Queen's Counsel, Solicitor-General for Upper Canada, and there were associated with him Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., Robert A. Harrison, John McNab, County Crown Attorney, James Patterson and John Patterson. The chief defence lawyers in all these trials were M. C. Cameron, Kenneth Mackenzie, and R. Martin.

Those found guilty, and for the most part sentenced to death, were R. B. Lynch, Rev. John McMahon, William Slavin, Patrick O'Neil, William Hayden, Dan Whalen, John Quinn, Thomas School, Thomas F. Maxwell, James Burke, Patrick Norton, John O'Connor, Dan Quinn, John Rogan, P. P. Ledworth, Thomas Cooney, Michael Purtell, Owen Kennedy, John Gallagher, Barney Dunn.

By the time the last of the trials was over the early months of 1867 had passed, and public resentment against the prisoners had died down to some extent. There was no evidence of discontent when the Colonial Secretary commuted the death sentence of Lynch and McMahon, the most important prisoners.

Statue of Hon. George Brown

The Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada was based on equality of representation in Parliament. The original reason for that equality was found in the belief that Lower Canada would always have the larger population and that safeguards ought to be provided for the English-speaking minority. A rush of immigration to Upper Canada during the '50's, and the construction of railways from one end of the Province to the other, soon put Upper Canada in the ascendant and the English-speaking people began to find the Union galling. George Brown began calling for a revision of the constitution on the basis of Representation by Population. On the other hand Georges Étienne Cartier and every other French-Canadian public man found the equal representation a bulwark behind which the minority (now French) could rest in peace.

After the settlement of the Clergy Reserves question and the abolition of Seigneurial Tenure the political board was singularly bare. The struggle for great principles of reform dwindled to a scramble for office and the less noble arts of politics were cultivated too assiduously. John A. Macdonald and George Brown were in continuous duel and permitted their public controversy to disturb their personal relations. Brown stormed against Lower Canada and denounced Macdonald for being too complaisant towards the Church and the French race. Macdonald, as the leading spirit of the Government, realized that Quebec was his salvation. It was impossible for either party to secure a majority in both Provinces. Laws for the government of Upper Canada were being passed by a Lower Canada majority—and vice versa—and there was great popular discontent.

On June 14th, 1864, George Brown, as Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee on the constitutional question, reported in favor of a federative system applied either to Canada alone or to the whole of the British North American Provinces. On the same day the Taché-Macdonald Government was defeated and resigned. On June 15th Brown offered to co-operate with any Government which would stand for constitutional revision. So he found himself finally in Coalition with Macdonald and Cartier, ardently advocating with them the larger union which had caught the imagination of the country. He and his colleagues spoke in Charlottetown to urge the Maritime Provinces to enter the Federation, and were members of the historic Quebec Conference of 1864 which formulated the draft constitution. The reasons given by George Brown for supporting Federation were these: Because it will raise us from the attitude of a number of inconsiderable colonies into a great and powerful people; because it will throw down the barriers of trade and give us the control of a market of four millions of people; because it will make us the third maritime power in the world; because it will give a new start to immigration into our country; because it will enable us to meet without alarm the abrogation of the American Reciprocity Treaty in case the United States should decide upon its abolition; because in the event of war it will enable all the colonies to defend themselves better and give more efficient aid to the Empire than they can do separately; and because it will give us a seaboard at all seasons of the year.

Upper Canada was enthusiastic for union and Toronto never wavered in its support of the measure, from that day in 1864 when 8,000 persons gave a tumultuous welcome to the Confederation delegates returning from the Maritime Provinces, to the first Dominion Day, when the community gave itself up to formal and informal holiday-making.

Toronto on Confederation Day had a population of about 45,000. Bloor Street was the extreme northern limit of settlement, and the first St. Paul's Church was practically out in the country, being tributary to the village of Yorkville. Between Yorkville and the City the convent of St. Joseph was established, and Knox College was at Grosvenor Street. There was a waterworks reservoir on the south side of Mary Street near Yonge.

The present College Street between Yonge and University Avenue was then merely "the avenue" leading to Queen's Park. Wykeham Lodge was at the Yonge Street entrance. West of University Avenue College Street continued as far as the present Ossington Avenue, then known as Denison Road. Dovercourt Road was the western limit of urban civilization.

Moss Park, the Allan estate, was still intact. It ran from Queen northward to Wilton Crescent (now Dundas Street east.) Farther north and bounded by Carlton, Sherbourne, Isabella and Jarvis, was the Homewood estate.

Near the corner of Queen and Yonge was a cluster of churches, Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist. Elm Street Methodist Church was built, and on the corner of Gould and Victoria the United Presbyterians worshipped. St. Michael's Cathedral was established, but the Metropolitan Church was not yet built.

Compared with present-day Toronto, the city was small and unimportant. But for the times, all the public buildings were dignified and imposing, and there was a lively civic spirit which has had much to do with the growth and well-being of the community.

CHAPTER III.

UNDER THE NEW DOMINION

THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. JOHN STRACHAN, D.D.
Bishop of Toronto

CHAPTER III.

UNDER THE NEW DOMINION

BY LEGISLATION of 1866 the constitution of the corporation was amended by Parliament. The distinction between aldermen and councillors was abolished, and the selection of the Mayor was taken away from the people and once more committed to the Council. The first result was the election of Ald. Jas. E. Smith as Mayor for 1867, by a majority of *one*.

The City had expanded until it contained seven wards, each returning three aldermen. In order to preserve continuity in civic policy one third of the Council retired at the end of the first year, one third at the end of the second year and the rest at the end of the third year. The ward divisions were as follows: West of Yonge Street and south of King, was St. George's; between King and Queen, was St. Andrew's; St. John's lay north of Queen, between Yonge and University Avenue; west of University Avenue was St. Patrick's ward; east of Yonge and south of King was St. Lawrence's; St. James's was north of King, and between Yonge and Nelson Street (now Jarvis); east of Jarvis, was St. David's.

In November, 1867, Bishop Strachan died. The City Council passed a resolution expressing the profound sorrow of the citizens at the removal of one so long and so deservedly respected. Dr. Strachan had been a resident in the community since 1803 and was one of the group of distinguished men who had been associated with the building of Upper Canada and its preservation to the British Crown. A sturdy and indomitable man, with Georgian opinions, he saw with distaste the growth of democratic opinion—he called it republicanism—and resented the secularization of education. He had little sympathy for Dissenters, but the widest sympathy for men. His ingrained Toryism was balanced by a keen sense of duty and his fellow-citizens never forgot his activity on behalf of the poor and the suffering. He gave many hard knocks to his opponents, but received the like with an imperturbed spirit. He was a "bonnie fechter." Those who differed from him respected him, and his funeral was a great tribute to a distinguished man. A prince and a great man had fallen.

The attitude of his political opponents was expressed by *The Globe* as follows: "He was the last remnant of a generation that has not only disappeared, but has left the least advanced of the present day to wonder how it was possible for a man so shrewd, and conscientious likewise, to believe that national strength could be promoted by one section of the community being petted and favored, and all the rest but barely tolerated, and that God could be honored and His cause advanced by forcing men to support a religion in which they did not believe, and to pay a priesthood whose services they disliked."

On December 23rd, 1867, the City Council determined that in consequence of the general interest in the opening of the first Parliament of the Province of Ontario, the afternoon of Friday, the 27th of December, should be observed as a half-holiday. That was Opening Day when Major-General

Stisted as Lieutenant-Governor, rode in state to the old Parliament buildings, with a volunteer bodyguard, and instructed the faithful Legislature to elect a Speaker. Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, the Premier, nominated John Stevenson to this office, and in due course the House settled itself to business. The members of the Cabinet were Hon. John Carling, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works; Hon. Stephen Richards, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. E. B. Wood, Provincial Treasurer, and Hon. M. C. Cameron, Provincial Secretary. Mr. Cameron sat for East Toronto. The Member for West Toronto was Mr. J. Wallis.

A few sentences follow from the Speech from the Throne, read on December 28th: "This day is the commencement of a new and important era in our political annals. We are met together under the authority of the British Crown to enter upon a more extended application than we have hitherto enjoyed of the principle of local self-government. For years past it has been the aim and effort of Upper Canada to secure a more direct and unlimited control over her own local affairs than was attainable whilst in legislative alliance with another Province. Sensible of the many advantages which have accrued to both sections from this Union since its accomplishment in the year 1841, the people of Western Canada have, nevertheless, desired a wider and more elastic governmental system, which, while it should strengthen and consolidate British dominion on this continent, should also afford larger opportunities for their own particular growth and expansion. This object we have now obtained through the beneficent interposition of the Mother Country."

As the space on the floor of the House was limited a list of the ladies present may be considered a conspectus of Social Toronto in 1867: Mrs. McPherson, Miss Gordon, Mrs. J. D. Ridout, Mrs. Cumberland, Mrs. Donald Macdonald and daughters, Mrs. George Duggan, Miss Zane, Mrs. George Cockburn, Mrs. John McMurrich, Mrs. John Kay, Mrs. J. H. Cameron, Miss Charlotte Boulton, Misses Furlong, Mrs. and Miss Gzowski, Miss Draper, Miss Wyatt, Mrs. P. S. Stevenson, Mrs. Mitchell Macdonald, Mrs. Angus Morrison, Miss Morrison, Mrs. E. H. Rutherford, Miss Rutherford, Mrs. Colonel Anderson and daughter, Mrs. McCaul and Miss McCaul, Mrs. Spencer, Mrs. T. Hodgins, Mrs. Clarkson Scobie, Mrs. Cherriman, Mrs. F. W. Jarvis, Mrs. Dr. Rolph, Mrs. Hayward, Miss Gamble, Mrs. C. Gamble, Mrs. T. C. Patteson, Miss Harris, Mrs. Radcliffe.

The administration of Mayor Smith during 1867 was so satisfactory that he was easily re-elected for the following year. Early in January, 1869, he was appointed Customs Collector for the Port of Toronto and the Council passed a resolution of thanks and appreciation for "an able and impartial administration." He was succeeded by Samuel B. Harman, who afterwards served as Assessment Commissioner.

During 1868 the City had a chance to buy McGill Square, where the Metropolitan Church now stands, but the aldermen were not disposed to offer more than $30,000, and the owners withdrew from the negotiations.

News of the successful issue of the Abyssinian expedition under Lord Napier was the occasion of a resolution of satisfaction in the Toronto City Council.

This was the period while Sir Georges Cartier and Hon. Mr. Macdougall were in England negotiating with the Hudson's Bay Company and the British Government for the transfer of the Great West to the Dominion of Canada. Meanwhile the Red River settlers were in great poverty and distress, and subscriptions for their relief were taken up in most of the Eastern cities. It is said that in Halifax a clergyman in charge of the fund declared that he could have collected as much, and the people would have given as intelligently, had the sufferers been in Abyssinia. There was a livelier interest in Toronto. A communication to the City Council from Mr. Cool Burgess was read on October 26th, 1868, asking the co-operation of the members of Council in an entertainment he proposed to give on the 28th for the relief of the Red River sufferers.

Cool Burgess was a "minstrel," one of the group of comedians who exploited the comic side of the negro and thus developed a distinctly new form of theatrical entertainment. For many years after his retirement from the stage he was landlord of the Rising Sun Hotel on Yonge street.

A list of tax-exemptions prepared by order of Council in 1868 showed that the value of Church properties in Toronto at that time was $855,124, of University and College properties, $1,082,100; of charitable institutions, $149,360; of Government and County buildings, $1,153,500.

A second Royal Progress occurred in the autumn of 1869 when Prince Arthur accompanied Sir John Young, the newly appointed Governor-General, in a tour of all the considerable cities and towns of the Canadian Confederacy. The party arrived in Toronto on October 2nd, coming by train from Hamilton, and the manner of entertainment was almost identical with that afforded the Prince of Wales. The streets were ablaze with flags and bunting, and arches covered with evergreen were erected at several points along King Street. The one at the corner of King and Simcoe streets was 28 feet high, and the tip of the topmost flagpole was 53 feet above the pavement. A great stand "opposite the English chop-house" was provided for the school children, who sang the National anthem with a will, and the streets were filled with eager, enthusiastic crowds which swept past the lines of policemen and volunteers and thronged about the carriage of His Royal Highness. He seemed to be surprised and gratified at the warmth of his reception.

The procession ended at the City Hall, where addresses were read. In the evening there was a State Dinner at Government House, and the presentation of volunteer riflemen's prizes at the old Drill Shed. The town was illuminated and there was an imposing torchlight procession. The Prince attended service at St. James's on Sunday morning. On Monday he appeared at the University, the Normal School, Upper Canada College, Osgoode Hall, and the Parliament buildings. There was a lacrosse match in the afternoon and a Citizens' Ball at night in the Music Hall—now the Church Street branch of the Public Library.

On Tuesday he turned the first sod of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, and attended a ball given by Hon. D. L. Macpherson. He left for Kingston on Wednesday morning.

Such was the introduction to Toronto of the Royal personage who, 45 years later, was the war-time Governor of the Dominion of Canada.

Fenianism had shown in the "invasion" of Canada its theatricalism and its futility. It was to give proof that none could mistake of the ferocity of its gospel. Thomas D'Arcy McGee as a young man had been a fiery revolutionist in the Irish troubles of the early 'forties. When the "cause" appeared hopeless for the time he went to the United States and became engaged in Irish-American journalism. To this day that form of journalism is the most wilfully obscurantist on the Continent. McGee could indulge his hatred of Great Britain to the full and vitriol flowed from his pen. Nevertheless, he was not of the type to become a mere professional "slang-whanger." He insisted on writing only what he believed. That gave power as well as charm to his writing and brought to him from Daniel O'Connell the offer of the editorship of the *Freeman's Journal,* of Dublin.

He returned to Ireland in 1845—being only twenty years of age—but soon found O'Connell too conservative to be his leader. Three years later, in imminent danger of arrest, he wandered up and down the Irish coast, disguised as a priest, awaiting a favorable occasion to take ship for America. He landed in Philadelphia in October, 1848, and soon was indulging his pen in the old way.

It was the "lecture era" of American history. McGee was a practised and fervent orator and soon was travelling all over the settled area of the Continent lecturing on Columbus, on Thomas Moore, and on The American Revolution. At the invitation of friends he came to Montreal, and found life in Canada congenial. He became interested in politics and by 1861 the former rebel was a Minister of the Crown he had sought to overturn.

He was a persistent and powerful advocate of Confederation, but his public utterances estranged him more and more from his former friends. His denunciation of the Fenian movement ensured their hostility. He visited Ireland early in 1868 and made a speech at Wexford urging conciliation and mutual good-will between Great Britain and Ireland. It has been said that he spoke his own death warrant in that address.

On the morning of April 7th, 1868, Hon. Mr. McGee left the House of Commons with a group of friends and walked with them to the corner of Metcalfe Street and Sparks Street, Ottawa. He boarded with Mrs. Trotter, who lived on the south side of Sparks Street, a few doors east of O'Connor Street. Alone he walked towards his lodging. As he was unlocking the door he was shot through the head, the weapon being held so close that his hair was singed. His death was instantaneous.

The general indignation aroused throughout Canada by this cold-blooded murder is reflected in the Minutes of the City Council for April 13th, 1868: "That this corporation, assembled on this, the first meeting after the assassination, and on the very day of the funeral of the late the Honorable Thomas D'Arcy McGee, desire to record their deep sympathy with his bereaved family, and their abhorrence of the foul and brutal act of the assassin, which has not only deprived them of an affectionate relative, but his adopted country of one who combined in the very highest degree the ennobling qualities of an illustrious statesman, a distinguished orator, and in every sense of the word a representative man; and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the bereaved widow and family of him who was deservedly regarded as the most illustrious Irishman in Canada."

As a mark of respect, the Council then adjourned.

A man named Thomas Whalen was arrested, convicted on circumstantial evidence, and hanged, but there were many who believed that others quite as virulent and more clever should have stood beside him on the scaffold.

The Brotherhood having its headquarters in New York continued more or less active and never ceased to make high threats against British power in America and in Ireland. Two years after McGee's death the times seemed propitious for another theatrical gesture. The Metis of the Red River country were uneasy at the transfer of authority from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Government of Canada. A series of errors in administration by Ministers and their servants caused such misunderstandings that the half-breeds saw menaces of robbery, invasion and civil war. A "National Council" was established under Louis Riel to resist the Government and a number of Canadians who took the opposite view were arrested. Amongst them was Thomas Scott, who was tried for insubordination by a pretended court-martial, and shot. The death of Scott roused great indignation throughout Ontario and made it necessary for the Government to send a military expedition to the west.

Fenian influence centred in St. Paul, Minn., had much to do with the Red River rebellion, and the "Head Centres" of the east thought the time opportune to make another attempt at invasion of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, seeing that the soldiers had other business. As early as April 6th the British Minister at Washington informed the Canadian Government on the authority of the American Executive, that a Fenian raid was in preparation, but there was no actual movement by the enemy until towards the end of May. About 1,000 men congregated at Malone, New York, and St. Albans, Vermont. There was the shadow of a skirmish at Pigeon Hill, south of Montreal, on May 26th, 1870, but that was all. Every frontier point was guarded by volunteers, and apparently the Fenians considered talk safer than action.

Toronto volunteers were full of activity. While the nucleus of the Expeditionary Force destined for Fort Garry was composed of regular troops, an Ontario Battalion and a Quebec Battalion drafted from the various militia regiments were assembled at Toronto and quartered, by consent of the City Council, at the Crystal Palace. Six men from the Queen's Own and six from the Tenth Royal Grenadiers were requisitioned. The force, 1,200 strong, embarked at Collingwood for Fort William on May 14th, marched from Fort William to the Red River, but had no fighting to do.

Ontario and Quebec were sharply at variance on the question of the Red River trouble, and even today there is a marked difference in the treatment of the subject in English and French Histories of Canada. As an instance, compare these paragraphs, the first from W. L. Grant's school text-book, the second from the Christian Brothers' "Histoire."

"In January, 1870, Riel put himself forever in the wrong by the execution on a charge of treason of Thomas Scott, an Ontario Orangeman. Scott seems to have had a great contempt for all French Catholics, and for Riel in particular, and had undoubtedly made himself disagreeable, but for the charge of treason there was no evidence whatever, and the so-called execution was a barbarous murder. Ontario was at once in a flame, and its Government offered a reward for the capture of Riel."

"To maintain peace and protect the lives of honest citizens Riel, having become head of the Red River Government, imprisoned some of the insurgents. Thomas Scott, one of the workmen sent to Red River by the Canadian Government, was a violent and intractable character. Arrested several times for revolt he was at last brought before a council of war, condemned and shot. This wretched man was an Ontario Orangeman. At the news of his execution a tempest of fanaticism arose in Ontario against these Metis, these Catholics of French speech, and showed no signs of abatement."

The point of view makes a difference. Considering that one member of Riel's provisional government bore the name of O'Donoghue, and that Fenianism was active all over the Continent, the anger of Ontario may be understood—aside altogether from the Orangeism of Scott. There was an indignation meeting in Toronto on April 6th, 1870, when over 5,000 people gathered before the old City Hall to hear Dr. Schultz and others from the Red River colony. That meeting on motion of Captain Bennett and Lieut.-Colonel George T. Denison, adopted the following resolution: "That this meeting expresses the strongest indignation at the cold-blooded murder of poor Scott, sympathizes with his relatives and friends, and considers that it would be a gross injustice to the loyal inhabitants of Red River, humiliating to our national honor and contrary to British traditions for our Government to receive, negotiate, or treat with the emissaries of those who have robbed, imprisoned and murdered loyal Canadians whose only fault was zeal for British institutions, whose only crime was devotion to the old flag."

The year 1870 was one of intense irritation in international politics. The *Alabama* claims were still unsettled, and the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States leading to arbitration, were made difficult by the clamor of Anglophobe demagogues in Congress. Mr. Sumner, by a superb exercise of the imagination had discovered that the reparation demanded should be some $1,300,000,000. Every Fenian and every chaser of Fenian votes was in high fettle. Mr. Fish had made the cool suggestion that Great Britain might meet the claims by handing over Canada to the Republic. To this the British Commissioner said that he had no instructions. But it cannot be doubted that there were British statesmen—or politicians—who would have been ready even for that concession. The "cut the painter" group was neither small nor without influence.

Canadian opinion had been greatly inflamed by Fenian aggression, by the inability, or unwillingness, of the United States to perform its plain duties as a neutral towards this conspiracy, by the tenderness of Mr. Gladstone's Government towards the Washington administration, and by the withdrawal of the British regular troops from Canada at a time of tension. *The Globe* of July 6th, 1870, printed a leading article which said in part: "The people of Canada do not ask Great Britain to pay one sixpence for their internal government. They do not ask Great Britain to leave one soldier in Canada except for Imperial purposes. They do not seek to meddle in the slightest degree with the number of troops or ships of war Great Britain may think proper from time to time to maintain, and they are heartily willing to contribute their quota according to their population and means towards the defensive forces of the Empire.

"But what they ask in return is that their soil and their rights and their interests shall be as closely and jealously guarded by the Imperial authorities as are those of the people of Scotland or Ireland. What they ask is, that while all the authority of the British Government is instantly put in motion to coerce the Greek or Spanish government into stopping the operations of a pack of bandits harboring on their soil, years of open plotting and recruiting and drilling and gathering munitions of war, avowedly to invade British soil and murder British subjects, may not be permitted to go on openly without even an explanation or protest. What they ask is that while millions of money are spent and thousands of lives placed in jeopardy in Abyssinia to recover a few British captives, Canada may not be invaded by hordes of cut-throats from the United States, and her people slaughtered, without the slightest interference of the American government, until the ruffians have been defeated and driven back across the lines—and the smiles and thanks of the British Ambassador, and the laudations of English statesmen and the English press showered (to his utter astonishment) upon President Grant for his generous and prompt protection of the Canadian people. . . . Thank God, the British people are not of the spirit of Lord Northbrooke!"

The quotation, despite its slightly incoherent English, reflects a sentiment that was not only coherent and logical but white-hot. Only a few days before the article appeared the Governor-General had visited Toronto to unveil the monument to the fifteen young Canadians who had either been slain at Ridgeway or had died by reason of the Fenian Raid. * *The Globe* of July 2nd introduced the report of the unveiling in these words: "At the hour of noon yesterday in the Queen's Park, in the presence of the relatives of the lamented dead and of the gallant wounded who still survive; in view of an immense multitude of spectators and surrounded by everything which could lend interest to any ceremony, the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada unveiled the monument which the gratitude of the living has raised to the memory of their fallen kindred, the citizen soldiery who yielded up their lives for their country in the fight at Ridgeway. . . . The monument was the outgrowth and exposition of the popular sentiment. It was not erected by the Government or aided by Government. The men who fell were of the people. So also is the monument."

Rev. Dr. McCaul, the chairman of the Committee, in his preliminary address, declared that the largest subscription coming from any one place had come from Quebec City, the collector being Mr. Michael Stevenson. Contributions had been received from the County Councils of York, Peel, Huron and Lambton, from several Township Councils, from the City of Toronto, and from a large number of individuals. In referring to the Fenians

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* The statue of Britannia in Italian marble which crowns the monument was the work of Robert Reid of the firm of Mavor and Company, Sculpture and Marble Workers of Montreal. The steps and base are of Montreal limestone, the body of Nova Scotia sandstone.

Dr. McCaul said: "These misguided men who crossed the frontier never pretended that they entertained any hostility towards us. Their avowed object was to avenge themselves on England. . . We surely ought to expect that the Imperial Government would leave troops here where they might prove useful, rather than recall them to stations where they can merely be ornamental." Such a statement in the presence of the Governor-General by the President of the University may perhaps give some indication of the ardent public temper of the time.

The British North America Act provided that the Parliament of Canada should have exclusive legislative authority over "Militia, military and defence," and that the executive authority of the Crown should be exercised through the Privy Council for Canada. Thus the Dominion ceased to be a garrison for Imperial troops. Defence was to be committed to the militia, with a small force of Canadian regulars to hold fortified posts and to give instructional aid to the volunteer battalions.

Before evacuation by the British regulars could begin the Red River difficulty arose, and the 60th Regiment, King's Royal Rifles, was the nucleus of the expedition under Wolseley. Not until the latter part of 1871 was the time ripe for the withdrawal of the troops. The Royal Canadian Artillery had been constituted in the previous year and by November was able to accept the transfer of the Citadel of Quebec. After a notable farewell ball given by the City of Quebec in the Music Hall the last of the British regulars marched on board the transport *Orontes* and the ship stood away to sea.

For over 100 years the line regiments had been familiar friends to the people of Canada. Most of them had appeared either at Halifax or at Quebec, and a considerable number had served in Upper Canada. It is interesting to review the number of Regiments which were represented in Canada during the war of 1812-14 — though many battalions were sent too late to see much active service. The list follows: four companies of Royal Artillery; a detachment of Royal Engineers; the 19th Light Dragoons; the 1st Royal Scots; the 3rd Foot (the Buffs); the 5th, the 6th, the 8th (the King's Corps), the 9th, the 13th, the 16th, the 27th, the 37th, the 39th, the 41st, the 49th, the 57th, the 58th, the 70th, the 76th, the 82nd, the famous 88th, (Connaught Rangers), the 89th, the 90th, the 97th (Queen's Own, after which, no doubt, the Toronto Militia regiment was named), the 100th, the 101st, 103rd and 104th. Men of the 100th (Royal Canadians) served as marines "soldier and sailor too" on the *Wolfe* and *Melville*, part of Yeo's squadron of fighting ships on Lake Ontario.

Following the war there was a garrison in York. The 71st Highlanders were here in 1827. When the Rebellion was nearly ripe the few troops at the Fort were sent east by that Incomparable Statesman, Sir Francis Bond Head, and a quantity of arms stored in the City Hall — almost as a bait for the insurgents. After the rebellion Upper Canada had a permanent Headquarters Staff established at Toronto and detachments of soldiers were sent into garrison at Niagara and at London from time to time.

In 1840 in the list of stewards for the races on Scarlett Plains appeared the names of Captain Meecham of the 32nd Regiment, some staff officers, and Colonel Sparks of the 93rd Highlanders. The 93rd left Toronto in 1844 and the conduct of the Regiment while in garrison was warmly approved by the City Council. The 34th Regiment had been similarly complimented on June 20th, 1841, for the energy of the men in helping to fight a serious fire.

The 42nd Regiment under Major Fraser left Toronto in June of 1842. On May 20th, 1850, the City Council passed a formal resolution of regret at the early departure of the second Battalion of the Rifle Brigade and requested Major Esten, in command, to convey to officers, non-commissioned officers and men all good wishes of the citizens of Toronto. The resolution was touched with flowery expressions. The mover referred to "the brilliant galaxy of honorary distinctions that emblazon the regimental escutcheon."

On August 8th, 1850, the 71st Regiment was reviewed on Garrison Common for the delectation of some visitors from Buffalo. Two companies of this regiment succeeded the Rifles at the Fort. The 30th was here in 1860. In the spring of 1865 the 47th Regiment was in Toronto and remained until the Fenian troubles, when it served on the frontier. On the first Dominion Day, July 1st, 1867, the bands of the 13th Hussars and the 17th Regiment were engaged for the civic celebration, and during 1869 the first battalion of the King's Royal Rifles was in Toronto.

The society of the small but proud capital of Upper Canada was enlivened by the participation of the military officers in all social entertainments and in sports of the field. There was not a little regret when the Regulars departed.

The first Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario was a soldier, Major-General Henry William Stisted, C.B., commanding the forces in Upper Canada at the time of Confederation. He served in the Persian War in 1857, commanding a Brigade at Kooshap, and was with Sir Henry Havelock at the Relief of Lucknow and the defence of the Residency. He had excellent social qualities and was popular in Toronto. The Township of Stisted was named after him.

Politically speaking, the first decade of Confederation was full of incident. The Red River troubles were scarcely over when the Treaty of Washington was ratified. The British Commissioners were in a mood to yield every American claim and to assert British and Canadian demands with undue languor. Even the Fenian Raid claims against the inactive American Government, which were surely reasonable, could not be pressed, because of the terms of the reference. The Imperial Government offered to guarantee the money to Canada, to avert a protest and a withdrawal from the Conference by Sir John A. Macdonald. Possibly general international conditions made a good understanding with the United States an imperative requirement of British Foreign Policy, but Canadians have always held that the mandarins of the Foreign Office have an imperfect knowledge of the American character. They think that the way to keep the child quiet is to give him the candy for which he cries. Canadians know that tame surrender is regarded by the United States as a sign of weakness, a proof that the time has come to demand something else.

This time Lord de Grey filled the child's lap and went home, leaving Sir John Macdonald to face the unpopularity of the Treaty.

At the General Election of 1872 Ontario was weary of the Government which had bungled the Red River question, allowed the murderers of Scott to escape and permitted the Washington Government to despoil Canadian fisheries. Sir John Macdonald had a narrow majority because Ontario favored for the time being the Opposition. The Pacific Scandal of 1873 only intensified popular distrust, and after the fall of the Government the Conservatives had only 45 in the House of Commons.

"Br'er Rabbit done lay low," watching the honesty, efficiency — and the dulness — of the Mackenzie administration and profiting by the trend of the times. The panic of 1873 in New York was merely an outcrop of a state of general commercial depression which was felt all over the Continent. Hard times make men grumble at the Government when they should quarrel with economic principles. But Governments are easier to find, and easier to afflict. Gradually the time was rising for Sir John and his associates to go before the country with a new policy.

In 1875 Hon. Thomas Moss, the member for West Toronto, was raised to the Bench and a bye-election impended. Sir John Macdonald approached Mr. John Beverley Robinson, son of the Chief Justice, and finally received his consent to run in the Conservative interest on a platform of Protection—the National Policy. The Liberals were lofty concerning the contest and the candidate. *The Globe* said: "Mr. John Beverley Robinson is a gentleman who provokes no unkindly sentiments, and it is that rather negative quality which induces his Party to seek him out and support him. They have had some candidates of so very shady a hue that it is something to find a respectable man consenting to be brought forward. . . . As we anticipated the nomination of the little crowd of wire-pullers and backstairs politicians in York Street has been gratified."

On Saturday, November 6th, Mr. Robinson was elected by a large majority over Mr. Alderman Turner, the Liberal candidate. That was the first indication that the voters were beginning to abate their harshness towards "John A." He himself scented victory in the elections of 1878 and began campaigning vigorously, laying his National Policy before farmers and industrial workers alike. *The Globe's* only excuse at the result of the bye-election was that the Liberals were imperfectly organized. From that day the sentiment of Toronto has been generally Protectionist.

In the Province the administration of Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald decayed, mainly because of the imperious nature of the Premier. On March 14th, 1871, the Government was beaten on the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne, but no dissolution followed. Mr. Edward Blake became the new Premier on December 15th, 1871. When the Dual representation Act was passed in 1872, Mr. Blake elected to sit in the Federal House and was succeeded by Mr. Oliver Mowat. For 33 years the Liberals controlled the Legislature, although generally speaking Ontario supported the Conservatives at Ottawa.

In the House of Commons, West Toronto was represented in 1867 by Robert Alexander Harrison, East Toronto by James Beaty. Mr. Beaty

Statue of Sir John A. Macdonald

retained his seat in 1872, John Crawford becoming the representative of West Toronto and Robert Wilkes sitting for the new constituency of Centre Toronto. Reference has been made to Mr. John Beverley Robinson's success in the bye-election and in the general contest of 1878. His colleagues were Robert Hay, for Centre Toronto, and Samuel Platt, for East Toronto.

In the Legislature, Hon. Mr. Cameron sat for East Toronto through three terms, being elected in 1868, 1871 and 1875. Mr. J. Wallis was elected in the West riding in 1868, and three years later was defeated by Mr. Crooks. In 1875 Mr. Crooks tried in vain to dislodge Mr. Cameron in East Toronto, while Mr. Bell won in the West.

The value of imports entered at the Port of Toronto from 1871 to 1879 were as follows:

1871	$10,295,465	1876	$11,227,873
1872	12,912,440	1877	13,375,301
1873	14,594,203	1878	12,610,337
1874	14,716,824	1879	12,235,342
1875	14,806,838		

Mr. Joseph Sheard was Mayor during 1871, having been elected unanimously by his colleagues of the Council. Mr. McCord continued as Chamberlain, or City Treasurer, and Stephen Radcliff was City Clerk. When Mayor Sheard took office the rateable property within the limits of the corporation was $29,600,000. The general civic debt was $2,637,083 and the Local Improvement debt $2,708,672. The current revenue during 1870 was $926,579.54. Two items of expenditure show that the corporation was not extravagant — $5,588.50 for the fire department salaries, (there were only six paid men) and $19,267.35 for the salaries of school teachers.

In the list of license fees collected appeared $55, for eleven street cars at $5 a year each. It was not an extravagant return for a valuable franchise. The Company had shown some reluctance to extend the lines as rapidly as the public thought necessary and two other Companies sought incorporation from the Legislature, with consent of the Council. The natural result was a communication from Mr. G. W. Kiely, successor of Mr. Easton, on July 3rd, 1871, stating that the Toronto Street Railway Company was willing to undertake further construction.

A new era began with a notice of motion in Council on March 27th, 1871, that wood block pavements be constructed on Yonge Street from King to Queen, on King Street from George to York, on Front Street from George to Simcoe and on Colborne from Church to West Market. Up to that time macadam was used. The cedar-block fever continued for a long time, and it is only a few years since the last of these tempestuous pavements disappeared. Many men comparatively young can remember an impassable Markham Street with grass and weeds growing up between the blocks to a height of six inches.

An agitation for the building of "cheap railways" to serve the needs of territory tributory to the City ended in the construction of two narrow gauge lines, the Toronto and Nipissing and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, to which the City gave financial assistance. In 1871 the rumor that these lines were to have union stations in conjunction with the Grand Trunk at Weston and Scarborough stirred the Council to protest. It was said that the civic subsidies were granted on the condition that stations should be established in the east and west parts of the city, and that the lines should be entirely independent. A committee was appointed to consult with the managers.

At the Council meeting of October 9th, 1871, the Mayor regretted to inform the Council that "at present and for several hours past a terrific conflagration is raging in Chicago. Great destruction of property has taken place and lives have been lost." His Worship suggested the nomination of a Committee to draft an address of sympathy. The address was drafted, but a more useful expression of municipal neighborliness was provided some time later, in the subscription of $10,000 which the Mayor of Chicago duly acknowledged with gratitude.

A distinguished visitor during 1871 was the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, son of the Czar Alexander II.

The Toronto Grammar School was officially recognized in 1865 and the Council made annual grants towards its maintenance. These grants were as follows: 1865, $600; 1866, $1,050; 1867, $827; 1868, $827; 1869, $850; 1870, $6,700; 1871, $4,600. The cause of the enlarged grant was found in the building of a new school at the corner of Jarvis and Carlton Streets—the beginnings of the Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute of to-day. The cost of the building was $34,030.39. At its completion there were 220 pupils, 75 of whom had lately been admitted to "the female department," which was said by the Board "to have filled a long-felt want." The pupils paid a fee of $5 each per quarter. The staff consisted of Rev. Dr. Wickson, who received $1,600 a year, Mr. A. MacMurchy, $1,200, Mr. Anderson, $800, Mr. Crawford, $600, Mr. Baigent, $250. Provision was made in the Estimates for a French and German master at a salary of $350, and for a fifth Master at $500.

The Trustees were appointed for three years and consisted of Venerable Archdeacon Fuller, Very Reverend Dean Grasett, John Greenlees, J. J. Vance, Rev. Dr. Jennings, Rev. Dr. Barclay, Lt.-Col. Geo. T. Denison and Walter S. Lee. The first four were due for retirement or re-election in 1872. Dean Grasett and Mr. Greenlees with the Mayor and Alderman Turner were chosen. The City Council considered that there should be direct representation of the Council on the Board, considering the amount of the City's annual grants.

At the time of Confederation the condition of the water-supply was perhaps the liveliest question in civic affairs. The fire-protection was still inadequate and the Fire Chief missed no occasion to show the measure of its inadequacy. In his record presented to Council in 1867 he explained that the hydrants could not provide the water required and catalogued the other sources of supply for the engines, such as municipal tanks, cisterns, and the Bay itself. There were 39 fires in 1867, with losses of $32,172. Whether by good fortune or by good management the alarms and the losses were declining. In 1864 there were 47 fires with a loss of $82,856; in 1865, 47, with a loss of $84,533; in 1866, 55, with a loss of $46,839.

Public opinion was strongly in favor of buying out the existing Company, controlled by Mr. Furniss. This Company had had an interesting career.

First, in 1842, it was the City of Toronto Gas, Light and Water Company. Then its name was changed, without material change in its habits, to the City of Toronto Water Company. In 1853 the Metropolitan Gas and Water Company was incorporated and two years later became the purchaser of all the "works, rights, privileges and franchises" of the City of Toronto Water Company. In order to secure the payment of the purchase money, the entire plant was mortgaged to Mr. Albert Furniss, of Montreal, the chief owner of the old property.

The mortgage payments were not maintained. Mr. Furniss foreclosed and the old Company's name was resumed in 1855. Two years later the City secured from Parliament the right to establish a waterworks plant and to levy a water rate, and with this power in hand, the Corporation began negotiations for the purchase of the existing plant. These negotiations continued "off and on" for some years and were not completed until 1874.

Meanwhile the Council of 1872 prepared a by-law to authorize the construction of a civic waterworks plant and named a commission of management under the chairmanship of Mr. John Worthington. The by-law was voted on by the people on May 6th, 1872, and carried by a majority of 874. It authorized the expenditure of $500,000. Thereupon the Commissioners secured the services of Thomas C. Keefer of Ottawa and E. S. Chesborough, of Chicago, experienced engineers, who recommended that the intake must be from the lake, that the water should be pumped into a filtering basin or receiving reservoir south east of the Island lighthouse, thence conveyed by a wooden aqueduct to the Bay channel, and then carried to the pumping plant on the mainland by an iron pipe—thence to a reservoir at Rose Hill. That system, with necessary modifications, exists to-day.

The Commissioners reported to Council in November, 1872, that they had offered the Furniss Estate first $200,000 and then $220,000 for the existing plant, but since these offers were declined the civic plans should be carried out without reference to the private Company. The main difficulty which arose was over the estimate of cost. The project approved of by the engineers could not be carried out for the sum authorized; yet there seemed to be no other way of securing an ample supply of good water. At least $880,000 was needed for the work. Making allowance for contingencies, and for discount on the debentures, it was found that $1,100,000 should be provided.

Already there was authorization for the borrowing of $500,000. It was necessary to submit another by-law for $600,000. This came to a vote on February 20th, 1873. The electors caused an entanglement by rejecting the by-law on a vote of 624 for and 872 against. The vote was not so much an expression of hostility towards modern waterworks as it was an expression of opinion that the Council should buy out the Furniss interests, and avoid duplication and competition.

There was a subsequent conference between representatives of the City and the Company and ultimately the transfer was made on the basis of $220,000. The adverse vote of the people was overcome by special legislation. The Provincial House gave the City authority to issue debentures on waterworks account making a total of $1,100,000.

By 1875 the total expenditure had been $1,226,711.14 and there was already a keen demand for extensions. The Commissioners in charge of the waterworks intimated that the improvements could be made for an additional $900,000. The Council provided the necessary by-law and submitted it to the qualified electorate on June 23rd, 1875. It was carried by a vote of 1,150 for and 174 against.

Under the original legislation granting Toronto the right to establish waterworks, it was provided that the administration should be in the charge of a Commission elected for two years by the people — save that the Mayor for the time being would sit *ex officio* on the Board. The Commissioners for 1872 and 1873 were John Worthington, Chairman, Hon. G. W. Allan, Samuel Platt and Robert Bell. In 1874 and 1875 Robert Bell became Chairman, and Mr. Worthington was replaced by Mr. John Greenlees. This remained the personnel of the Board until its abolition in 1877.

The Legislature had given authority at the session of 1876 for the dissolution of the Commission and the transfer of administrative authority to a Committee of the City Council — provided the electors favored such a change. The electors expressed their opinion on November 8th, 1877, 1,360 voting for dissolution and only 62 against.

A curious but not unusual psychological problem was presented to the Council and the public in 1872. One of the aldermen made a statement outside the Council Chamber that he had been offered $500 to vote for Mr. Alexander Manning, who was a candidate for the Mayoralty, but had resisted the temptation in order to vote for the re-election of Mr. Joseph Sheard. There was an inquiry before the County Judge, and so far as the evidence showed no one had ever suggested corrupting the alderman in question. Judge Duggan made some withering comment on the actions of a man who made such charges. Human distinctions are so few that some people can always be found willing to invent them, even though they be discreditable ones.

Certain minor improprieties in the management of civic funds during 1873 awakened a lively controversy between the Chamberlain, Mr. A. T. McCord and the Council's Finance Committee. Then the two auditors became involved, one on the one side and the other on the other. The vigorous exchanges between Mr. W. R. Orr and Mr. G. A. Barber make one wonder if the "mid-Victorian placidity" of which so much is heard in these days, was really placid. Here is a sample of the correspondence: "His letter is as imbecile as it is false, composed of wilful misrepresentation, contemptible insinuations, errors in dates, errors in arithmetic, bad grammar, and worse logic; the offspring of an enfeebled and diseased mind." There seems to be a suspicion that the gentlemen were in disagreement.

On April 17th, 1869, the York Pioneers' Society was formed, one of the earliest Historical associations in the country. Colonel R. L. Denison was the first President. In 1871 and 1872 Hon. W. B. Robinson presided, and was succeeded until 1875 by the Rev. Dr. James Richardson. From 1875

Mr. and Mrs. John G. Howard
Who gave High Park to the City

to 1878 the President was Rev. Saltern Givens, from 1878 to 1880, William Gooderham, Esq., Sr.

On June 7th, 1873, Mr. John G. Howard offered to the City for park purposes his magnificent farm of 165 acres, called High Park. The text of a part of the memorandum follows: "Having by dint of perseverance and integrity made nearly sufficient to retire from business upon, and having spent nearly all my earnings in improving and beautifying High Park, I have for many years wished that it should eventually become the property of the City of Toronto, as a place of public resort for the citizens, by which means I should be identified with the said City forever."

The terms proposed by Mr. Howard were that the City should pay an annuity of $1,200 on his life and on that of Mrs. Howard. For the first three years the property was to remain in his possession. After that time he would retain 45 acres fronting on the Lake with Colborne Lodge and buildings. He would undertake not to cut any timber or cordwood, save from fallen trees, provided the City observed the same rule with respect to the 120 acres. After the death of Mr. and Mrs. Howard, the whole property was to be kept as a pleasure-ground for the citizens, and to be named High Park and Colborne Lodge forever. "The Park," he wrote, "was named from its height and situation, commanding a fine view of Lake Ontario. The Lodge was named after the good Sir John Colborne."

Mr. Howard also stipulated that a small nook should be reserved for a brick grave for himself and wife, to be kept in order by the Corporation. He estimated the estate to be worth $24,200, according to this inventory: Colborne Lodge with 40 acres of ornamental grounds well fenced, $8,000; the farm house and outbuildings, with a similar amount of "ornamental ground," $6,000; 85 acres, in 8 fields, fenced, with a road turnpiked to Bloor Street, and a "fine living creek," at $120 per acre—$10,200.

As both Mr. and Mrs. Howard were over 70 years of age at this time, it was highly improbable that the amount of the annuity proposed, even at 5 per cent., would equal the inventory-value of the estate. It would have had to run for 15 years to make $24,000.

To-day land adjacent to the Park on two sides is worth at least $100 a foot frontage. One hundred feet on each side of High Park Avenue running northward from the Bloor Street gate of the Park is worth more today than the entire 165 acres of the estate with buildings, road, and "living creek," in 1873. The Council ruminated for six weeks over the question as to whether or not the offer of Mr. Howard should be accepted. On July 21st by a vote of 13 to 2, it was accepted "with thanks."

The consolidated Municipal Act of 1873 provided that all municipal Councils should be elected by the people on the first Monday in January. Since the City Council was defined as the "mayor and aldermen" the old method of choosing the mayor was abandoned. On January 6th, 1874, Francis H. Medcalf was elected mayor. He received 2,994 votes. His principal opponent, A. M. Smith, polled 2,746, and Mr. Alexander Manning was a bad third, with 476. The Council was composed of Aldermen Britton, Hamilton, Close, Martin, Davies, Blevins, Withrow, Mutton, Adamson, Boustead, Henderson, Sheard, Gearing, Downey, Spence, Mallon, Baxter, Ball, Dunn, Hayes, Farley, Colwell, Tinning and Clements.

In the list of civic employes presented to the Council of 1874 appeared the name of a junior in the City Clerk's office, receiving an emolument of $1.50 a day. His name was William A. Littlejohn, the present City Clerk. On the same list appeared the name of Richard Coady, as assistant bookkeeper, at $1,000 a year.

For many years Toronto had been contenting itself with volunteer firemen—and suffering from delays at almost every fire. The Chief and his officers were permanent employes, but they had only a partial authority over the men who were paid a retaining-fee of $125 a year, and came to fires only if it were convenient.

The Fire, Light and Gas Committee of Council reported on July 22nd, 1874, as follows: "Your Committee, having seen, while on their recent visit to Montreal, the great advantage of having at all times in readiness men necessary for the prompt and effective working of the fire apparatus, would recommend that instead of a partially paid Company, as at present, the members of which are not bound to attend or work at fires unless it suits them, there shall be a Company, the members of which shall devote their whole time and attention to their duties as firemen, and shall be at their respective fire-halls day and night."

The Committee recommended the organization of a professional Company to consist of 36 men, and intimated that the extra cost of such service would be about $12,000 a year. The Council adopted the recommendation on August 19th. The electric fire-alarm system was completed in 1872 at a cost of $20,005.25, but was considerably expanded by the time the new fire-department was constituted.

Between 1869 and 1874 the City granted railway subsidies of $700,000; $350,000 to the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, $150,000 to the Toronto and Nipissing, $100,000 to the Toronto, Simcoe and Muskoka, and $100,000 to the Credit Valley line.

In 1875 the first action was taken towards the establishment of the present Riverdale Park. From a civic viewpoint, that notice of motion, by Alderman Martin, was the most important of the year. In one other respect was the year notable; the Mayoralty contest. Mr. Francis H. Medcalf was re-elected over Mr. McCord by 523 of a majority, but the oddity was rather in the fate of a third candidate—Angus Morrison. His total vote was 2; 1 from St. Andrew's Ward, and 1 from St. Patrick's. A year later Mr. Morrison defeated Mr. Medcalf by over 1,800 majority. Democracy is fickle in her affection.

Early in the year 1876 a deputation from the Women's Christian Temperance Union, then a new society, appeared before the Council with three requests: (1) That the number of tavern licenses be limited to one for every thousand of the population; (2) that no shop licenses be granted for premises where other goods were kept for sale; and (3) that the license fee be raised to $200.

The regulation of the liquor traffic had been more and more difficult from 1870 onward. In 1874, counting taverns, shops, and wholesale warehouses there were 610 places in the city for the sale of liquor, and still the police had continuing difficulty to restrict illegal traders.

The Council was impressed by the women's arguments, for a bylaw was introduced on February 28th, reducing the tavern licenses to 215, and the shop-licenses to 100. The license fee was raised to the amount suggested, namely, $200. In 1878 there were 358 arrests for unlicensed selling. Bootlegging is by no means a novel occupation.

The aspect of a holiday crowd, by reason of excessive drinking, was often far from pleasant. *The Globe* of May 25th, 1878, thus described the conditions at the Humber on the previous day: "Towards night the scene became more disgraceful and more riotous. Several anxious women were seen endeavoring to persuade their male companions to abandon altercations with imaginary enemies and to take short siestas on the grass to sleep away their drunken stupor." The Great Western Railway had run excursion trains all day to High Park and the Humber.

The first official mention of baseball in the civic records appears with the application in 1876 of A. Ronald and others on behalf of the Clipper Baseball Club for permission to practice in Queen's Park.

During 1876 and 1877 the City's difficulties with the Toronto Street Railway Company, successors to the original Company, were intensified by action of the Legislature. The pioneer Company made agreement with the corporation to keep the roadway between the rails and for 18 inches on each side of the track in good repair, to pave it where necessary, and to construct and repair crossings. This obligation was inherited by the second Company, but it showed no inclination to enter into its inheritance. The original legislation provided that where the Company failed to do such paving or repairs, the work might be done, in a reasonable time, by the corporation and charged to the Company. The City found legal difficulties in the way, and appealed to the Legislature for aid. When the amending bill left the Private Bills Committee it contained a very curious amendment providing that where block pavement was in use and whenever Toronto made a change in the kind of pavement on any of the streets traversed by the Railway, the corporation should be bound to construct and renew the pavement "on that part of the street which the Company is bound to repair." This variation of the agreement, without the consent of the corporation, left the civic officials gasping with surprise, and started the editors of the City guessing at the cause. *The Globe* declared that the Chairman of the select committee which reported the Bill was the solicitor of the owners of the street railway—a statement that was promptly denied to the last detail as soon as the House met the next day. Owing to the agitation which arose the Legislature dealt drastically with the Committee's report, and provided that the expense of paving and maintaining the track-allowance should be borne equally by the Company and the Corporation. Even that was a variation of the agreement. It is because of frequent cases of this sort, cases in which the City was often compelled to play second fiddle to some privileged corporation, that Toronto has embraced with a whole heart the principle of Public Ownership.

The Crystal Palace and the grounds about it had been situated on the north of King Street, just in rear of the Provincial Asylum for the Insane. In 1878 the Council, energized by Alderman Withrow, determined to find a larger and more suitable site for the Provincial Exhibition and turned their eyes towards the military reserve south of the junction of Dufferin Street with the Great Western Railway. A deputation to Ottawa secured from the Government a lease of 60 acres at $100 a year, and a by-law was prepared to raise $150,000 for buildings. The site was perfect for the needs of the time (although only 450 feet of frontage on the Lake was allowed, as compared with 2,500 feet along the railway) but the people defeated the by-law, greatly to the disgust of the City Fathers. A subsequent arrangement permitted the expenditure of $50,000 from current revenues and the Toronto Industrial Exhibition got a start.

From 1872 to 1878 Lord Dufferin, as Governor-General, had captivated the admiration and affection of the people of Canada. There was so much of grace and charm in his utterances, so much of easy freedom in his manner, though he was never undignified, so much of sound common sense in his admonitions, so much of playful humor in his intercourse with all classes of the population that his influence was very great. Probably to Lord Dufferin was due the patience of British Columbia which held that Province within the Dominion, despite the languor shown by the Mackenzie administration in the construction of the Pacific Railway.

On several occasions the Governor appeared in Toronto. His last visit was in September, 1878, when he opened the first Exhibition held upon the present Exhibition Park. His introductory remarks upon that day, Tuesday, September 24th, 1878, were as follows: "Knowing that to-day for the last time I am speaking to the people of Canada what am I to say? There are many things I would desire to say at such a moment, but I dread to tread on forbidden ground. As you are well aware in all those matters which are of real and vital moment to you, I am only entitled to repeat in public such words of wisdom as my Ottawa Egerias may put into my mouth. In my own behalf it is only competent for me to expatiate in these vaporous fields of extra-political disquisition which may be floating around the solid political life of the people.

"To all moribund personages, as to Jacob when he gathered the fathers of Israel round his bedside, the privilege of monition and benediction has been granted. Happily my closing sentences need not be of such ambiguous import as those addressed by the Patriarch to Judah and his brethren. Though a country in the throes of a General Election might have some sympathy with the attitude of Issachar;* as I am not a defeated Prime Minister I have no temptation to apply to you the burden of Reuben.** What then is to be my valediction, my parting counsel to the citizens of the Dominion before I turn my face to the wall? A very few words will convey them — Love your country, believe in her, work for her, live for her; die for her."

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* "Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens."

** Reuben—"Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel."—Genesis 49.

The buildings erected for this notable Fair included a new Crystal Palace, the upper part of which was the old building on King Street. It was 292 feet long, 213 feet wide, and its height of 155 feet permitted the erection of two galleries. In the middle was a fine fountain.

Machinery Hall was 202 feet long and 72 feet wide, built of wood, with an adjoining engine-house of brick, with a stack 65 feet high. The carriage building was 252 by 42 feet. The Agriculture and Horticulture buildings were each 102 by 52 feet. The dairy building was 66 feet square, the Poultry building was cruciform — 218 feet from east to west, 85 feet from north to south, and 25 feet wide. There was an Implement shed, a Pump platform, a caretaker's dwelling near the eastern entrance, an administration building, 56 by 26 near the Main Hall, a horse ring, sheep pens, cattle sheds, horse stables, piggeries, feed barns, etc., and the whole "plant" was erected in about four months. The Palace was built in 90 working days. For the opening Mr. F. H. Torrington with the Toronto Philharmonic Society appeared, the choir singing with fine effect "The Heavens are Telling" and the "Hallelujah Chorus."

The architects responsible for the designs of the buildings were Messrs. Stuart and Strickland. Praise was their portion. To us in this day of an expanded city it seems strange to read that there were two ways of reaching the grounds, either by the special trains of the Great Western Railway, running every half-hour, or by the excursion steamers leaving the Yonge Street wharf. The Fair was a conspicuous success. On Wednesday, September 25th, the attendance was about 45,000. The paid admissions on the following day were 31,980. Since Monday of the week was given to preparation, there were only four actual fair-days — from Tuesday to Friday inclusive.

During the week of the Fair Lord Dufferin and his party attended the Grand Opera House where Miss Ada Cavendish was appearing as "Pauline" in "The Lady of Lyons." Mr. Augustus Pitou, known in our time as a New York producing manager, was the "Claude Melnotte" of the performance. About this time Adelaide Neilson was a regular visitor to Toronto. She had appeared on January 2nd in the previous year as "Juliet," with Mr. Plympton as "Romeo," but had depended upon the stock company of the Grand to fill the other rôles in the play.

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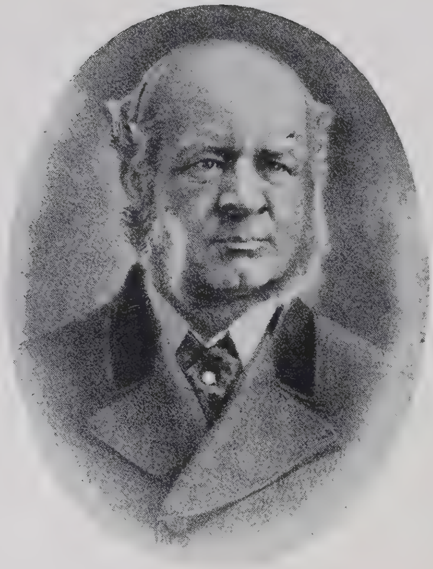
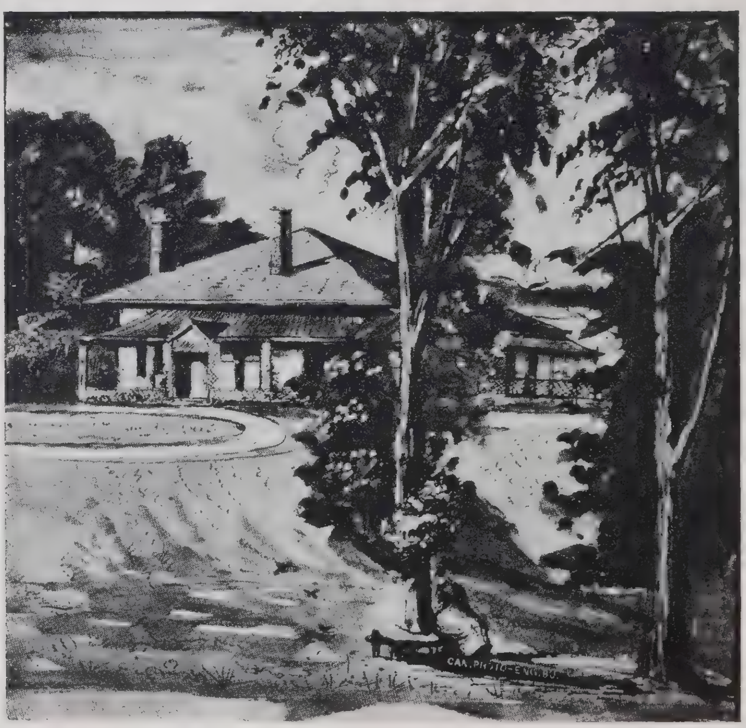
CHAPTER IV.

IN THE 'EIGHTIES



Hon. John Beverley Robinson
Mayor, 1856



CAN. PHOTO-ENG. BU.

Sleepy Hollow, Mayor Robinson's Residence,
College St., between McCaul St. and University Ave.

CHAPTER IV.

IN THE 'EIGHTIES

IN THE late 'seventies began the Odyssey of Edward Hanlan, a professional oarsman. For many years rowing had been a popular sport in Toronto, and Toronto crews had been found at times on the Detroit River and even in Lake Michigan. But the boats were heavy and clumsy and the crews succeeded more by main strength than by style or finesse. In 1870, Joseph H. Sadler, an Englishman, came to America and had no difficulty in defeating all who appeared against him. Probably this visit was responsible for a livelier interest in the sport. Certainly it was responsible for various American inventions which revolutionized general practice in boat-building and made the modern shell one of the most ingenious of racing machines. The sliding seat was invented by Walter Brown. Outriggers were improved and swivel rowlocks were mounted upon them. By this means the American oarsmen were able to show such speed that the British builders were forced to take cognizance of the improvements. Rowing was an international sport when young Hanlan was ready for his first race.

Edward Hanlan was born in Toronto on July 12th, 1855 and when he was a small boy his father moved to the Island to keep hotel there. The lad was practically amphibious, making friends with the fishermen and learning all they could teach him about rowing. He was one of a crew which rowed in a race on Toronto Bay in 1871, but his first single-scull race in a shell took place in 1873 when he defeated Sam Williams and McKen for the championship of the Bay. A year later he received a money prize and thus became a professional by beating Thomas Louden for the championship of Burlington Bay. There was a return match in 1875 on Toronto Bay when Louden was defeated again, the stakes being $100 a side and a medal offered by the Governor-General. By 1876 Hanlan was Champion of Ontario and had won a belt offered by the Toronto Rowing Club.

It was the year of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and one of the features of that notable celebration was a regatta on the Schuylkil open to all comers. Hanlan resolved to have a try for the prize and set out for Philadelphia despite the guffaws of the sporting Solons of Toronto. He did the three-mile course in 21m. 9½s., the fastest time on record, defeating Patrick Luther, F. A. Plaisted, Harry Coulter a former champion of America and Alexander Brayley of Halifax. On his return home he was greeted with a torchlight procession and his friends subscribed to a handsome testimonial.

In 1877 he won from Plaisted and "Frenchy" Johnson at Silver Lake. At Boston he fouled Plaisted at the turning stake and was ruled off the course. In August at Springfield, Mass., he defeated Wallace Ross with ease.

He began the season of 1878 by beating Plaisted on Toronto Bay in a two-mile straightaway race. On July 1st at Brockville in a four-mile race he defeated Plaisted, Riley, Ten Eyck, Pat. Luther, John A. Kennedy, McKen and Elliott, and three days later at Cape Vincent repeated the dose.

At the end of the month he was found at St. John, N.B., in a matched race with Wallace Ross. Ross fell out of his shell, and Hanlan paddled home the winner. On August 12th there was a more satisfactory race at Barrie when Ross and Hosmer were handily beaten. On October 3rd he won from Courtenay at Lachine.

In the early part of the season of 1879 Hanlan was in England beating John Hawdon and later William Elliott on the Tyne. He returned to this side of the Atlantic and rowed a dead heat at Barrie on August 18th against Riley. He was not in condition, and refused to row-off the tie.

In 1880 he defeated Courtney on the Potomac at Washington; then going over to England made a show of Edward A. Trickett over the Henley course. The date of this remarkable race was November 15th, 1880. Hanlan played all manner of tricks during the race; drawing away from his opponent, then dawdling, waving to the people on the bank, and even falling down in his shell as if overcome. One writer describing the race said that Hanlan was as full of antics as a clown. Officially he won by three lengths, he might have won easily by ten.

Edward Hanlan was not a giant by any means. He stood 5 feet 8¼ inches and rowed at about 152 pounds. But he had astonishing stamina, and his style was perfect. He was a man of attractive manners and appearance, took good care of himself — and of his backers — and was worthy of the enormous popularity which he won. The public notice of his performances brought to Toronto and to Canada was of great value to the young city, then approaching the 100,000 mark, and undoubtedly the free lease granted to him of a part of the Island was fully justified. His admirers bought him a home worth $20,000.

Hanlan was beaten in 1884 by William Beach of Australia — and Time. He was always held in regard by his fellow-citizens and for some time before his too-early death served in the City Council as an Alderman.

By creating an Exhibition plant in ninety days at a cost of $75,000 the City Council had given proof that Toronto was deserving of something better than being the sharer with other cities in the peripatetic Provincial Fair. The large attendance at the Show of 1878 fully justified the action of the civic authorities and was a tacit encouragement for them to go one step farther and set up an annual Fair. Hamilton, London, Kingston and Guelph had already taken similar action so there could be no question of disloyalty towards the Provincial organization. In March, 1879, the Industrial Exhibition Association was organized with the following officers: President, John J. Withrow; first Vice-President, W. F. McMaster; second Vice-President, William Rennie; Manager and Treasurer, James McGee; solicitor, W. G. McWilliams; secretary, H. J. Hill. Incorporation was sought and secured from the Legislature, and on June 9th a City by-law was passed leasing to the Industrial Exhibition Association the new Park, buildings and appurtenances "being all the lands comprised in the indenture of lease dated the 25th of April, 1878, between Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, acting through the Honorable the Minister of Militia and Defence of the first part, and the corporation of the City of Toronto of the second part." The Association was under obligation to hold an annual Exhibition extending over a period of 14 days, and to offer at least $20,000 in prizes. In return it was granted the right to hold the Park for the period of the Exhibition, the City to resume control for the rest of the year. All surplus funds were to be used in the erection of additional buildings and for the improvement of the Fair.

The result of the Exhibition of 1879 was an income of $52,500. Of this, $20,000 was spent for prizes, $20,000 for general expenses and $12,500 on capital account. There were over 100,000 paid admissions.

Under this constitution the Exhibition has grown in importance from year to year until it is now the largest and most complete annual Fair in the world, with annual paid admissions exceeding one million. Further details concerning the Exhibition and its history will be found elsewhere in this work.

The difficulties of financing the construction of 1878, owing to the opposition of the electors qualified to vote on money by-laws was reflected in the position of the Civic Treasury as reported to the Council of 1879. For a number of years before this the annual tax-rate had been about 15 mills. In 1877 it was 19½ mills. If all the extraordinary expenditure had been placed in current account the rate for 1878 would have been 26 mills. Twenty mills was collected during the early part of the year, and Alderman Turner presented a plan for consolidating the civic debt, which, if adopted, would make unnecessary the collection of the other six mills. The extraordinary expenditure consisted of Sinking Fund, $275,841; Exhibition outlay, $100,000; school buildings, $45,000; Waterworks construction, $65,000. The City had borrowed $100,000 on heavy interest and had made the tax-levy already described. Alderman Turner proposed to issue debentures for $6,000,000 at a rate not to exceed 5% and for a term of 50 years; the proceeds to be held in trust for the maturing obligations of the City. The scheme went before the electors on January 6th, 1879, and was approved by a vote of 3,236 for and 1,982 against. Tacked to it had been an extreme local improvement regulation to the effect that all street improvements should be defrayed by direct tax on the property benefitted. But influence against this feature of the scheme was too strong and for the time being it was shelved.

Despite the approval of Alderman Turner's plan of funding the debt the alderman's run for the Mayoralty was unsuccessful. Still he had plenty of company. Six candidates were in the field, the vote being as follows: Turner, 778; Manning, 1,097; Medcalf, 140; Close, 2,163; Britton, 718; Beaty, 2,780. Mr. James Beaty therefore was elected as a minority Mayor. There were 4,886 votes against him.

In connection with the first Industrial Exhibition the city newspapers printed a list of buildings and institutions which would be of interest to visitors. Tourists were directed to gaze upon the old, old, Union Station on York Street, the Custom House on the southwest corner of Yonge and Front Streets, the Bank of Montreal across the way, and the American Hotel, which stood on the site of the old Board of Trade building. The Queen's Hotel and the Walker House were mentioned, likewise the Four Corners at King and Simcoe; Government House, Upper Canada College, St. Andrew's Church, and a saloon—legislation, education, salvation, dam-nation. The Rossin House (now the Prince George), the Canada Life Building and the new Dominion Bank Building on King Street were deemed worthy of a glance, and the Receiver-General's office on Toronto Street, formerly the Post Office, was particularly favored. This very fine building is not regarded nowadays with the respect which its architecture merits. The Churches included the Metropolitan, St. Michael's, St. James's, Cooke's, St. James's Square, Jarvis Street Baptist, Old St. Andrew's, and Knox—then situated on Queen Street on the site now occupied in part by the Robert Simpson Company store. Shaftesbury Hall was opposite Knox Church and here the Young Men's Christian Association was installed; the Ontario Veterinary College was on Temperance Street. Of course, mention was made of the Grand Opera House, the Mechanics' Institute, the Normal School and the Colleges. Even in 1879 Toronto was no mean city.

Among the important business firms of the period were John Kay, W. and D. Dineen, J. and J. Lugsdin, J. H. Rogers, Thomas Thompson and Sons, Robert Walker and Son, Pelley and Dineen, W. A. Murray and Company, J. M. Treble, Brown Brothers, John Macdonald and Co., A. R. McMaster and Brother, Darling, Cockshutt and Co., Rice Lewis and Son, and Wyld, Brock and Darling.

A summary showed the existence of 19 public schools, of which Dufferin, Ryerson and Wellesley were counted as "large and handsome," five separate schools, 22 Episcopal churches, 14 Presbyterian, 17 Methodist, 7 Roman Catholic and 5 Congregational. The Reformed Episcopal, the Catholic Apostolic, the Unitarian and the Lutheran churches were in existence and there was a Jewish synagogue on Richmond Street east of Victoria.

One of the show-places of the city was the grounds of the Cricket Club on McCaul Street, running through to University Avenue. The field was 520 feet long and contained 5½ acres.

Loyalty to the British Crown had been a main principle of action with the founders of Upper Canada and of Toronto. With their successors it was something more than a mere principle; it was a passion. The colors of chivalry and romance were woven into the fabric of this loyalty, for after all the Queen was a lonely and pathetic figure as well as a regal one. Those who imagine that political science is scientific, even in slight measure, will not appreciate to the full the magic of Victoria's name in a city five thousand miles from Windsor. It was sentiment that made the Queen's Birthday a festival almost delirious in its enthusiasm, while the national holiday known as Dominion Day was celebrated with polite languor. Ulstermen and Southern Irish, however they might differ concerning their private days of rejoicing, were united on the 24th of May. Stern non-conformists, for all their puritan distaste of frivolity, bought fire-crackers for the children on this day, for was not the Queen the first moralist of the Kingdom?

It was sentiment that filled the streets of Toronto with people when Her Majesty's eldest son came in 1860, when his brother, Prince Arthur, arrived a few years later. The press correspondents from England were puzzled at an enthusiasm which brought country folk for many miles to stand all day in pouring rain, and cheer. Press correspondents are sophisticated folk who often are dazed by frank *naïvété* and turn away in doubt from an obvious explanation of any phenomenon. The plain truth is that the people of this city and the surrounding country were in love with Victoria Regina. They idealized her and her Throne and were proud to be her subjects. It is just as certain that they were in no wise dazzled by British statesmen or entranced in contemplation of the nobility. On all points relating to the freedom of Canadians, their happiness and comfort, British policy was scrutinized carefully and from time to time cordially denounced. The Upper Canadian was sorry for the Queen — forced to take advice from unthinking persons like Northbrooke and Granville, and De Grey.

Lord Dufferin was quick to discern the strength of the Monarchy in the affections of the people and played incessantly upon that string, to his own popularity and to the undoubted strengthening of British connection. One likes to believe that he had something to do with the choice of his successor, for the adroitness of the statecraft which sent the Marquess of Lorne to Rideau Hall cannot be denied. Lord Lorne's wife was the Princess Louise, the Queen's beloved daughter. The country set itself to give Her Royal Highness the reception her Family deserved — and regarded the Marquess with cool complacency as a desirable young man wonderfully blessed in his marriage.

When the Governor and his lady officially visited Toronto on the occasion of the Exhibition of 1879 they were greeted by 6,000 singing children from the Public and Separate Schools. Of these the special favor of presenting bouquets and other complimentary impedimenta to the Princess came to Lucy Robins, Martha Fortune, Annie Chown, Lulu Palmer, Miss Delaney and Miss Stack. Her Royal Highness was dressed in light blue striped silk with Royal blue velvet sleeves. Her hat was of blue silk and velvet and was swept by a blue ostrich plume. Then there was a procession along Front Street to Yonge and northward to Carlton, thence to the Horticultural Gardens. All the way a myriad flags were fluttering and there were splendid evergreen arches at the principal street corners.

At the Gardens Mayor Beaty read the formal civic address, which was in the usual strain of high compliment, and then the Princess was invited to plant a tree — a Scottish pine in compliment to the Argyle family. In responding to the address the Marquess said: "The character of this great reception and the magnificence of your preparations to welcome the representative of your Sovereign form a demonstration for which I was not prepared." But it was in no sense for that representative. He need not have flattered himself—the dear young man! Everything was for the Princess Louise; the night illuminations, the Lacrosse Match and the Regatta, the Drawing Room on Saturday night, September 6th, when Her Royal Highness appeared in white ribbon silk with black velvet fringe and garlands of artificial cherries for trimming, a diamond and pearl necklace, and a diamond coronet, and the grand ball on the following Tuesday evening.

Before the memory of the celebration in honor of the Princess Louise had died away she and her husband were brought into imminent danger at Ottawa. As they were coming from Rideau Hall to a drawing-room in the Parliament Buildings on February 5th, 1880, in a closed sleigh, their team became unmanageable and ran away, overturning the sleigh and dragging it on its side for some four hundred yards. Both the Governor and the Princess had serious bruises. The City Council passed a resolution congratulating them on their marvellous escape.

On February 23rd, 1880, the Provincial Commissioner of Public Works laid on the table of the Legislature plans for new Parliament Buildings to be situated in Queen's Park. The present building was opened in April, 1892. The contracts, including furnishings, made a total of $1,227,963. Since that period elaborate improvements and additions have been made.

A name of some note in civic annals made its first appearance in the Minutes of Council on Monday, December 13th, 1880. There was a communication from Mr. R. J. Fleming, asking to be allowed to assign his contract for the supplying of hay for the horses of the Corporation to Mr. Thomas W. Elliott. The Council granted the request.

On September 14th, 1880, Mayor Beebe and the City Council of Buffalo, with President Westbury and the Council of Rochester were the guests of the Corporation. The visitors were 120 strong and were received with much heartiness and cordiality. After a reception at the City Hall there was a banquet at the Exhibition grounds and much oratory about the inter-twining of the Stars and Stripes with the Union Jack. An appreciative reporter added this sentence to the record: "The refreshments were of the best."

The season of navigation in 1880 closed in disaster. There was a storm of uncommon violence during the 7th and 8th of November, and another even worse about the 20th. This last was followed immediately by zero weather which froze up the canals sheltering many vessels and locked scores of wheat-laden barges in the ice. Over 20 vessels were wrecked on the lakes with a loss of 56 lives. From 50 to 100 other boats sustained damage of more or less importance, and there was great misery and suffering among the crews which brought dismasted craft to port. With hull, decks and rigging sheathed with ice, and heavy seas running the sailors had cause to remember their experience.

A protest, expressed with violence, was made in 1880 against the introduction of an organ into Cooke's Presbyterian Church. Mr. James W. McMichael, the leader of the "music circle," which, apparently was a euphuistic name for a choir, was conducting a rehearsal on the evening of December 10th. By authority, he had brought in a reed organ. The meeting was invaded by a group of members opposed to the use of instrumental music in church, and the "kist o' whustles"—or reeds—was removed; only after a struggle. The case was aired in the Police Court and Mr. McMichael entered a civil suit as well. To those of the younger generation in this century, such a tale must make 1880 seem curiously remote.

George Bennett who had been employed for some years in the engine room of *The Globe* was discharged for periodical intemperance. On March 25th, 1880, being still only semi-sober, he called on the Hon. George Brown, engaged him in conversation, then drew a revolver. The Senator, despite his age, grappled with Bennett and diverted his aim, but the pistol was discharged and the bullet took effect in Mr. Brown's hip. The wound at first seemed not to be serious, but it did not heal easily. From the effect of the shock the Senator's health declined and on May 10th he died. The community was shocked because of the prominence of the victim and the trivial reasons for the assault. The City Council passed a resolution declaring "that on an occasion such as the present, all party feeling is hushed and every dividing sentiment merged in the recognition of the eminent talent, high patriotism and loyal citizenship of the late Senator." It said also that he had fully earned his position as one of the foremost of Canada's public and representative men. Mr. Brown established his reputation as something more than a mere politician when he joined with his personal and political enemy to make Confederation possible. A month after Senator Brown died, his assailant was convicted of murder and in July he was executed.

The election for the Mayoralty in January, 1881, resulted as follows: James Britton, 590; P. G. Close, 2,950; William Barclay McMurrich, 4,111.

That the business of the Works Department had not been conducted on a sufficiently rigid system was made apparent in the autumn of 1881 when a signed contract in the possession of civic officials disappeared for some time. When it was found again in its accustomed place the penalty clause had been burned out of the document. There was an investigation by the County Judge, and looseness of method was proved. As a result of this inquiry the whole system of dealing with contracts was reorganized and a series of air-tight regulations drawn up by the Works Committee.

Always it seems that some extraordinary accident must happen before any Government, national or municipal, can organize any suitable inspection system for the prevention of accidents. On May 24th, 1881, a wholesale drowning in the River Thames near London was caused by the flimsy construction of the river-boat *Victoria.* As a result of that tragedy the law governing the operation of passenger steamers plying out of Toronto was greatly strengthened, to the immense advantage of the travelling public.

In a previous chapter mention has been made of the Chicago Canadians who returned to this country at the time of the Fenian Raid to offer their services in helping to repel the invaders. Mr. John Allen was appointed Lieutenant of the Company and he and his associates were lavishly complimented and entertained. At one of the official receptions in their honor a flag was presented to the Company.

In the year 1881, fifteen years afterwards, Mr. Allen returned the flag to the City, after it had been for some time in his custody. On the motion of Alderman Denison the thanks of the City were tendered to Lieut. John Allen "for his patriotism in protecting the flag and in presenting it to the Corporation when it was no longer needed as a rallying signal for loyal Canadians in the United States." The resolution also declared that the flag should be preserved in the City Hall and kept in grateful remembrance of the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Allen and his associates. It is now preserved in the attic.

The assassination of President Garfield in 1881 brought expressions of sympathy with our neighbors of the great Republic. The City Council appointed Mayor McMurrich and the City Clerk as a deputation to attend the funeral at Cleveland on Monday, September 26th, and for two hours on that afternoon all business in Toronto was suspended. The resolution of condolence was engrossed and sent to the British Minister at Washington for presentation to the Secretary of State. An acknowledgment from Hon. James G. Blaine was received towards the end of the year.

The Mayor, like other civic representatives had been more or less interested in the project of Mr. Alderman Davies to straighten the tortuous lower course of the Don. While in Cleveland he observed the way the Cuyahoga River had been taken in hand and compelled to flow where it would be of advantage to industry. He saw no reason why the Don should not be similarly ordered. Alderman Davies, seeing no possibility of interesting Council in the project had organized a Company, with the object of getting expropriation powers from the Federal Parliament, taking possession of the waste riparian land, reclaiming it, and leasing it to manufacturers. On the face of it, the scheme was highly speculative, but it was approved nevertheless by the House of Commons.

The Senate evidently considered it hasty and ill-considered legislation, particularly when the Grand Trunk Railway opposed the Bill and when the City Council requested delay in order to examine the project more carefully. The Mayor was requisitioned to call a public meeting to consider the situation. This assembly, held on October 8th, 1881, heard the plea of the promoters of the Company, the objections of Mr. John Smith who saw no merit in a plan which would take away his own property in order to lease it to him thereafter, and the views of certain public men who believed that the City should undertake the work. Mr. W. H. Doel said that if the river were straightened the water would be purified and fever and ague would be banished. Preventive Medicine had not yet traced to a certain species of mosquito the infective agent of malaria.

The City Engineer estimated that the cost of the Improvement would be in the neighborhood of $500,000, and the meeting favored getting on with the work under civic authority.

The beginnings of a modern improvement which has transformed every considerable city in the world appeared in Toronto on May 23rd, 1881, when Mr. R. H. Lunt applied to the Council for permission to erect the necessary apparatus for lighting the City by electricity. Some members of Council were not disposed to accede to such a request, and Alderman Hallam was responsible for the following resolution: "Since electric light for the illumination of public thoroughfares has passed beyond the region of experiment and is designed at no distant period to supersede coal gas as a street illuminant, be it resolved that Council take means as early as possible to have the centre of the city lit up with electric light, and that a committee be appointed by the Mayor to get all information necessary, as to cost of construction and maintenance — and that the Council keep the same under their control."

On October 19th, 1881, the Mayor named to the Committee, Alderman Hallam, Alderman Kent, Alderman Clarke and Alderman Lobb.

On September 5th, 1881, died Mr. Andrew T. McCord, who served as City Chamberlain, or Treasurer, from the incorporation of Toronto in 1834 to the year 1874.

Politically the years 1881 and 1882 were comparatively uninteresting. The only topic of discussion was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Conservatives regarded the work with enthusiastic optimism. Liberals were sunk in perpetual gloom. There was much activity in the City of Toronto to make sure of a connection with the main line at North Bay.

A list of the Parks in existence in 1882 follows: Riverdale, 7½ acres; Horticultural Gardens, 10 1-6 acres; Clarence Square 1 3-5 acres; Island Park (established by by-law in 1880), 200 acres; Queen's Park, 112 acres; High Park, 120 acres; St. Patrick's Square, one-half acre; St. Andrew's Market Square, 2¼ acres; the Jail Farm, 100 acres. Much of this open land was unimproved, and there was a lively public opinion favorable to the enlargement of the park system and the betterment of existing "breathing-spots."

The Public Library of the City of Toronto had its inception on January 17th, 1881, when Alderman Hallam moved in Council that it was desirable and expedient that such an institution should be established. At the same time he suggested that a by-law should be enacted, imposing an annual tax of ¼ of a mill for Library purposes. In case the City had no authority to pass such a by-law, the Alderman urged that the necessary powers should be secured from the Legislature.

Alderman Hallam spared neither time nor expense in the effort to inform the public concerning the advantages of a Public Library maintained by taxpayers as a public utility. In 1881 he published a pamphlet entitled "Notes by the Way," which summarized the results of his enquiries in Great Britain, France and Germany, assembled facts concerning American libraries and showed that the good work begun by Dr. Ryerson in the establishment of school and county libraries should be continued on a more satisfactory basis. Alderman Taylor seconded this effort by the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Facts for the Citizens." The keynote of his appeal is found in the following sentence: "Surely we ought not to be outdone by every small manufacturing city in New England." The *Citizen*, a weekly paper, offered prizes for Essays by workingmen on the advantages of a Public Library. Alderman Taylor, James L. Hughes and J. W. Bengough judged the performance and awarded prizes to T. K. Henderson, a compositor, H. M. Evans, a compositor, and H. M. Williams, a law-clerk.

Mayor McMurrich was elected for a second term and served with commendable efficiency during 1882. In the course of his inaugural address he referred to the fact that preliminary discussions had taken place looking to the annexation of Yorkville, and made the suggestion that arrangements should be made for the proper celebration of the semi-centennial of the City in the year 1884.

During the year there were discussions about the erection of a new City Hall. One suggestion, more novel than useful, was that the building should be set at the southern end of University Avenue, the traffic being accommodated by covered arches.

Alderman Boswell and Alderman Defoe fathered a resolution of regret at the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in Phoenix

Park, Dublin, coupling with it the hope that there might be an era of better feeling in Ireland.

There was a good deal of concern manifested at the prospect of the absorption by the Great Western Railway of the Credit Valley line, which the City had bonused to an amount of $350,000 on the understanding that it was to continue as an independent road.

One of the most exciting Mayoralty contests in the story of the City occurred in 1883 when Mr. A. R. Boswell and Mr. J. J. Withrow strove for the honor. The City Clerk's declaration returned Mr. Boswell by a majority of 5, the vote being 4,289 to 4,284. A recount was demanded, but by the time of the first Council meeting no decision had been rendered. The recount gave 29 additional votes to Mr. Withrow but 201 ballots were reserved by the Judge for consideration. Mr. Boswell questioned the propriety of taking office before the final decision, but on the advice of counsel he did so. His election was confirmed.

In the course of his inaugural address Mayor Boswell declared that during the recount he had been impressed by the apparent looseness and carelessness shown in many of the returns made. He expressed the view that vote by ballot was far from perfect.

His Worship, in outlining the work to be done during the year, mentioned the necessity for constructing twelve miles of pavement, completing the Esplanade new street, providing many miles of sewers, including a trunk sewer, and straightening the Don. Inasmuch as the Dominion Government offered a grant to every city appointing and maintaining a Medical Health Officer, the Mayor suggested that such a permanent official should be named for Toronto. In the course of the year Dr. William Canniff was appointed.

The approval of the people having been obtained for the establishment of a Public Library, a by-law was passed, giving authority for the purchase of the Mechanics' Institute at Church and Adelaide Streets. The real estate was worth $35,000. There were 10,750 books in the library which with furniture and fixtures were valued at over $17,000. Altogether the assets were calculated at nearly $45,000; the liabilities at $21,000. From this modest beginning the great Toronto Public Library has come to maturity. To Mr. Alderman Hallam and Mr. Alderman Taylor the credit was mainly due for rousing public opinion on the subject.

There is a curiously modern smack in the following extract from a speech by Alderman Clarke delivered on the motion that the Estimates of 1883 should be adopted. He said: "In the case of the School Board the people have direct representation and ought to hold the School Trustees responsible for their expenditure. But everyone knows that it is not so. The Aldermanic Board is held responsible for every tax-levy, no matter by whom ordered. The Aldermanic Board in such cases is the cat's-paw, to take the chestnuts out of the fire, while the School Board sits and grins at the contortions we have to make while engaged in that dangerous operation. . . . When a man gets his tax-paper all he looks at is the amount, and all he says is — well, I won't repeat what he says, but he does not bless the Aldermen. The School

Board this year has demanded $175,000 or $33,000 more than last year, and we have to find the money." The population of Toronto at this time, as returned by the assessors, was 86,585.

Mayor McMurrich's suggestion that there should be a celebration of Toronto's fiftieth civic birthday caught the imagination of the people. During the first week of July, 1884, the semi-centennial ceremonies took place and were a complete success. Not alone were the arrangements beyond criticism and the organization thoroughly sound, but the people caught the carnival spirit, turned out in thousands for every event, and showed an excellent civic patriotism.

The City Council of 1883 had granted to the Committee of organization $1,000 for preliminary expenses; a further contribution of $10,000 was made by the Council of 1884 and a large sum was raised by private subscription. The Aldermen who represented the Council on the Committee of which ex-Mayor McMurrich was Chairman were: Aldermen Barton, Brandon, Hunter, Steiner, Defoe, Sheppard, Blevins, Pape, Maughan and Moore.

The celebration began on June 30th, with a municipal and historical procession, Alderman Piper being chief marshal and having the assistance of Captain Hughes, T. McIlroy, Jr., T. Lloyd, Adjutant Manley, John Beaty, F. Lysens and C. Mead. There were half a dozen bands, followed by the Council and other public bodies, the firemen, the York Pioneers, and a succession of tableaux, or "floats," as we call them now. These were representations of important scenes in the annals of the City. There was an Indian Wigwam, the Occupation of the British, The Home of the Early Settlers, the Landing of Governor Simcoe, the Naming of York Harbor, the First Parliament, the Incorporation of the City, Toronto as an Agricultural Centre, Toronto as an Educational Centre, Toronto the Queen City. Some of the floats were 20 feet high; all were elaborate and beautiful.

In the procession there were a number of elder citizens, some who had been born in Toronto, some who had come here in the early days. The date following each name cited in the following list indicates the beginning of their Toronto citizenship. Dr. Scadding, 1821; W. H. Doel, 1827; Major Paul, 1823; William Lea, 1820; Eli Crawford, 1820; James Stitt, 1826; Capt. J. Stoutenburgh, 1821; Rev. C. E. Thomson, 1832; Allan Wilcox, ——; Henry VanderSmissen, 1833; William Hallowell, 1820; William Iredale, 1832; John Iredale, 1832; Henry Brock, 1817; James Menzies, 1818; Robert Leslie, 1826; Alexander Muir, 1833; Elisha Edmunds, 1832; and Norman Milliken, 1807.

Two buggies, 60 years old, provided accommodation for N. A. Gamble, 1817; James Pickering, 1830; P. Graham, 1832; and John Bright. Mr. Bright was born at Three Rivers in 1793 and served all through the war of 1812 and 1814. He was the Nestor of the parade and received many cheers.

At the Exhibition Park Mayor Boswell took the chair and introduced the speakers. These included President Daniel Wilson of the University, and the Mayor of Philadelphia whose cordial message of good will was much appreciated. After the York Pioneers had presented a silver medal to Dr. Scadding for his useful work as historiographer of Toronto, the Mayor announced that Mr. Banks would play on his clarinet the same airs that he played on the occasion of the incorporation of the City fifty years before. Mr. Banks performed Auld Lang Syne and the National Anthem and won the hearty cheers of the populace.

In the evening there was a torchlight procession directed by the firemen, and a fancy dress ball at the Pavilion in the Horticultural Gardens. Some of the costumes were as original as they were beautiful. Miss Maud Hirschfelder appeared as the Electric Light, Mrs. John Cosgrove was an Egyptian Princess and Miss Wall appeared in an illustration of the common saying: "For goodness' sake don't say I told you."

The decorations of the city were uncommonly attractive both by day and night. Arches, flags and streamers of bunting illumined the day, and the streets at night presented, in the words of an erring printer "a milky whey of radiant loveliness."

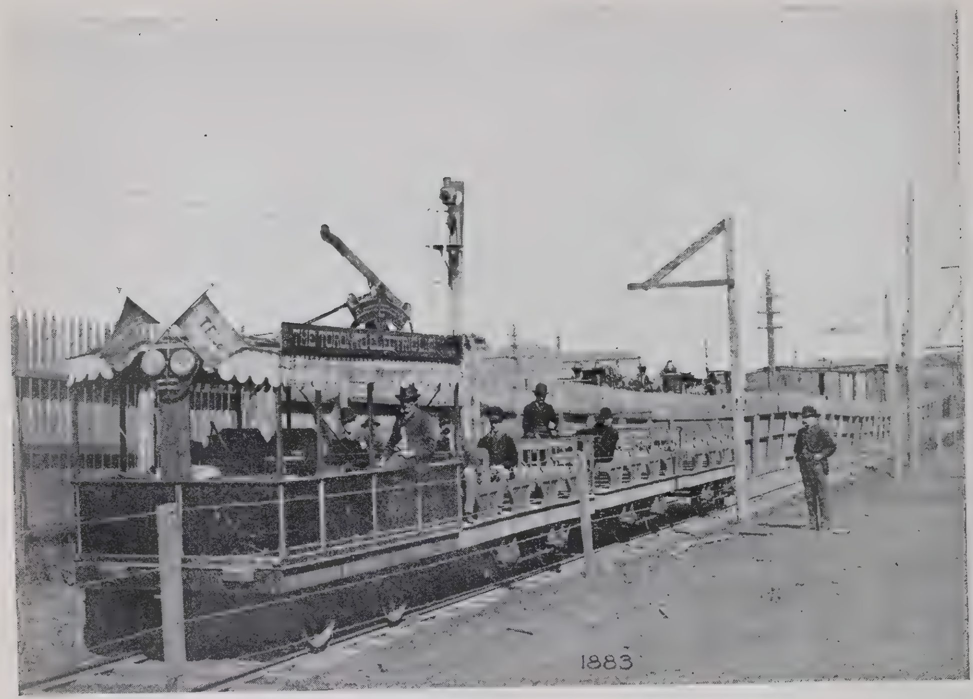
On Dominion Day there was a military review and march past of about 3,700 volunteers. The Governor-General's Body Guard under Lt.-Col. George T. Denison, represented the cavalry. The artillery consisted of the Toronto Field Battery, Major Gray; the Hamilton Field Battery, Major Van Wagner; the Welland Field Battery, Major King.

The infantry included the Governor-General's Foot Guards, Ottawa, Lt.-Col. Ross; the Sixth Fusiliers, Montreal, Lt.-Col. Gardiner; the Tenth Royal Grenadiers, Lt.-Col. Grasett; the 12th York Rangers, Lt.-Col. Wyndham; the 34th Battalion (Ontario), Lt.-Col. O'Donovan; the 77th Battalion (Wentworth) Lt.-Col. Brown; the 36th (Peel) Lt.-Col. Tyrwhitt; the Queen's Own, Lt.-Col. Miller.

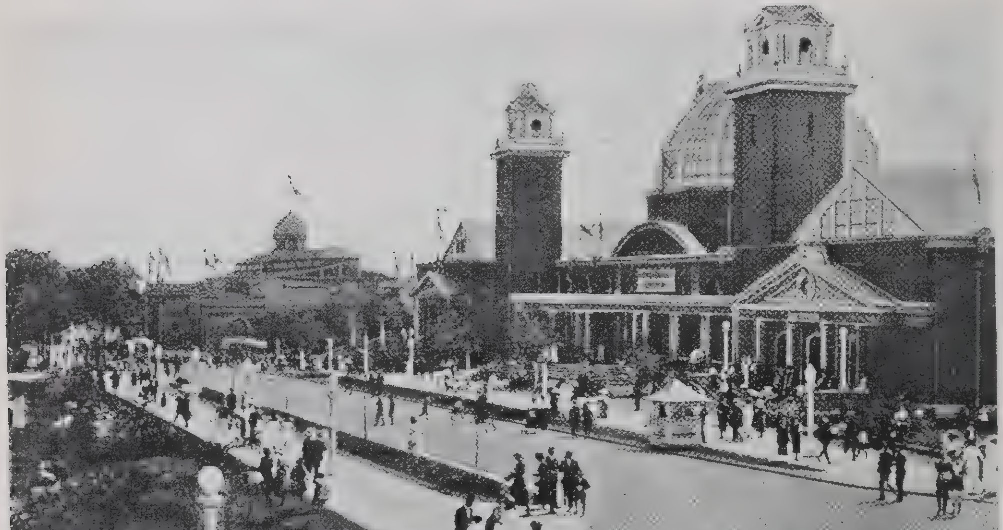
The heat was very great, and the route long, but the citizens were out in full force to cheer and the scene was most inviting. In the afternoon there was a Bicycle Parade of Clubs from neighboring cities and towns with full representation of the many Toronto Clubs. Captain A. T. Webster was marshal. This procession ended at the Rosedale Lacrosse grounds where a programme of bicycle races was provided. Mr. P. E. Doolittle won the half-mile event "without hands." Fireworks in Allan Gardens, a band concert, and a military banquet were the events of the evening.

On the third day, July 2nd, there was a Labor Parade five miles long, diversified with all kinds of "floats" representing the various trades. The Massey Manufacturing Company had in line a sample of each variety of agricultural machine produced in their factory, and displayed proudly a banner bearing this information: "Employs 425 men; 11,000 machines this year's production." At night the Philharmonic Society under F. H. Torrington presented "The Creation" in the Horticultural Pavilion, with 300 voices in the chorus and an orchestra of 45.

July 3rd was United Empire Loyalists' Day, when Dr. Canniff presided at the public meeting and Lt.-Col. Denison was the principal speaker. There was a reception by the Lieutenant-Governor and in the evening fireworks on the Bay. The Philharmonic sang Gounod's "Redemption," first performed in Toronto on December 13th, 1882, which was the fourth performance in the world, and specially revived for this festal occasion. Rain marred the arrangements for July 4th and 5th, but the school children appeared on the 5th and sang Mr. J. D. Edgar's song "This Canada of Ours," for the first



First Commercial Electric Railway in America.
Operated at Toronto Exhibition, 1883.



Exhibition Grounds
Showing Government Building on Right

time. The Lieutenant-Governor laid the corner stone of the monument in the Exhibition ground marking the site of Fort Rouillé, and Dr. Scadding delivered the address of circumstance.

Street-lighting by electricity was practical by 1884 and there was a lively demand to see the big arcs fizzing at the street-corners. The Canadian Electric Light and Manufacturing Company and the Toronto Electric Light Company were asked to submit tenders for the erection and maintenance of 50 lamps of 2,000 candle-power each. After a good deal of discussion and delay the contract went to the Toronto Company at 62c per light per night. Two lamps were installed in the Council Chamber — not with conspicuous success, for on November 17th, Alderman Moore gave notice of motion to the effect that "as the two electric lights in the Council Chamber are a nuisance, they be removed forthwith." The Alderman's anger evidently was deep-seated for he also moved that steps be taken at the earliest possible moment to terminate the use of electric lights by the City and to secure the removal of the poles and wires from the streets.

The action of Council in awarding the contract to the Toronto Company did not escape criticism. *The Globe* promptly smelt a "job" and insisted that 62 cents was an extravagant price. "It is no wonder," the article continued, "that stories are already circulating concerning the quantity of champagne consumed in celebrating this 'victory' over the taxpayers." The Toronto Electric Light Company began business in 1883 with a paid-up capital of $175,000. In 1907, after twenty-four years of operation it had an authorized capital of $4,000,000 with a yearly income of $1,039,716 and a clear profit of $387,790. Apparently the price of 62c. for each lamp nightly — $226.30 per annum — was not such as seriously to embarrass the Company.

At the Toronto Exhibition of 1884 a practical electric railway with full-sized cars was in operation—the first in America. It was constructed by Mr. Vandepole of Chicago and had its trial before a selected group of guests on September 6th. The track ran from end to end of the grounds, but no trolley wire was provided and the rails were not electrified. A contemporary report says: "The electricity which is generated by two large-sized generators in Machinery Hall is conveyed into two copper bars which run the whole length of the railway track between the rails. The bars are partly covered over, both for protection against shock and from the rain. Attached to the motor are two pieces of metal which run along the copper bars, and the electricity is thus carried to the dynamo on the car, which when put in motion drives the car-wheels by means of a system of pulleys and belting. The electrician on the car has full control of the movements of this motor, just as if he were running a marine engine or a locomotive. There is a heavy grade on the line of the track but the cars climb that grade without the slightest difficulty. The thought of a motor run by an invisible force and drawing a car with 50 people aboard seems almost an impossibility, but it is even so." The railway was a centre of curious interest during the entire Exhibition and thousands of people patronized it. They assisted at the beginning of an era in the history of Transportation.

On December 8th, 1884, Robert Roddy, City Clerk, resigned and was succeeded by Alderman John Blevins.

For the Soudan Expedition of 1884 two hundred voyageurs were recruited in Canada to have charge of transportation up the Nile cataracts. Most of these men were from Ottawa, Three Rivers, Sherbrooke and Manitoba, with a contingent from the Indian Reserve of Caughnawaga. Only two of the privates were from Toronto: W. Morrison and Charles A. Stow, but the officer in command was Lt.-Col. Fred. Denison of the well-known Toronto family.

Mr. Alexander Manning was elected Mayor for 1885 over Mr. J. J. Withrow by a majority of 145. In the course of his inaugural address he made a strong plea for a more economical administration of the civic finances and submitted a comparative table of civic debts and population figures which seems almost startling to-day. It is hard to believe, for instance, that the population of Boston at that time was only 362,839. Here is the table in part:

City	Population	Debt
Albany	90,578	$ 4,021,000
Baltimore	332,313	20,184,975
Boston	362,839	42,030,126
Brooklyn	566,663	42,717,500
Buffalo	155,134	7,482,134
Chicago	503,185	13,043,000
Cincinnati	255,139	23,903,500
Cleveland	160,146	8,591,100
Detroit	116,340	2,811,400
New York	1,206,299	136,407,434
Philadelphia	847,170	70,970,042
Toronto	103,000	7,040,239

Late in 1884 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council rendered judgment settling the boundary disputes as between Ontario and Manitoba, and Ontario and Federal Crown Lands. The contentions of Hon. Oliver Mowat were upheld in both instances, and many thousands of square miles were added to this Province. The public satisfaction over the outcome was keen in Toronto and a civic reception to Mr. Mowat was arranged for January 2nd, 1885. The complimentary address said that for the people of Toronto it would ever be a matter of grateful recollection that the city was indebted to Mr. Mowat for the By-law regulating the proceedings of Council. He had drafted the legislation while he was a member of Council in 1857 and 1858.

In reply the Premier said: "I do not forget that you who have been saying all these kind things to me are — two thirds of you — my political opponents. I have always had a kindly feeling towards Conservatives, and have been endeavoring all my life to do them all the good in my power. They have not, I am sorry to say, always appreciated my efforts. Mention was made here that I have been courteous towards you when you had occasion to call upon me in civic matters. I am not disposed to be discourteous to political foes — any more than a physician is discourteous to a patient who is seriously ill." After this persiflage, which was punctuated with laughter and applause, Mr. Mowat said that his first step in political life was as an alderman for St. Lawrence's Ward. He had taken more trouble to secure that office than he had taken at any subsequent election in which he was interested. He had canvassed more voters, addressed more meetings. In the following year he had been elected for St. James's without having canvassed a voter, attended a meeting or delivered a speech.

Half breeds settled as pioneer farmers on the Saskatchewan River had laid out their homesteads each ten chains wide and two miles long, running back from the river. This was the rule in the Red River settlement, having been adopted from the customary practice in Quebec. Dunderhead officials of the Federal Government could not brook such a departure from the Northwest Rule of survey—square sections of one mile to a side—and refused to validate the Saskatchewan survey. Out of that condition rose the Northwest Rebellion of 1885 which took active form when a detachment of Mounted Police and volunteers from Prince Albert, 108 strong, were attacked at Duck Lake on March 26th under orders of Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont. Nine members of this force were killed, and fourteen wounded. Three of the wounded did not recover. The Police fell back to Prince Albert and put the place in the posture of defence.

The Government, although too dull to make concessions in time to prevent the rebellion, took prompt measures to suppress it. The Ninetieth Winnipeg Rifles and the Winnipeg Field Battery were ordered out and an expeditionary force from Eastern Canada was raised under the command of General Frederick Middleton, the Imperial officer in command of the militia. On March 28th the Queen's Own and the Royal Grenadiers were ordered to furnish 250 men each. Within two days the force was raised and was on the way to the west. Naturally the equipment left much to be desired. On April 1st the Governor-General's Body Guard was ordered out, and left for the front on April 7th. Even a week was not sufficient to equip the troops in comfort, and the blankets served out to the cavalrymen were from condemned stores.

If the journey had been all the way by train the inefficiency of organization would have been bad enough. But the Canadian Pacific Railway along the north shore of Lake Superior was not completed and toilsome marches in zero temperature were necessary. Between Bicotasing and Red Rock, a distance of 400 miles, there were four "gaps" of a total length of 110 miles. One of these gaps was 35 miles long and the only practicable route was over the ice of the Lake. Flat cars served to transport the men from one gap to the next. The volunteers were fresh from store and office and heated houses but they faced with cheerfulness a task heavy enough for seasoned veterans and reached Winnipeg in fair condition. Lt.-Col. George T. Denison in his record of the journey * says it was harder than Napoleon's passage of the Alps in 1800, which has been so highly praised. The French had a good carriage road all the way.

The disturbance ranged, roughly, from Edmonton to Prince Albert along the valley of the North Saskatchewan River and for a short distance up the South Branch. General Middleton's force for the relief of Prince Albert went from Qu'Appelle northwest to Clark's Crossing on the South Branch.

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* "Soldiering in Canada."

A column under Lt.-Col. Otter marched from Swift Current to Battleford, and General Strange led his force from Calgary to Edmonton and then eastward along the river valley. Colonel Otter ran into an ambuscade near Cut Knife creek on May 2nd, losing 8 killed and 12 wounded. Among the wounded were Sergeant Cooper, Pte. Varey and Pte. Watts of the Queen's Own. Fish Creek had been the scene of a smart fight on April 24th, when General Middleton discovered that the nut was not so easy to crack as it had seemed. The rebels entrenched at Batoche and for three days, from May 9th to 11th, Middleton dallied with them more or less ineffectively. On the fourth day, his left wing consisting of the Midland Regiment, under Lt.-Col. Williams, the Royal Grenadiers under Lt.-Col. Grasett and the Ninetieth Rifles of Winnipeg, made a sudden advance, equally unexpected by the rebels and the commander-in-chief, outflanked the enemy's first line of rifle-pits and showed the whole force the road to victory. Batoche ended the Rebellion and three days later Riel was captured. Lieutenant Fitch of the Grenadiers was killed and among the wounded were Major Dawson, Captain Mason, Bugler M. Gaughan, Pte. G. Barber, Pte. J. W. Quigley, Pte. J. Marshall, Pte. M. Wilson. The total casualty cost of the rising was 66 killed and 119 wounded, which included some prisoners at Frog Lake. In comparison with the appalling bloodshed of the Great War, this list seems trivial, but the North West Rebellion was no triviality. It gave proof of the quality of the Canadian Militia at a time when the commander and every other Regular officer was inclined to despise it.

Out of Middleton's force of 1,200, the City of Toronto supplied more than 600 men—250 Queen's Own, 250 Grenadiers, 80 of C Company from the Fort, and two troops of the Governor-General's Body Guard. The enthusiasm of the City was intense at the period of mobilization. The defeat of the Mounted Police at Duck Lake was announced in Parliament on Friday, March 27th. At 9.30 that same evening the orders came for the militia regiments to select contingents. Next morning the Queen's Own had 550 men on parade, and the Grenadiers had a similar muster. By two o'clock the contingents were chosen — mainly of unmarried men — and on Monday noon the force departed. The Civic authorities at the instance of the Mayor provided a suit of underwear for every man, but the men themselves had to buy brushes, knives, combs, and even boots. At the drill shed vendors appeared with strings of boots over their shoulders and customers were plenty. The streets were jammed to witness the march to the station and there was great enthusiasm.

Four months later the enthusiasm was almost hysterical and the crowd was larger still. The pale-faced soldiery which had marched away in smart uniforms came back Indian-red as to complexion, and clad in variegated garments. The redcoats presented the most bizarre appearance, their trousers and tunics patched with bits of sacking or blanket, their belts innocent of pipe-clay. But they marched well, the open air life had set them up, and their rifles gleamed like new varnish. Ladies of the city had prepared so many small bouquets that each soldier carried one in the muzzle of his rifle. The streets were swathed in flags and the evergreen arches — the civic sign of joy — spanned the streets at important corners.

By 1885 a great company of Toronto citizens had grown weary of the incessant difficulties arising out of the licensed and unlicensed liquor traffic. At this time with just over 100,000 people in the community some four hundred licenses were granted; and yet the Police Court in one year had to deal with 370 cases of illegal selling. In protest Mr. W. H. Howland appeared as a candidate for the Mayoralty, opposing Mayor Manning, whose municipal experience and social relationships made him a formidable opponent. Behind Mr. Howland stood a body of men who had established an informal Municipal Reform Association. Their strength was greater than they suspected, for Mr. Howland was elected by a majority of over 1,900. He was a man of great personal charm whose philanthropies were many and who was worthy of any honor his fellow citizens might bestow upon him.

His personal fortune had been impaired during the hard times and difficulties arose over his property-qualifications. His wife had a lease-hold of their home on the border of Queen's Park, but the supporters of Mr. Manning made the claim that the law prevented qualifications on lease-holds. Application was made to the Courts for a decision and the Judges ruled against Mr. Howland. A mandamus was granted on March 23rd by the Master in Chambers, Mr. Robert G. Dalton, Q.C., instructing Mr. Howland not to concern himself "in or about the said office of Mayor," and directing the City Clerk to conduct a new election. At the nomination on April 1st, 1886, the technical error was mended; Mr. Howland was presented by Mr. Edward Gurney and Dr. W. W. Ogden and was elected by acclamation.

In his inaugural address he urged consideration of the problems arising from careless or inefficient administration of the License law. The Committee to which the Message was referred suggested on February 13th that the City should be divided into two license districts, or else two additional inspectors should be appointed. It was recommended that the money collected from penalties should be used to improve the enforcement of the law; that the license fee should be raised by $20; that the number of licenses to be granted in the city should not exceed 200 for taverns and 68 for shops; that hotelkeepers should be required to provide sufficient accommodation for the travelling public; and that cancellation of the license should follow a second conviction for illegal selling.

On this basis the administration of the law was considerably improved. At the end of the year the Mayor brought down to Council a report from the police department showing that there were not more than 16 places, or at most 18, where the illegal sale of liquor was carried on as a business. Inspector Stephens said that in No. 1 Division, which included York Street, a former nest of bootleggers, the unlicensed liquor traffic "had been reduced to a minimum." His Worship formally complimented the license inspectors and the Council on the result of a year's persistent effort for the enforcement of the law. If to-day, under Prohibition, there were 18 known places where liquor was sold as a business the police would be subjected to no inconsiderable denunciation.

In a Special Message dated February 15th, the Mayor recommended that the site at the head of Bay Street, acquired for a new Court House, should be used instead for a combined Court House and City Hall.

During the year the Council received plans for the contruction of a trunk sewer system at an estimated cost of $1,115,110, and inquiries were made as to the possibility of supplementing the water-supply by tapping the chain of small lakes north of Richmond Hill. W. J. McAlpine and Kivas Tully reported that the work could be done for $670,000, and thus started a discussion which lasted for some years — until expert opinion was received that the water of these lakes was impure.

Two frauds on the city were uncovered through the activity of Mayor Howland, and were investigated by the County Judge. It appeared that part of the work on the Garrison Creek Sewer had been done with inferior brick, and that the City had been paying for coal that never was delivered.

The Street Railway Company, then under the presidency of Hon. Frank Smith, had difficulty with its men in March, 1886, over the formation of a Union and established a lock-out. The President sought to unload the responsibility for the cessation of the traffic upon the City, but both the Police and the Mayor protested. Mr. Howland wrote to the Company: "You are not in the position of an ordinary employer of labor. You have a trust from the city for occupying the streets, and are responsible for your violation of the agreement to run the cars fourteen hours every day. You have locked out your men for exercising a legal liberty — for joining a lawful body or society."

In the main, the administration of Mr. Howland during 1886 gave great satisfaction and his re-election for 1887 was a natural consequence of his activity and of the confidence which he inspired in the electorate.

The City Council of 1886 on meditating upon the fact that Emperor William I. of Germany would attain his ninetieth birthday on March 22nd, 1887, passed a resolution of congratulation and commented upon the love and veneration in which he was held throughout the vast Empire over which he held sovereign authority. The Hohenzollerns have declined in popularity since that day.

Population returns from 1880 to 1885 inclusive, were as follows:

1880	75,110	1883	86,585
1881	77,034	1884	99,131
1882	81,372	1885	104,276

The assessment in 1885 was $65,231,007.

Mayor Howland's attitude with reference to the liquor traffic was the main question under discussion in the contest of 1887. The fact that His Worship was re-elected by a majority of over 2,000 led him and others to the view that the electors were ready for any measure of license reform. Mr. Alderman R. J. Fleming gave notice at the first meeting of Council that he would move for a reduction of the number of tavern and shop licenses and for an increase of the fees; he suggested that a question should go to the people at the municipal election of 1888. Council agreed and the question was submitted with the following result:

Tavern License Reduction	Shop License Reduction
For, 7,371; Against 8,187	For 7,743; Against 8,146

The pendulum had swung back.

A communication was received in 1887 from Mr. George W. Harper asking the City Council to establish a civic Office of Records. Like most proposals of this sort made before and since, the communication was laid on the table. Considering that Toronto has always fancied itself as a centre of intellectual life the lack of public interest in the early story of Upper Canada and its capital is surprising. Even at this hour the vaults of the City Hall are chaotic. This does not mean that they are disorderly; merely that the files of correspondence are nothing more than files, the manuscript minutes, merely minutes. Whatever is known about the rise of Governor Simcoe's tiny settlement on the north side of the Lake has been collected through the labor and sacrifice of private individuals; such men as Rev. Dr. Scadding and Mr. John Ross Robertson. They appreciated the value to civic life of a clear and reliable tradition, while the ratepayers and even the officials failed to see that the daily life of yesterday is the inspiration of to-day and to-morrow. All culture is founded in History, and the materials of History invariably are official documents. Some day this fact will be understood more clearly and more widely. In the meantime the records of our fathers' struggles to build a British community worthy of their British citizenship grow older, more fragile and less decipherable year by year.

Since 1882 the necessity of a new Court House for the judicial service of the County of York and the growing City of Toronto had been apparent. When the County was indicted in 1884 for its failure to provide the necessary accommodation, representatives of City and County signed an agreement on June 26th, 1884, whereby the City was empowered to build and control the proposed Court House, and the County undertook to meet interest and sinking fund on $400,000 of the capital cost. The City previously had secured power from the Legislature to expropriate land for a site, and to issue debentures for the cost of the building without submitting a by-law to the people.

When the proposal was made to combine Court House and City Hall in one building, a difficulty was found in the necessity of submitting a by-law for the portion of the expenditure chargeable for municipal purposes. Fortunately, when the by-law went to the people on April 27th, 1887, the vote was favorable; $400,000 was authorized for the building of a Court House and $350,000 for a City Hall. Some time before an issue of $300,000 had provided for the site and $94,221 of that was available to apply on the building. Thus the money in hand for construction purposes was $844,221. Mr. E. J. Lennox's plan was accepted and tenders were invited. Council was surprised to discover that the sum of the lowest tender for masonry, carpentry, galvanized iron work, and roofing was $919,020. The architect estimated that $150,000 additional would be necessary to complete the building; that is to say, the cost would overrun the estimate by $224,000, making a total of $1,143,020, without considering the cost of the site.

During the years preliminary to the laying of the corner stone on November 21st, 1891, and the long period that elapsed before the building was opened for service (in 1899) there was deep concern on the part of the aldermen and of some of the more cautious citizens lest the City would bankrupt itself in this project. Yet the total cost, including the site, the clock, bells and furniture did not exceed $2,500,000. The replacement value of the building, which is one of the finest municipal palaces on the Continent, would not be far from four times the money. In a way it was fortunate that the City was under obligation to provide a Court House. Without this compulsion it is doubtful if Toronto would have secured a building so well adapted for its purposes and of such splendid proportions.

The appointment of Lord Lansdowne as Governor-General in succession to the Marquis of Lorne was the occasion of a typically Irish gesture. Lansdowne was a landholder in Ireland and some of his tenants had been evicted for non-payment of rent. Accordingly Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., announced that he was going to cross the Atlantic in order to drive the Governor out of Canada amid the hoots and execrations of the Canadian people. The City of Dublin communicated with the City of Toronto concerning Lord Lansdowne's shortcomings and thus the seeds of a pretty row were planted.

Lt.-Col. Denison, in his book "The Struggle for Imperial Unity" describes the preparations that were made to receive the Governor on his first visit to Toronto about the first of May, 1887. Not a man in uniform was visible, but all the volunteers were out in plain clothes, carrying walking sticks — not too slender. The Toronto Hunt Club was the mounted escort — its membership temporarily swelled by cavalrymen of the Governor-General's Body Guard in civilian riding breeches. There was no demonstration against the Governor, but the demonstration of loyalty to him as the representative of the Crown was fervent and continuous. It was followed by a citizens' meeting in Queen's Park which passed resolutions of regret at the attack made upon His Excellency, and sent word to O'Brien requesting him not to come to Toronto.

Nevertheless William came, on May 17th, in company with Mr. Kilbride, M.P., an evicted tenant, Mr. Wall, of the New York *Tribune*, Mr. C. M. Ryan of Detroit, and Mr. Cahill. His speech was not a success, since it was continually interrupted by student songs, cheers and cries of "Pay your rint! Pay your rint!" A police guard accompanied Mr. O'Brien most of the time that he was in the city, greatly to his distaste. He slipped away once, but was recognized in the street and had to run for it. He took refuge in the bicycle shop of Thomas Lalor on Wellington Street, but the mob stoned the place, breaking all the windows and destroying property valued at $437 before the police appeared. Mr. O'Brien's avowed purpose in coming to Toronto was to stir up trouble. He succeeded — in a perfectly Irish sense.

While the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee had been held in London on June 21st, the Toronto demonstration took place on June 30th and July 1st. On the morning of the 30th a special patriotic service was held in the Metropolitan Church. Among the speakers were Lieutenant-Governor Campbell, Premier Mowat, Rev. Hugh Johnston, Rev. E. A. Stafford, Mayor Howland, Rev. Dr. Potts, Rev. Septimus Jones, Rev. G. M. Milligan and Rev. John Burton. There was a choir of 150 voices under Mr. F. H. Torrington and music included Mackenzie's "Jubilee Ode," and Bridge's anthem "Blessed be the Lord God." Although the service was on a Thursday morning the auditorium was completely filled. In the afternoon there was a school children's demonstration in Queen's Park which attracted an immense crowd—as *The Globe* called it "an impenetrable mass of sweltering humanity." The weather was intensely hot, and for that reason the amateur orchestra concert in the evening in the Horticultural Pavilion was not well attended.

On the holiday the heat had not abated, but nevertheless there was a great procession of volunteers, national societies and "citizens in carriages" to Exhibition Park where there was a programme of speeches and an epidemic of picnic-ing. Fireworks ended the day. The remoteness of 1887 is borne in upon one in reading the following paragraph which appeared in the newspapers of July 2nd. "O'Keefe and Company sent 60 gallons of lager beer to the drill shed for the Royal Grenadiers on their return from the march."

For more than six years, ending in 1887, Hon. John Beverley Robinson was Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and fulfilled the social duties of the office with uncommon acceptance. Mrs. Robinson was ideal as a hostess and exceedingly popular through her gifts as a singer. For many years her name had appeared on almost every programme arranged for the benefit of the charitable institutions of the City. On June 7th, 1887, she and her husband were invited to meet a group of citizens in the parlors of the Queen's Hotel. It was her birthday, and the birthday-present was an address of compliment and a summer cottage on an island in Lake Joseph. The address was signed by Mr. Larratt W. Smith, Chairman of the Committee and most of the leading men of the City were present.

The Rev. John McCaul, D.D., whose genius shaped the policy of Toronto University until 1879, died on April 16th, 1887, at the age of 81.

Mr. E. F. Clarke was Mayor for 1888, defeating Mr. Elias Rogers and Mr. Daniel M. Defoe by a comfortable plurality. In his inaugural address he referred to the difficulty which had arisen owing to the determination of the electors to have no trunk sewer. Twice a by-law for the purpose of rendering the bay-front less noisome had been defeated, first in 1887 by 1,068 and again on January 2nd, 1888, by 930. The capital cost of the proposed improvement was high but the work was one that should be done. It is interesting to note that in 1887 there were 193 cases of typhoid fever in Toronto, with 68 deaths. The diphtheria roll was 625 cases and 202 deaths. The present death-rate in Toronto from typhoid is 1.5 per hundred thousand of population; that is to say, about 8 per annum. So much has the germ theory of disease and its application to the improvement of the water and milk supply accomplished under the direction of an intelligent corps of preventive medical scientists.

The Mayor, in a message to Council, dated March 12th, 1888, referred to a scheme "ably promoted by Mr. William Davies, Jr., for a solution of the Esplanade problem by the construction of a viaduct. The arguments which have been advanced in favor of the work are many and cogent. It would be advisable before the erection of a central Union Station is entered upon that the question of the mode of entrance and exit of passenger trains to the City should be disposed of." Thirty-five years later the old station is worn out, a new one has been built, and it stands idle until the question of Viaduct or No Viaduct is settled.

Mayor Clarke's distinctive powers of leadership and his broad grasp of the civic business brought him back to the Mayor's Chair in 1889, the election being by acclamation. One of his important tasks was to assist in the consolidation of the debt. Legislation was first obtained enlarging the borrowing capacity to 12½% on the first hundred million of assessment and 8% on all over that amount. With that privilege secured, the Mayor, accompanied by the newly appointed Treasurer, Mr. R. T. Coady, went to England and floated on the London market a debenture issue of £686,570 at 3½%. The price realized was £96 1s. per hundred pounds, and the floatation was so attractive that the issue was over-subscribed by more than £100,000.

In 1889 the Street Commissioner's Department was organized, the Town of Parkdale was annexed to the City, and an important report dealing with the necessity of providing a more effective means of sewage disposal was made by Mr. Rudolph Hering and Mr. Samuel W. Gray. They recommended the co-ordination of the existing sewers and the construction of an outfall about half way between Lighthouse Point and Mimico at an estimated cost of $1,930,850. Negotiations were completed for the entry of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the City along the western bank of the Don.

In 1773 Pope Clement XIV. issued his famous bull "Dominus ac Redemptor Nostra," by which the Society of Jesus was abolished in all States of Christendom. Three years later when the Quebec Act granted to the Roman Catholics of French speech all the usages of their religion such Jesuit fathers as were left in the famous old College of Quebec were left to enjoy their home while they lived, it being understood that the property of the Order would go ultimately to the Crown. The last of the Jesuits, Father Cazot, died in 1800 and on the Government taking over the property representations were made by French-Canadian clergy and political leaders that it should be ear-marked for the uses of the Church. The instructions of the Governors were to use it for general educational purposes, and parts of the money were appropriated from time to time to Protestant institutions; though never without protest.

The Order was revived in 1814 by Pius VII., but did not appear again in Canada until about 1870. Meanwhile the British troops were using the Quebec College as a barracks. After the establishment of Confederation and the withdrawal of the troops, the building fell into neglect and became an eyesore to the City of Quebec, since it was situated in the very centre of the Upper Town. The Provincial Government desired to sell it to the City as the site for a new City Hall but the Archbishop protested, declaring that the Pope and the Church had rights in the property. Finally, Premier Mercier applied directly to the Holy See for the right to sell. Cardinal Simeoni replied, giving permission, if the money received were deposited and left at the free disposal of His Holiness. The Premier declined to accept such a suggestion, but offered to hold the proceeds in a special fund for subsequent adjudication. This offer was accepted. The College was sold, and the Rev. A. D. Turgeon of the Order was named to negotiate with the Government with respect to the remaining property. Premier Mercier asked Father Turgeon to state the amount of the Jesuit claims. His answer, in summary, was as follows:

Seigneuries and fiefs	$ 5,000
A block of land in the middle of the City of Montreal, 330,000 square feet at a nominal price of $3 a foot	990,000
College at Quebec	100,000
Revenues since 1867	400,000
Capital of the *lods et ventes*	92,572
A property at Notre Dame des Anges	18,200

A total of over $2,000,000.

Father Turgeon added that this was not the amount that he would claim. He intended to ask compensation merely for the Montreal property, and said that the sum of $990,000 was not more than one-third of the actual value of the land.

The Premier responded that some years before the Holy See had indicated willingness to accept $400,000 in full of the account. He was unable to make any greater offer. In due course Father Turgeon accepted $400,000, and so far as Quebec was concerned the question was settled.

Ontario made violent objection and conducted a vigorous and angry campaign at Ottawa for disallowance of the Quebec legislation. The fact that a Government of the Queen had been forced to secure permission from the Pope to deal with property that according to every principle of legalism was a public asset roused much bitterness, particularly since the echoes of the Riel agitation had not yet died down.

Meetings were held in Toronto and in practically all parts of Upper Canada. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., devoted his great talent to the leadership of the agitation, but it failed nevertheless. It is doubtful if the full facts of the case were known to the people of Upper Canada, for there was a moral right, if not a legal right, on the part of the Quebec Government to avoid the suspicion of injustice towards an Order which had played such a prominent part in the early days of the Colony. Furthermore, the spirit of the Constitution was against all disallowance save in most exceptional circumstances. The Debate in Parliament during the session of 1889 ended with a vote of 118 to 13 in opposition to the motion for disallowance. For a while much was heard about the Noble Thirteen, but the fire gradually died down, flickered and went out.

CHAPTER V.

ENDING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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APPROACHING the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, Toronto found itself no longer a compact little city, but a straggling big one, outgrowing its civic services as rapidly as a small boy outgrows his pantaloons. Whole streets seemed to rise like mushrooms; sewers, city water, pavements, sidewalks, gas mains, electric street lamps, and telephone connection were wanted immediately, and the City Council, with the Public Service Corporations, was hard pressed to overtake the demand. More efficient transportation was also a desideratum. The horse cars were inconvenient and slow. The Street Railway Company showed no desire to make extensions to the system unless the privilege of using "electricity, cables, or other motive power," were granted. Application had been made by the Company to the Legislature for variation of the agreement, but the City had resisted. The franchise was due to expire on March 14th, 1891, and the municipal representatives felt that it would be unwise to meddle with the agreement, lest the right of the City to take over the Company's assets and resume the franchise might be prejudiced. It was considered wise for the citizens to bear with inconvenience for a time in order to protect the legal rights of the community.

The construction of the Belt Line steam railway by a Company with Mr. J. D. Edgar at its head was expected to ease transportation difficulties, but the optimists were deceived. One of the chief results of the Belt Line project was to stimulate real estate speculation. Land values in districts far beyond the boundaries of the City were inflated, as well as in the municipality itself. All people were optimists. The population was on the verge of 200,000 and the city, many thought, was now so large that it could never suffer a serious set-back.

There was a strong demand for general civic improvement. The Citizens' Association was urging upon the Council the reclamation of Ashbridge's Bay, particularly as speculators were seeking the privilege of doing the work at their own expense in return for a leasehold of the land to be reclaimed. There was grave doubt in the Council as to the wisdom of granting such a privilege to individuals. The City Engineer was asked to prepare plans and specifications, and his estimate of the cost was $5,000,000. After the question had been debated throughout most of the year 1890 the following motion, summarizing the situation, was passed on November 24th: "Considering that the City Engineer has reported that it will cost $5,000,000 to reclaim Ashbridge's Bay, and that Messrs. Beavis and Redway state that it will cost $4,500,000 to do the same work according to the plans and specifications prepared therefor by the City Engineer and now deposited in his office; and further, that Messrs. Beavis and Redway have offered in writing to do the work so specified if the City will allow them to have the sole use of the land to be reclaimed for the space of 45 years, at the end of the period they being willing to contract to hand over to the City the land, free of incumbrance, that may in the meantime be created by them thereon; therefore the whole question is whether the work of reclaiming Ashbridge's Bay be done under the direction of the City Engineer at a cost of $5,000,000 or by Beavis and Redway at their own cost upon the terms above set forth, under a proper contract and agreement to be prepared by and under the supervision of the City Solicitor and the City Engineer. It is therefore recommended that the following questions be submitted to the ratepayers entitled to vote on money by-laws at the next municipal election, viz: 1. Are you in favor of Ashbridge's Bay lands being reclaimed at the expense of the Corporation of Toronto generally? 2. Are you in favor of the adoption of the scheme of reclamation of said property by means of a syndicate somewhat as devised in the written proposals to the Council in that behalf by Beavis and Redway?"

The ratepayers said No to the first question by a vote of 625 for and 885 against, and Yes to the second by 2,532 for and 446 against.

The instructions of the electors were not carried out owing to various considerations, financial and economic, and the actual work of making an industrial area of the Bay was not completed until the present Harbor Commission was constituted. The people had to wait at least 25 years for the complete improvement. They have waited even longer for the railway viaduct suggested for a second time in 1890 by the Citizens' Association as the only reasonable and complete remedy for the Esplanade problem. The communication from the Association, signed by John Galt, C.E., as secretary, reached the City Council on March 31st.

The Duke and Duchess of Connaught made a brief visit to Toronto in 1890, on their way home from India. In reply to the civic address His Royal Highness said: "After a lapse of twenty-one years I find myself again in the Queen City of the West, welcomed in the same loyal and hearty manner as on my previous visit. Most heartily do I congratulate you on the many and unmistakable signs of progress that I see on all sides."

In view of the pressing need for capital expenditure the Legislature of 1889 had authorized an enlargement of the borrowing powers of the City. Before that time it had been legal to borrow $6,000,000 on the first $50,000,000 of assessment and 8 per cent. on all assessment in excess of that amount. The amendment provided that the limit should be 12½ per cent. on the first One Hundred Millions and 8 per cent. on the excess; also that a revenue-producing investment, such as that in the waterworks and other civic utilities, should not be counted as part of the general debt. During 1890 a good portion of the outstanding debt was converted into three-and-a-half per cent. securities. At this time the corporation was completing the Don improvements, giving aid to the Belt Line, constructing the King Street subway, building the new City Hall, laying miles of block pavement, experimenting with asphalt on Toronto Street, putting down sewers, considering the reclamation of Ashbridge's Bay, improving the Island and preparing to take over the street railway. It was a time of feverish energy and free expenditure.

A project for the improvement of civic government was adopted by the Council and the Legislature was asked to validate it. The plan was to abolish the old Saints' Wards, and replace them with numbered wards running from the waterfront northward to the City limits; to elect three aldermen from each of eight wards, one to retire annually. Thus the aldermen elected at the head of the poll would sit for three years. This feature was rejected by the Provincial authorities, and the number of wards proposed reduced to six.

At the beginning of 1891 the general debt of the City was $12,349,415.20. Some of the items making up this total were as follows: Waterworks, $3,270,786; Aid to Railways, $1,179,606; Don Improvement, $574,991; New City Hall, $1,049,992; King Street subway, $117,220. The local improvement debt was $3,629,002. A financial stringency had followed the "boom" and the market for local improvement debentures was depressed. It was necessary for the City to carry a bank overdraft of $2,800,000 on local improvement works because of the unsatisfactory securities market.

Mr. E. F. Clarke was again Mayor, having defeated Mr. E. A. Macdonald by more than 1,000 majority. The most important event in civic administration was the expiry of the street railway franchise. In thirty years the railway system had expanded greatly although it had not kept pace with transportation requirements of the growing city. The total length of single-track was 80.69 miles, and the Company possessed 90 two-horse closed cars and 56 open, 116 one-horse cars, 99 buses, 100 sleighs and 1,372 horses. Preparatory to the taking over of the property the City had secured from the Legislature interpreting acts setting forth the procedure of the necessary arbitration. Judge E. J. Senkler of St. Catharines, and Mr. C. H. Ritchie, Q. C., were the arbitrators and thoroughly examined the claim of the Company for compensation exceeding $5,000,000. The judgment of the arbitrators was that the assets of the Company were worth $1,453,788. No allowance was made for "intangibles," since the term of the franchise was very clearly 30 years, without provision for renewal. In view of a more recent arbitration with much expensive expert testimony, it is interesting to notice that fees to witnesses, expert and otherwise, did not reach $22,000. One group of witnesses claimed $13,188, but the amount was reduced to $7,420. The total cost to the City of the arbitration was about $65,000.

There was a body of opinion in favor of the civic ownership and operation of the railway, but the more conservatively minded considered the risks too great. It was understood that the system would be converted to an electric railway, and while the electric car had now become a practical and commonplace apparatus the operation of a system was a fairly intricate business, and up to 1891 no large municipality on this Continent had made a trial of the task. Mayor Clarke and the majority of Council reflected the general mind of the City when they determined to lease the privilege of operating the railway to the highest bidder. In the interim, between the surrender of one franchise and the issue of the other, Mr. James Gunn continued in office as the manager of the railway—being in consultation from time to time with a civic advisory committee. In about four months the City's profit on operation was $57,000, on a total revenue of $291,642.

The tenders received after the first advertisement were rejected; it was apparent that too many promoters desired to traffic on the city's credit to their own advantage. The terms of the specifications were such that the corporation would have the supervision and partial control of the railway, and these terms, of course, had to be accepted by all bidders. The question at issue was how much should be paid for the lease, and in what manner the rental should be calculated. Four bids were received. The comparison of the tenders was an involved accounting operation, for each one presented varying offers based on varying conditions. For instance, if the City insisted on the sale of limited hour tickets at 8 for 25c, the rental offered would be lower than if the 6 for 25c rate prevailed.

George W. Kiely, William Mackenzie, and Henry A. Everett, (of Cleveland) offered $800 a mile annual rental for single track allowance, and proposed to share gross receipts with the City on the basis of 7 1-10 per cent., up to $1,000,000; 8 1-0 per cent. from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000, and 10 per cent. on each additional half million dollars gross revenue. This was adjudged the most favorable offer, but was varied after negotiation. The mileage charge remained the same, but the percentage schedule was changed as follows: On gross receipts up to $1,000,000, 8 per cent; above $1,000,000 and up to $1,500,000 10 per cent.; above $1,500,000 and up to $2,000,000, 12 per cent.; above $2,000,000 and up to $3,000,000 15 per cent.; above $3,000,000, 20 per cent.

The agreement provided that if the City would relinquish the demand for eight-for-a-quarter limited hour tickets, the percentages would be increased by 2 per cent. The Company undertook to reimburse the actual outlay of the City on extensions and additions to the plant, during the interim period of operation by the corporation. It accepted the demand for the erection of a car-factory in the city, and consented to the proposal that the security for the payment of percentages and mileage charges should be a lien on the Company's property. The Company was to be assessed for school tax as a Public School supporter.

The specifications on which the tender had been made were considered as a part of the agreement. They had established the nature of the service, and provided that it could be varied on the order of the City Engineer with the approval of Council. They had fixed the rates of fare and provided for the universal transfer privilege. The City Engineer was given the right to determine how many persons a car could accommodate. The City also insisted, and the Company agreed, that 10 hours should be a day's work, and that no adult in the service of the Company should receive less than 15c an hour. In case of disputes, there was to be reference to the County Judge, and an appeal from his decision to the High Court of Ontario, "which decision should be final."

In subsequent years complaint was frequently made by the City that the Company did not observe the terms it had accepted, and more than once litigation went to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council before disputes were adjusted.

The system as taken over by the Company consisted of the following lines:

Front Street, from Frederick to Simcoe.

King Street, from the Don to Roncesvalles.

Queen Street, from Lee Avenue to High Park.
College Street, from Yonge to Jameson.
Carlton Street, from Yonge to Parliament.
Gerrard Street, from Greenwood to Parliament.
Winchester Street, from Sumach to Parliament.
Broadview Avenue, from Queen to Danforth.
Parliament Street, from Queen to Winchester.
Sherbourne Street, from King to North Drive.
Frederick Street, from King to Front.
George Street, from King to Front.
Church Street, from Front to Bloor.
Yonge Street, from Front to the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks.
York Street, from Front to Queen.
McCaul Street, from College to Queen.
Spadina Avenue, from King to Bloor.
Bathurst Street, from King to the C. P. R. tracks.
Strachan Avenue, from King to Wellington.
Dundas Street, from Queen to Jameson.
Dovercourt Road, from College to the C. P. R.
Dufferin Street, from Union to Bloor.

The actual amount of double track in operation was 28.9 miles.

During the four years that Mr. E. F. Clarke occupied the Mayor's chair there was great activity in civic affairs. The waterworks were improved by overhauling the pumping engines and installing new ones at the High Level station; sixty two and a half miles of mains were laid and 10,787 house services installed. A new steel conduit was laid at the bottom of the Bay, and the intake was extended 400 feet into the lake, to a water-depth of 80 feet. Despite these outlays the revenue was sufficient to maintain the plant, to pay interest and sinking fund and to reduce the water rates. These reductions represented a saving of $254,708. In addition the City Treasury was enriched by a surplus of $196,807.

A dispute between the City and the University of Toronto with respect to the maintenance of Queen's Park, University Avenue, and the portion of the present College Street from University Avenue to Yonge, was settled by negotiation. It appeared that the City had not performed its part of the agreement under which the property had been dedicated in 1859 for civic uses, and judgment had been secured by the University against the corporation. The terms of the new agreement provided that the University would waive the judgment it had obtained, would restore the park to the City, on a lease of 970 years, would grant land for the street now known as Hoskin Avenue; would convey the title of the two avenues to the City; would accept assessments for local improvement; and would improve the nature of the University instruction in applied mechanics and applied chemistry, at a cost of $6,000 a year. Further, the University agreed that future disputes would be submitted to arbitration. The City undertook in return to endow and maintain at a cost of $6,000 a year, chairs of English Literature and Language, and Mineralogy and Geology.

There was a settlement of disputes between the City and the railways with respect to the Esplanade, whereby a Union Station was made possible. This is known as the Tri-partite agreement, and is mainly of legal interest. The C. P. R. had expropriated certain Esplanade lands. It was induced to trade this property for a more convenient allotment. The Dundas Street bridges were reconstructed of steel, the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways contributing $20,000 towards the cost, and the railways also contributed $64,500 towards the construction of the King Street subway, which cost a little over a quarter of a million dollars.

An agreement had been concluded also between the City and the Department of Militia and Defence for the removal of the rifle ranges which were situated directly south of the Exhibition grounds as they were then. The City acquired property near Long Branch and exchanged it for the ten acres which now accommodate the half-mile track, the grand stand and the Midway of the Exhibition.

The area of the City at the end of 1891 was 24 square miles. It included the village of Yorkville, annexed in 1883, the village across the Don known as Riverside, the village of Brockton, at the corner of Dufferin and Dundas Streets, High Park, and Parkdale (annexed in 1889.) The streets were lighted by about 1,100 gas lamps and 949 electric lights, at an annual cost of $126,113. (It is interesting to notice that in 1921 there were 43,310 electric lights, which cost $335,369.74.) Between 1888 and 1891 202 rooms were added to the Public School accommodation, and 206 additional teachers joined the staff. Parkdale and Harbord Street Collegiate Institutes had also been built. A Street Commissioner was first appointed in 1888, and in the same year the Horticultural Gardens on Carlton Street were acquired by the City as a park on payment of $40,000.

There was a good deal of loose talk about bribery in connection with the awarding of the Street Railway franchise. At the time the air was full of scandals of a Federal origin. Friends of Sir Hector Langevin had found contracting a too lucrative business. A member of Parliament had been forced to resign and one of his associates was under indictment. Perhaps the suggestion of impropriety in civic affairs came first from the daily newspaper headings summarizing the Ottawa correspondence. However, it came, people began to talk. The privilege given to the Keily-Everett Company was so great, despite rentals and percentages, that suspicious persons began to whisper, and one or two aldermen assumed the role of Veiled Prophets speaking mysteries. Ald. E. A. Macdonald took legal action to enjoin the City from signing the contract, and then suddenly withdrew the action, saying that he had received a consideration of $4,500 to do so. There was an inquiry, but the only immediate result was to show that Mr. Macdonald was the single offender. He had sought money and it had been paid by the Toronto representatives of Mr. Mackenzie on his own responsibility, and from his private purse, but not with corrupt intent. Macdonald was a rather flamboyant personage and the first use he made of the cheque was to get it photographed in preparation for a publicity campaign designed to snap and crackle about him in a pyrotechnic manner before the multitude.

For the time the scandal "petered out." Affidavits and sworn testimony in Court tended to show that none of the tenderers had distributed or even prepared a "slush fund." Two years afterwards the Toronto Electric Light Co. was tendering for the franchise of street lighting. The Chairman of the Fire and Light Committee, it was charged, boldly approached Mr. J. J. Wright with the suggestion that $13,000 would be needed for distribution amongst certain members of Council, himself included.* This incident and others of a suspicious nature with respect to the paving contracts of one Guelich, of Detroit, stirred the Council to action, and Judge McDougall was requested to conduct an investigation. No limitations were set. The Judge had a free hand, and he produced a report that occasioned fluttering in a good many dove-cotes. He named half a dozen aldermen and ex-aldermen who had been eager for bribes, and exploded current rumors throwing suspicion on others. He inquired into some curious mortgage transactions which had been the sequel of the franchise-grant to the Kelly-Everett syndicate, and named certain aldermen who bought stock in the Toronto Railway Corporation at a most favorable rate. While the benefit came too late to affect their votes or to influence their action, the Judge had no doubt about the impropriety of the arrangement. The conclusion of his report, which was made in November, 1894, was as follows: "It has been proved clearly that improper relations have existed between members of the Council and contractors, persons and corporations holding contracts and franchises."

Fortunately in the long story of municipal government in Toronto, this is the only shameful chapter. The loss to the city was not great, but the vigilance of the electors was aroused. The press was unsparing in its denunciation of the offenders, and most of them found their public career abruptly ended. There was no defence—though there may have been an excuse—in the fact that the times for many men were extraordinarily difficult. The collapse of the boom had left hundreds and thousands of landholders in embarrassment. The speculative builders were up to their eyes in debt and business men were land-poor. To some elected persons of unstable character the opportunity of securing some easy money was too alluring to miss. There were never in Toronto such syndicates of robbery as held carnival in many other cities of similar size. It is well to remember that the City Hall, under construction at this time, was completed at a cost extraordinarily small.

The Sunday cars agitation which turned the entire community into a debating club, had its beginning in 1891. The new Company naturally desired the privilege of providing a Sunday car service, but public opinion was generally hostile, and a clause was written into the agreement providing that no Sunday cars would be allowed on the streets until the electors had given approval at the polls. The churches of evangelical temper stood stolidly on the Old Testament and defied the Sabbath breakers. Catholic sentiment was contrary, resting on the quotation that the Sabbath was made for man. At a meeting of Anglican clergy held in February, 1891, the Bishop and thirty-seven ministers were against the cars. Canon Dumoulin and seven others were in favor of a Sunday service. The question was submitted to the electors on January 4th, 1892, when the vote was 10,351 for Sunday cars and 14,187 against. The majority of 3,836 seemed to make the result conclusive. But the agitation continued and in August, 1893, there was another vote. This time the majority against was only 973. The liberal-minded said that the public was being educated. Others deplored the fact that the morality of the people was being undermined. It is most difficult in our time to appreciate the bitterness of this controversy. For fully six years it was a topic of prime importance in civic politics. At last on May 15th, 1897, the electors reversed previous judgments. The vote was 16,372 for Sunday cars, and 16,051 against—a majority of 321.

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* The Alderman was indicted and tried, but the charge was not proved.

When the steel conduit was laid on the bottom of the Bay during the mayoralty term of Mr. E. F. Clarke, there was good hope that further contamination of the drinking water by bay sewage would be impossible. In 1892 that hope was destroyed. Serious leakages were discovered and the state of the city water was reflected in the mortality records. One hundred and eleven persons died of typhoid fever during 1892 and 80 during 1893.

Thus waterworks improvement became a topic of primary importance in civic affairs. For many years advocates of a radical change in the system had been found in the city; men who believed that Lake Simcoe was the natural reservoir for Toronto's needs. At various times promoters had appeared—each of them resolved to bring Simcoe water to Toronto at any cost, provided that investors and public treasuries would find the money. The topography of York County between the lakes was the chief difficulty. Toronto is 200 feet above sea-level—Lake Simcoe has an elevation of 720 feet, but the watershed rises 300 feet higher, attaining its peak north of Richmond Hill, about where the Summit Golf course is established—18 miles from Toronto. Obviously the only way of bringing Lake Simcoe water to the city was by tunnelling the summit, an expensive project. Nevertheless, the advocates argued that a gravitation system would be less costly than the existing system, of pumping the water out of the lake to a reservoir. They declared also that Lake Simcoe was purer than Lake Ontario.

Another plan was to make use of Bond Lake, Willcocks Lake and the other small bodies of water on the Oak Ridges, and this scheme had been approved in 1887 by a report by the engineers, MacAlpine and Tully.

In the early nineties Mr. E. A. Macdonald was the promoter of the Georgian Bay Ship Canal and Power Aqueduct Company, which had grandiose plans, for the most part following the scheme proposed by Mr. Capreol in 1863 or thereabouts. Mr. Macdonald talked of making an artificial channel between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario, building four great locks and dams, and generating electric energy, besides bringing Lake Simcoe water to the City. He had the support of a portion of the City Council and an agreement was drafted setting forth what the city was prepared to do if the Company could get the money and do the work.

The break in the Bay conduit roused all the gravitation protagonists to activity. The ratepayers were ill at ease and steadily refused to vote money for the improvement of the existing system. At this juncture the Council resolved to call in an expert hydraulic engineer to report on the entire waterworks situation. Mr. James Mansergh, of London, England, was invited to visit Toronto. He accepted the commission, which carried with it a fee of £3,000, and his report, dated January 31st, 1896, is a model of clearness and completeness. The Mansergh Report is one of the most important documents in the records of the municipality. It gave reasons for continuing to use Lake Ontario as the source of the city's water supply and stamped all other schemes as visionary and impractical.

Mr. Mansergh began with some satirical remarks concerning the proposal to sink wells in the gravel benches north of the city. It seems that the promoters of this scheme which it was supposed would yield about two million gallons a day, believed in the existence of a subterranean river. They had said: "The situation and the abundance of the water precludes the idea of its being a mere rain or natural drainage catchment." Mr. Mansergh wrote: "Of this I hope I may say without offence that it is a delusion, and that if the water is not the product of rain, but is supernaturally produced, then it is something of which I have had no past experience." He added that the Council did not invite him to come from England to consider an insignificant addition of 10 per cent. to the water supply.

He paid his respects to the Report of MacAlpine and Tully with reference to the Oak Ridges Lakes by pointing out some remarkable inconsistencies and contradictions in it—chiefly with reference to the potable nature of the water. On page 5 the water was said to be pure and wholesome. On page 6 mechanical and chemical filtration was proposed, and on page 7 the engineers admitted that an analyst had found the water objectionable on account of organic matter held in suspension. A cursory examination of the watershed, the rainfall records, and the available supply proved to the English expert that the plan was inadequate to the needs of the city, and his estimate of the cost of utilizing these lakes was five times greater than the estimate of MacAlpine and Tully. The final sentence was a *coup de grace*: "I unhesitatingly condemn this proposal."

Then Mr. Mansergh turned to consideration of the Lake Simcoe scheme. He had secured analysts' reports, which convinced him that there was little to choose between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario in the matter of purity. Either supply ought to be filtered.

In determining the amount of water that would be required for a permanent supply, it was first necessary to make an estimate of the growth of population up to 1945. Mr. Maughan, the Assessment Commissioner, had expressed the opinion that an annual increase of 2 per cent. might be expected. The engineer accepted this basis of calculation with some misgiving. It seemed high to him, and many persons when assured that a 2 per cent. rate would give a population in 1945 of nearly half a million were taken aback, declaring that Toronto would never have so many people within its boundaries.

The estimate is entertaining in view of actual results. Mr. Mansergh forecasted for 1922 a population of 298,745. The census showed a population of 512,840. The engineer was surprised at the enormous per capita consumption of water in Toronto—107.7 gallons per day, as compared with 32.68 gallons in London, but he made his calculation on the basis of 100 gallons per day. Thus he forecasted a daily consumption in 1948 of not quite 50,000,000 gallons. The actual consumption today is 66,136,000 gallons.

On the basis of his estimate Mr. Mansergh found an ample supply of water in Lake Simcoe. He suggested an intake just east of Snake Island (opposite Island Grove) a tunnel 8 feet 3 inches high, 7 feet wide and 33 miles long, two syphons south of Richmond Hill and a reservoir at Eglinton. The total cost of the work would be $12,000,000, and the charge for interest, sinking fund, operation and maintenance would be in the neighborhood of $585,000 annually until 1937.

The alternative scheme, as favored by the City Engineer, was to construct a tunnel under the floor of the Bay so that all danger of contamination from Bay water would be avoided, and to extend and improve the pumping machinery and reservoir storage as consumption demanded. Mr. Mansergh estimated the cost of this plan at about $300,000 a year to 1937. The total outlay for interest, sinking fund, operation and maintenance to 1948 he fixed at $15,383,406, as compared with $23,967,447 for the Lake Simcoe scheme.

This very definite and comprehensive report settled the public mind, restored confidence in the possibility of making the waterworks plant thoroughly efficient, and put an end to a good deal of uninformed and windy chatter.*

Still Mr. E. A. Macdonald dreamed dreams and saw visions in which vessels were sailing down the Humber, and artificial waterfalls were supplying an infinity of electric energy. There were enough people influenced by his steady confidence and his unfailing ardor to compel the civic authorities to take notice of him and to prepare still another draft agreement setting forth the rights of the Georgian Bay Ship Canal and Power Aqueduct Company in the city, in the event of the succesful carrying out of the scheme. This agreement was prepared in March, 1896. When it came before Council the following clause was added: "Before the agreement is executed the Company shall be requested to supply a statement showing: 1. The names of the stockholders of the Company; 2. The amount of stock held by each stockholder; 3. The amount paid up in cash by each stockholder upon such stock; 4. Whether any preferred stock has been issued; 5. To whom issued and for what purpose; 6. The names of the present directors and officers of the Company; 7. The amount of stock held by each; 8. The amount paid up in cash on the same." Then followed the clause:

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* James Mansergh was born on April 29th, 1834 and entered upon the practice of engineering in 1849, being apprenticed to H. McKie and Lawson of Lancaster, England. On attaining his majority he went to Brazil as engineer to the contractor for the Dom Pedro II. railway from Rio Janiero to the interior and returned to England in 1859 where he joined his old master Mr. McKie and laid out the first sewage farm in England. From 1862 to 1865 he was engaged in railway work. Then in 1866 he formed a partnership with Mr. John Lawson and devoted himself entirely to municipal engineering. In 1878 he was retained to draft a scheme for the sewerage of the lower Thames Valley. In 1889 he advised the Government of Victoria on a sewerage system for Melbourne and its environs which cost £5,816,500. He advised the construction of the waterworks system of Birmingham which cost £5,851,000, and acted professionally during his career for 360 municipalities. Immediately after reporting on the Toronto water-supply he proceeded to Ceylon and planned a sewerage system for the city of Colombo. In 1900 Mr. Mansergh became President of the Institution of Civil Engineers. For five years before that he had been on the Council. In 1901 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His death occurred on June 15th, 1905.

"The Council of the City of Toronto whilst prepared to enter into an agreement with the Company on the lines set out in the foregoing do not in any way endorse or approve of the scheme of constructing a canal or power aqueduct, and will in no way be accountable for the Company succeeding or failing to carry out its undertaking."

In view of the fact that the City had not the slightest information concerning the bona fides of the Company, it is an astonishing thing that Mr. Macdonald could force the drafting of any agreement whatsoever, and occupy the time of the engineering and legal staffs in its preparation. As a promoter he had genius.

Three disastrous fires occurred in the early part of 1895. On January 6th the building of *The Globe*, lately established at the corner of Yonge and Melinda Streets, was practically a total loss, and serious damage was done to other buildings in the neighborhood. Fireman Robert Bowery was killed and seven others more or less seriously injured. Among these was Chief Ardagh, who died a few days later. The Chief had joined No. 1 Hook and Ladder Company in 1847 as a volunteer and had served without pay as a fire fighter until 1874. Then for four years he was assistant chief and took over the command of the brigade in 1879.

Four days after *The Globe* fire came another serious blaze in the same neighborhood, when the Osgoodby building on Melinda Street was destroyed. Then on March 3rd the new store of the Robert Simpson Company, on the corner of Yonge and Queen streets was swept away. The loss in these three fires was respectively $609,066, $506,695, and $529,392—a total of $1,645,153.

The general election of 1891 brought the climax of a very remarkable political campaign. Even yet some people say that a treasonable conspiracy was crushed when the Government of Sir John Macdonald was returned to power. Some other people declare that a sane and well-judged campaign for the securing of wider markets for Canadian producers was ruined by a conscienceless appeal to the shallow patriotism of the mob. Thus, the partisans of one side or the other. There was no lack of argument, no paucity of abuse.

The policy of "Commercial Union," which was the phrase adopted to describe virtual Free Trade between Canada and the United States, was adopted by the Liberal Party as a result of pressure from outside the caucus. A campaign engineered by Mr. Erastus Wiman, of New York, formerly a Canadian,* and patronized by the scholar, historian and futile political theorist, Mr. Goldwin Smith, was supported by the Toronto *Mail* and other newspapers, with the consequence that many Free Trade electors were impressed with the sanity of the proposals. The Liberal leaders for the most part favored the policy, and although neither Blake nor Laurier was convinced, the party was hustled into a position which it had not chosen. In a measure it was the tail to Mr. Wiman's kite.

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* Erastus Wiman born in Peel Co., 1834 was on the staff of *The Globe* in 1856 as commercial editor. He entered the service of R. G. Dun & Co. in 1860, was manager for Canada in a short time, and in 1866 became New York manager. In 1881 he was President of the Great North Western Telegraph Co. and a director of the Western Union. He organized the Canadian Club of New York in 1885. The Wiman Baths at the Island were a gift to Toronto by this eminent capitalist.

The Conservatives insisted that the aim of their opponents was at best a scheme to show the advantages of annexation; at worst, a seditious plot to deliver this country bound into the hands of the Americans. Goldwin Smith's advocacy of Commercial Union was in itself sufficient to arouse the suspicion of pro-British leaders, for he made no secret of his conviction that annexation was the only wise policy for Canada. Suspicion grew into certainty as the private and public utterances of various American statesmen were reported—utterances assuming the eagerness of Canada to escape from the "British yoke." Then Mr. Edward Farrer, editorial writer on *The Globe,* wrote a pamphlet for an American friend, giving a summary of the best arguments in favor of annexation. That pamphlet was printed in Toronto, thirteen copies being struck off; but a fourteenth copy, surreptitiously obtained, and consisting of proof-sheets only, came into the hands of the Conservatives. Sir John Macdonald in opening his campaign in Toronto, quoted at length from this document, denounced the "veiled treason" of the day and made the famous declaration: "A British subject I was born; a British subject I shall die."

The Globe hastened to dissociate itself from Mr. Farrer's views, and Mr. Farrer himself in a pungent letter, insisted upon his right to think as he might choose, no matter which party or person might engage him as an advocate. There can be no doubt that Mr. Farrer had taken the Irishman's privilege of winning the battle for the other side. All the ingrained prejudice of Loyalists was awakened. Families which had almost forgotten the stories of 1812 and 1866 began furiously to remember. Colonel George T. Denison and the members of the Imperial Federation League were active. The Orangemen and the Sons of England wakened, and the ordinary Conservative worker hailed with joy the opportunity of pleading for "The Old Man, the Old Flag and the Old Policy."* Liberals who were of ardent Loyalist strain like Sir Oliver Mowat and Hon. G. W. Ross, had no heart for the struggle. The Conservatives had the advantage and pressed it; with the result that they won handily. Immediately after the election Hon. Edward Blake announced his retirement from Parliament and completed the disorganization of his party. The bye-election favored the Conservative, but only a few months had passed when Sir John Macdonald died, revelations of corruption in the Federal Government were made, and the victorious party was on the defensive. The Toronto constituencies were solidly Conservative. Colonel Denison's brother had defeated Mr. Arthur Mowat in Centre Toronto by 1,769.

Preparation for the electrification of the street railway began as soon as the franchise was granted. The first question to be settled was whether the trolley system or the storage battery system should be adopted. The City Engineer in September, 1891, recommended the trolley system as being more reliable and more speedy than any storage plan, but there was a good deal of opposition among the citizens to the plan of putting more poles upon the streets. At the election of 1892 Mr. R. J. Fleming, who represented this element, was chosen as Mayor, beating Mr. E. B. Osler by 350, Mr.

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* A cry invented by Mr. Louis P. Kribs, City Hall Reporter of The Evening News, who wrote under the name of "Pica."

John McMillan by 3,900 and Mr. James Beaty by over 8,000. Mr. Fleming in his inaugural address insisted on a thorough investigation before the trolley system should be accepted. Later, a deputation of aldermen visited the eastern States and the information there obtained was conclusive. The recommendation of the Engineer was accepted and within two years the last of the horse cars disappeared.

Mayor Fleming was re-elected for 1893 over Mr. E. E. Sheppard, a picturesque journalist, the editor of *Saturday Night.* Generally speaking the administration of Mr. Fleming was vigorous and efficient, although the stalwarts of the Conservative Ward Associations hesitated to admit it, and stood glooming up-stage. It was not considered good form for Toronto to elect a Liberal to the chair. Mr. Fleming's wide knowledge of land values was of advantage to the city in the negotiations looking to the acquisition of the old Upper Canada College grounds; and in the discussions with the railway representatives concerning the waterfront agreement he was much more than a figurehead. It was an era of hard times and Mr. Fleming was urgent in his advice to reduce the civic debt. During his term in office Mr. E. H. Keating was appointed City Engineer.

At the nomination of candidates for the Council of 1894 the good Conservatives put forward Mr. Warring Kennedy. Certain uncomplimentary remarks made at the meeting concerning Mr. Fleming induced that gentleman to stand for a third term, but his candidature failed. Mr. Kennedy was chosen by a vote of 13,830 to 9,306. A woeful shrinkage of his majority followed. He was elected Mayor for 1895 by fourteen votes. During his term the City Engineer recommended the construction of a waterworks tunnel under the Bay and the proposal had the Mayor's steady support. It was at the municipal election of 1894 that the voters had a chance to declare themselves on the question of the Prohibition of the liquor traffic—a plebiscite being taken under Provincial authority. The City voted for Prohibition by 2,528 majority. One cause was found in the continued breach of the License laws, by various offenders—438 cases before the Police Court in one year!

On June 25th, 1894, Mayor Kennedy sent the following cable message to the Duke and Duchess of York—now King George V. and Queen Mary: "The Mayor of Toronto, on behalf of the citizens of the Queen City of the West, congratulates Your Royal Highnesses on the birth of your son, a future heir to the Throne of England." It seems that the popularity of the Prince of Wales in Toronto had an early beginning.

Mr. Fleming came back to the mayor's chair in 1896, beating Mr. John Shaw by 1,800 majority. The street railway agreement was revised to provide for Sunday service, contingent on the approval of the electors, and for a service on the Island. There was an official civic reception also to J. G. Gaudaur, who recalled the glories of Edward Hanlan by winning the single sculling championship of the world on the Thames on September 7th.

Out of the action of the Manitoba Legislature in passing during 1890 an act suppressing Separate Schools, grew one of the most hearty quarrels in the political records of Canada. Sir John Macdonald had departed on June 6, 1891, from the stage of which he had been a distinguished ornament. The Federal right of reviewing Provincial legislation in the interests of any minority was exercised by the Conservative Government of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, on pressure from the Quebec delegation in Parliament, and after high judicial decisions that the Manitoba statute was *ultra vires*. It was argued that the right of Roman Catholics to Separate Schools was a part of the compromise crystallized in the British North America Act of the Imperial Parliament; therefore that a Province, even though joining the Canadian Confederacy later than 1867, was still bound to preserve this minority right. The contrary legal view, which met the hearty approval of most non-Catholic citizens of Ontario, was that Manitoba could not be bound by a mutual agreement affecting Ontario and Quebec alone. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, an eminent counsel —and a no less eminent Protestant—was a leader in the controversy, and the traditional Conservatism of Toronto was shaken to its foundations. For six years the argument continued. The Government was growing gradually more feeble, uncovering at once administrative corruption and "nests of traitors," while the Opposition leader, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, had consolidated the Liberal party and given it a vigor and striking force which it had not had since the days of George Brown. The campaign cry "No coercion of Manitoba" was singularly influential in Ontario, where Provincial rights had been defended for years against Federal encroachment by Premier Oliver Mowat. The announcement that Mowat would retire from Provincial politics and stand as Laurier's chief Ontario lieutenant capped the climax. In June, 1896, the Liberals came to power at Ottawa. In Ontario, despite the National policy, despite a long tradition of Conservatism, the Government carried only 43 seats out of 94. There were 44 Liberals, four Conservatives pledged to oppose the Remedial Bill and three Patrons of Industry. Thus began sixteen years of Liberal ascendancy in the Federal Parliament.

The contest in Toronto was uncommonly lively. Ancients in the political game still talk of Sir Charles Tupper's meeting in Massey Hall, when for two hours he sought in vain to compel a hearing. In Centre Toronto Mr. William Lount, Liberal, had a majority of 240 over Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn. Toronto West remained true to the Government, electing Mr. E. F. Clarke and Mr. E. B. Osler, but Toronto East elected Mr. John Ross Robertson, anti-coercion Conservative, his opponent being Mr. Emerson Coatsworth, jr. North York elected Mr. William Mulock; West York, Mr. N. Clark Wallace, anti-coercion Conservative. In East York Mr. W. F. Maclean was elected by the uncomfortable majority of 3. *The Globe* pointed out that in all Ontario the vote for Tupper candidates was 15,719, for anti-Tupper candidates, 16,028.

From 1878 to 1894 Mr. W. R. Meredith (now Sir William) had been leader of the Provincial Opposition. Though he never led his Party to office his Parliamentary work was of high value to the Province, and he had the steady respect even of political enemies. He had the impossible task of dislodging Hon. Oliver Mowat. The people had a settled mind about the statesmanship of Mowat and Mr. Meredith had argued in vain that "it was time for a change." When he became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas his place was taken by Mr. J. P. Whitney, brusque, spinous, determined—but for some years ineffectual.

The departure of Hon. Oliver Mowat to the Federal arena left Mr. A. S. Hardy in the Premiership, a distinguished man "who delighted in the whirlwind and could command it at pleasure." His health was not equal to the task imposed upon him, and after three years he made way for Hon. G. W. Ross, for many years Minister of Education under Mowat. The Provincial election of 1898 gave the Liberals a majority of only 6, and the 17 Patrons of Industry who had been in the House disappeared. They had represented the first Farmer party in Provincial affairs.

During 1896 the Rules of the City Council were consolidated and legislation was secured authorizing the establishment of a Board of Control, to be elected from among the aldermen at the beginning of the civic year. Thus in 1897 the first Board was constituted, Aldermen Leslie, R. H. Graham and Lamb being the members. Mr. Fleming again was Mayor, having won a lively conflict with Mr. McMurrich, by a majority exceeding 1,600.

Early in August it became known that Mr. Fleming might not be unwilling to serve as Assessment Commissioner, if he were asked, and if the salary offered were sufficiently attractive. A majority of the aldermen favored giving him the appointment, but his personal enemies in the Council and out of it made violent protest. Mr. Fleming accepted the office at a salary of $4,000 a year, and resigned from the Mayoralty on August 5th. Ald. John Shaw was chosen by Council to fill out the year.

The Toronto World insisted that there had been a compact of mutual back-scratching between Mr. Fleming and Mr. Shaw, but definite and clear-cut denials were made by each. Mr. Shaw said: "Neither directly, indirectly, nor by implication, have I made any agreement with Mr. Fleming." Alderman Leslie's indignation with *The World* found vent in calling it a "small-pox journal." The "shuffle," or the change, was approved in Council by a majority of 12 to 10, Mr. Shaw voting in favor; so it was a near thing. At this distance it appears that the appointment of Mr. Fleming as Assessment Commissioner was thoroughly justifiable. He served the city well and his departure some years later to the office of the Toronto Railway Company was regretted.

A remarkable convention met in Toronto during the third week in July—the International Epworth League, a Methodist Young People's Society. Over 20,000 delegates were present, from all parts of the Continent. Four auditoriums were required for the meetings, Massey Music Hall, the Horticultural Pavilion, Cooke's Church and the Metropolitan Church—with a final rally on the Exhibition grounds. The City took official notice of the convention and the publicity accruing to the Province and its capital by reason of the visit of so many religious leaders from the United States must have been very great.

In August the British Association for the Advancement of Science met in Toronto. Lord Lister responded to the address of welcome presented by Mayor Shaw. He said in part: "If I compare what things were when I visited Canada last, twenty-one years ago, with what they are today, I would say that nothing has impressed me more than the changes in this noble city; the greatness of your buildings, your splendid installation of electric cars, and not least, the exquisite taste of your new University buildings and the beauty of the scenery in which they are located. I think that you are to be congratulated."

The greatest occasion of 1897 was the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. It began with special church services of thanksgiving on Sunday, June 20th. It is interesting to notice that the most elaborate musical services in the City were held in St. Basil's and Our Lady of Lourdes Churches. Beethoven's Mass in C and Marzo's Messe Solennelle were sung. Holy Trinity Church heard Handel's formal coronation cantata, Zadok the Priest, and Stainer's Service in A. Most of the other churches were content with miscellaneous festival programmes. There is an interesting contrast between the services at the Jubilee and at the Coronation of King George. The advancement of musical art in ten years or thereabouts is apparent.

On Monday, the 21st, there was a great civil and military procession through streets blazing with flags and decorations of the most elaborate nature. At night the value of electric light for decorative illumination was thoroughly demonstrated. Immense crowds made holiday and were in transports of sentimental loyalty. It was the Victorian Era at its climax. The outlay of the City on this very remarkable celebration was about $6,000, administered with rare judgment by a Committee of Council, Alderman Hallam being chairman.

Mayor Shaw after five months of service was a candidate for re-election. His opponent was Mr. E. A. Macdonald, the ship canal promoter. The surprising thing about this contest was not that 12,648 persons voted for Mr. Shaw; it was found in the fact that 8,401 electors cast their ballots for the other.

Early in the year Mr. Macdonald made renewed charges of corrupt practices against certain aldermen and a special committee of Council was named to confer with him and report whether or not there was reason for an inquiry. The report of the Committee contains the following pungent sentences :"Mr. Macdonald has not seen fit to supply your Committee with any information which would warrant it in asking for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the charges made by him. It is the belief of your Committee that such charges are foul slanders as far as they relate to the aldermen of the city. Your Committee would therefore recommend that in future any communications sent to this Council on the same subject from the said Mr. Macdonald be relegated to the waste-basket.—John Dunn, chairman."

There was no possibility of relegating Mr. Macdonald himself to the waste-basket. He had a following, revealed at the Mayoralty election of 1899, when he received 10,532 votes as against Mayor Shaw's 11,395. It must be admitted that some of his supporters were more enemies of John Shaw than friends of Ernest Albert Macdonald, but votes are votes, and are not classified with finesse. On New Year's Day, 1900, Mr. Macdonald was on the long side of the ballot schedule, and Democracy had triumphed! This was the peak-hour of the most singular public career in the annals of Toronto.

On September 18th, 1899, the new City Hall was officially opened by Mayor Shaw—eight years after the laying of the cornerstone, and ten years after the granting of the contract.

The original intention was to erect a brick building with a stone facing. Ultimately the Council, by slow degrees, by more and more, endorsed the architect's recommendation for a stone building with a brick lining. All by-laws for additional expenditure on the Hall were approved, although during the same period the electors refused twice to vote money for a trunk sewer. The total debenture issue for the erection of the City Hall amounted to $2,261,201.82. The final cost was about $2,500,000—reasonable enough when one remembers that the floor space has a superficies of 5.4 acres. A capital outlay of $10 per square foot is low, considering the solidity of the building, the fine tower, and the magnificent appointments.

A representative contingent of Toronto militiamen took part in the Military Tournament and March, which were a part of Queen Victoria's Jubilee festivities in London. On its return it was welcomed most enthusiastically by the citizens. To these military travellers, as to all others privileged to witness the splendors of the Diamond Jubilee, came a vision of the majesty and might of the British Empire which made them catch their breath for wonder, and lift their heads for pride. When in September, 1899, the Boer Republics of South Africa, challenged the Empire—with the express approval of Germany and to the high contentment of some other European nations—there is no occasion for surprise in the fact that the British peoples oversea claimed their right to help. The Colonial Secretary was the recipient of unnumbered cable messages from all parts of Canada offering aid. His answer on October 3rd was addressed to Lord Minto, the Governor-General: "Secretary of State for War and Commander in Chief desire to express high appreciation of signal exhibition of patriotic spirit of people of Canada shown by offers to serve in South Africa and to furnish following information to assist organization of force offered into units suitable for military requirements. Firstly, units should consist of about 125 men; secondly, may be infantry, mounted infantry or cavalry; in view of numbers already available infantry most, cavalry least serviceable; thirdly, all should be armed with .303 rifles or carbines which can be supplied by Imperial Government if necessary; fourthly, all must provide own equipment, and mounted troops own horses; fifthly, not more than one captain and three subalterns each unit. Whole force may be commanded by officer not higher than major. In considering numbers which can be employed . . . would gladly accept four units. Conditions as follows: Troops to be disembarked at port of landing South Africa fully equipped at cost of Colonial Government or volunteers. From date of disembarkation Imperial Government will provide pay at Imperial rates, supplies and ammunition, and will defray expenses of transport back to Canada, and pay wound pensions and compassionate allowances at Imperial rates. Troops to embark not later than October 31st, proceeding direct to Cape Town for orders."

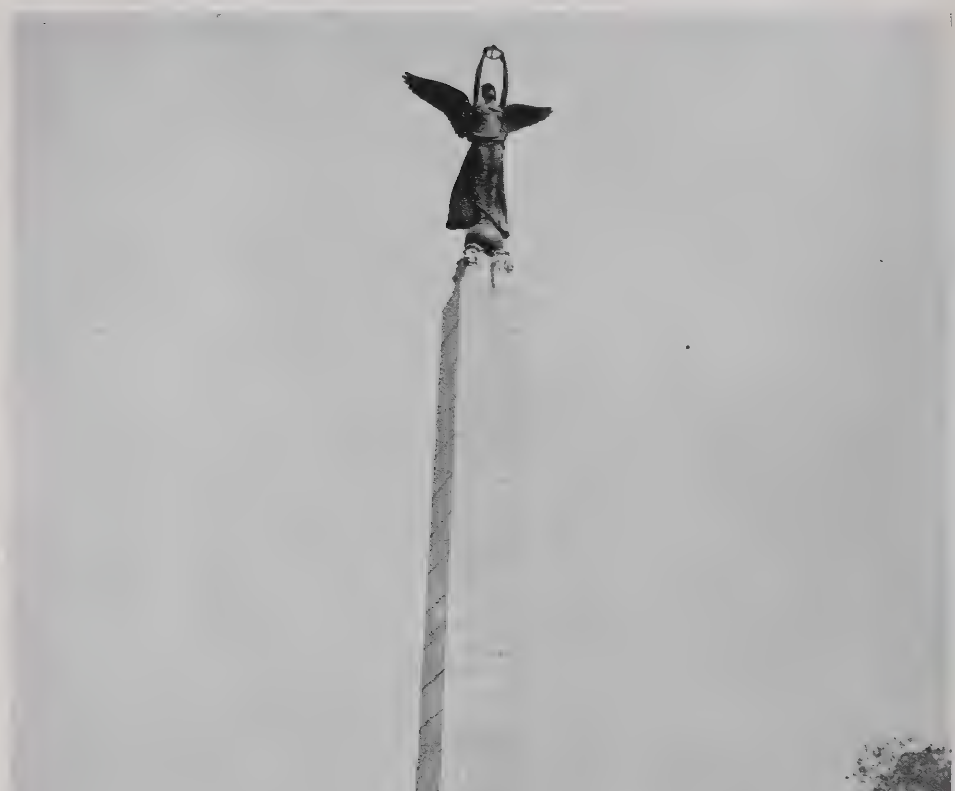
The Canadian Government considered the situation for ten days, during which time Ontario was clamorous for action. Then on October 14th the Government made reply: "The Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), in view of the well-known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers may readily be undertaken by the Government of Canada without summoning Parliament, especially as such an expenditure under such circumstances cannot be regarded as a departure from the well-known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action. Already under similar conditions New Zealand has sent two companies, Queensland is about to send 250 men and West Australia and Tasmania are sending 125 men each. The Prime Minister therefore recommends that out of the stores now available in the Militia Department the Government undertake to equip a certain number of volunteers, not to exceed 1,000 men, and to provide for their transportation from this country to South Africa."

The time-limit set was October 31st. Seventeen days remained. In six days 1,000 men were enlisted, 125 being raised in Toronto as C Company.

C Company's officers were Captain R. K. Barker, of the Queen's Own; Lieutenant W. R. Marshall, of the 13th Battalion, Hamilton; Lieutenant C. S. Wilkie, of the Grenadiers, and Lieutenant F. D. Lafferty, of the Royal Canadian Artillery. For each one gazetted literally scores were disappointed. As for privates, there was also an embarrassment of riches. On the evening of October 14th, 98 Queen's Own men had volunteered, 110 cavalrymen of the Body Guard, and similar numbers of the Grenadiers and Highlanders. The 125 men required could have been picked ten times over. The final selection included the following non-commissioned officers: Color Sergeant J. S. Campbell, R. C. R.; Sergeant A. Beattie, Queen's Own; Sergeant H. J. Middleton, Grenadiers; Sergeant J. H. Ramage, 36th Peel; Corporal H. W. A. Dickson, Queen's Own; Corporal A. H. Freemantle, Grenadiers; Corporal F. H. Rutherford, 13th of Hamilton; Corporal K. McGee, R.M.C. Cadet; Corporal R. W. Hoskins, Queen's Own. Lance-Corporal J. F. Ramsay, Highlanders; Lance-Corporal E. W. Hodgins, Body Guard.

The privates of C Company were fully representative of the various militia regiments of the Second Military District. Queen's Own, 26; Grenadiers, 18; Highlanders, 19; Body Guard, 3; Royal Canadian Infantry, and Royal Canadian Dragoons, (Regulars) 12; 36th Peel, 2; 13th Hamilton, 7; 39th Norfolk, 1; Simcoe Foresters, 6; 12th York Rangers, 7; 29th Waterloo, 1; 37th Haldimand, 2; 31st Grey, 4; S. Ste. Marie Rifles, 3; 77th Wentworth, 1; 38th Dufferin, 2; 44th Lincoln and Welland, 2; 34th Ontario, 1; Toronto Police Force, 2; Royal Military College Cadet, 1; no militia affiliation, 2. Ninety men out of 125 were citizens of Toronto.

The enthusiasm of the citizens was infectious. Cheering crowds were in the armouries nightly. The Red Cross Society was active, and a meeting of prominent citizens in the City Hall on the 17th undertook to insure the lives of the Toronto volunteers and to care for their dependents. The City Council provided for each officer a cash gift of £25 and a field glass. Each enlisted man received £5 and a silver match box. Leave of absence was granted also to all volunteers of the civic services.



South African War Memorial
University Avenue, Toronto

On October 23rd all companies were ordered to concentrate at Quebec for clothing and equipment. The farewell to C Company was a scene of almost delirious enthusiasm. At Quebec there was a week of swift action on the part of the Militia Department, then all was ready one day within the time limit.

So came the 30th of October, a day of radiant sunshine, beautiful beyond description. The battalion paraded in full marching order on the Quebec Esplanade, and the city wall was crowded with onlookers. Lord Minto, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Minister of Militia inspected the force, and then, to the traditional air, "The Girl I Left Behind Me," the march to the ship began—down St. Louis Street and Mountain Hill to the Allan wharf. The old *Sardinian,* transformed into a troopship in fourteen days at a cost of $160,000, received 1,081 men and then warped out into the stream. Decks and rigging were crowded with cheering men in khaki as the vessel moved away. On the glacis before the Citadel, on Dufferin Terrace, and on the Grand Battery, twenty thousand citizens were assembled, to witness a high climax in the pageant of Canadian history.

At noon on November 29th the Sardinian docked in Table Bay. The next morning the battalion went into camp on Green Point Common and on December 1st was ordered to the front. A month of hard work at Belmont followed. Then began the march to Bloemfontein, the Canadians being brigaded with the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, the King's Own Shropshire Light Infantry and the Gordon Highlanders. The battle of Paardeberg occurred on February 18th, 1900. By 9.30 o'clock in the morning A and C companies had forded the river and were in the firing line about 1,800 yards from the enemy. Here they lay until 5.15 in the afternoon exposed to frontal fire and also to the enfilading fire of concealed snipers. The presence of the enemy on the left wing was not discovered until the afternoon, a fact which throws a flicker of light on the quality of the scouting. At 5.15 an old-fashioned bayonet charge was essayed, which the enemy effectually quelled with rifle fire. The Brigade was stopped within 200 yards. Darkness fell on an indecisive action which had cost the Canadians 19 killed and 67 wounded.

The subsequent service of the First Contingent belongs to general history. A summary of the action at Paardeberg is given because it put an end to all doubt concerning the quality of the Canadian militia. Thousands of Toronto citizens had believed in the men who gave their winter nights to drill and their holidays to marches and sham fights, but many others were accustomed to make slighting remarks concerning the activity of "playing soldier." True, there had been a rebellion in the Northwest, but the opposition was not counted as sufficiently impressive. Paardeberg proved that volunteers could be steady and reliable under intensive fire. It gave the militia regiments desirable self-confidence and won for them public respect. It deepened the sense of comradeship amongst the colonies and the Mother Country, which had been born at the Queen's Jubilee. It was the beginning of a new chapter in the story of the British Empire.

The regiment had hardly left Quebec until plans were prepared for the despatch of a Second Contingent. It was not accepted by the Imperial authorities until December 16th, and finally consisted of two battalions of Mounted Infantry and a Brigade Division of Field Artillery. Toronto was well represented in these forces, which sailed from Halifax on January 20th, January 27th and February 21st per transports *Laurentian, Pomeranian* and *Milwaukee.* The Strathcona Horse followed later.

Throughout the South African War Canada sent oversea 160 officers and 2,932 non-commissioned officers and men. In the words of Major-General R. H. O'Grady Haly, commanding the Canadian Militia: "Sufficient troops were sent to demonstrate that there are in the colonies citizen-soldier forces which are to the Empire a formidable strength."

Altogether the outlay by the City for the benefit of the volunteers reached $25,000. On June 18th, 1900, a debenture issue to that amount was authorized in accordance with a Provincial statute passed earlier in the year.

Mr. E. A. Macdonald had defeated Mr. E. F. Clarke and Mr. John Hallam in the Mayoralty election of 1900, obtaining 11,912 votes. His inaugural address was a picturesque document vigorously denouncing Mr. William Mackenzie and the Toronto Railway Company, questioning the efficiency and good faith of Mr. Curry, the Crown Attorney, and rebuking the people for building the City Hall. "We have a great municipal building," said the Mayor. "I am glad to say I opposed its construction at every stage. Had we expended a couple of years' interest on the vast sums of capital that we have spent in this building we could have erected plain, simple, commodious apartments without neglecting the sanitary conditions of our city."

A feature of the municipal record of the year was an investigation by Judge McDougall into the political activity of the Chief of the Fire Brigade, who, it appears, had been unwisely active in Ward Two on behalf of Mr. John Shaw. The Judge said in his finding: "To obtain a position on the Fire Brigade or to win promotion therein appears to have depended on gaining the aldermanic support from the Fire and Light Committee. For many years past this influence alone has proved potential. Is it to be wondered at then that an applicant for promotion and his friends should pursue the well-beaten path trodden by so many restless feet?"

The Judge thought that the only cure for this impropriety was to remove the control of the Brigade from the aldermanic body. This was not done, but the effect of the investigation was singularly good in correcting some evils which had grown up insensibly.

Once more, this time on the demand of the Mayor, there was an inquiry into the possibility of securing cheap power for the city by bringing the waters of Lake Simcoe down the Humber Valley and constructing dams at Weston and at Bâby Point. Mr. Cecil B. Smith, C.E., reported that about 20,000 horse-power might be secured for rather more than $214 of capital cost per horse-power. This did not include the cost of the Canal from the Lake which he calculated at $12,000,000.

For some years there had been complaint that the Gas Company was not fulfilling the spirit of its incorporation Act, whereby excess profits should apply on the reduction of the price of gas to the citizens. On December 10th the people voted in favor of taking over the gas works as a municipal utility. The vote was 14,355 in favor and 6,801 against, a fact which had some bearing on the subsequent mending of the evil complained of.

At the end of the Century the Net Debt of the City was $12,883,643. The City's share of the Local Improvement debt was $2,799,744.28, and there were no outstanding securities of an earlier date than 1874. The value of property owned by the city was $13,000,000. The income from the street railway was $175,000, and the gross receipts for all purposes in 1900 were $6,346,629.92.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MODERN TORONTO

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NO ONE under thirty years of age can understand the effect of Queen Victoria's death on the mental processes of the leaders in civic life and of the public in general. Almost none could remember a time when a man was on the Throne, and in consequence the emotion of loyalty was commingled with a sense of chivalry, with a curious sentimentality, that we now regard as the hall-mark of the Victorian Era. The oldest buildings for Government uses bore V.R. God Save the Queen, seemed a settled song, a verse coeval with Deuteronomy and the Psalms. "Q.C.", the distinguishing mark of the eminent lawyer, seemed as old as Coke on Blackstone. Even grandmother's worn and yellow prayer-book contained the petition for "Victoria, our gracious Queen and Governour." The militia regiments were Soldiers of the Queen, and drilled with a strange exultation. Each volunteer might have been described in the lines:

> "A red-cross knight forever kneeled
> To a lady in his shield,
> That sparkled on the yellow field,
> Beside remote Shalott."

To root up the word "Queen" from our vocabulary and substitute for it the less interesting, less lovely and less gracious word "King," seemed difficult, if not impossible. The Empire was an abstraction; a noble abstraction it is true, but still shadowy and intangible; while Victoria was a Good Woman who of right engaged the affection of all her people.

The first month of the new century had not expired when the bad news came. There was a special meeting of the City Council on January 23rd, 1901, to pass a resolution of regret and of sympathy with the Royal Family. A sentence from the resolution, moved by Ald. Sheppard and Ald. Lamb, here follows: "We mourn the loss of a great and good ruler, the administrator of the greatest Empire the world has yet seen; the loss of one who has been a good and noble woman, who has given to all people the legacy of a wise career and the example of a splendid life."

The Council recommended to the clergy the holding of memorial services on Saturday, February 2nd, the day of Her Majesty's funeral, and requested the closing of all places of business and entertainment until sundown. So the obsequies were celebrated and the people adjusted themselves to the thought that King Edward VII. reigned.

On February 6th, the Council assembled to hear the Lieutenant-Governor's proclamation calling upon all officers of Government to bear true allegiance to His Majesty. Then the Mayor and aldermen declared aloud their allegiance: "We with one voice and consent of tongue and heart pledge allegiance to King Edward the Seventh. God Save the King." And so the new era began.

Several months of the year 1901 were occupied by the Reception Committee of the City Council in preparation for the Royal Visit in October. The

Duke of Cornwall and York was now *de facto* Prince of Wales and the City was anxious that his welcome should exceed in splendor and heartiness that of his father in 1860. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated and the counsel of eminent citizens of all sorts was sought. Mr. E. Wyly Grier and Mr. Frank Darling drafted a plan of decoration. The manufacturers erected a magnificent arch in stucco at the College Street entrance to Queen's Park, and the Independent Order of Foresters built one no less elaborate at the corner of Richmond and Bay streets. Electric lights were used with great freedom by all the merchants and the business section of the City was gay with flags and bunting.

The Duke and Duchess arrived at a special station in North Toronto on the afternoon of Thursday, October 10th. Some thousands of school children under Mr. A. T. Cringan, sang a patriotic welcome, despite the pouring rain, and then the Royal party was escorted in procession to the City Hall. Here was a great choir under Dr. Torrington, to sing with band accompaniment, the march and chorus from *Tannhâuser* and the Hallelujah from *The Messiah.* Then a series of formal addresses was presented, the Duchess being comforted in the time of boring by a rich bouquet of orchids. The Duke in his reply said: "The deeds of your fellow-countrymen during the war in South Africa have indeed testified, not only to the strength of your loyalty, but to the strong military instinct and capacity inherent in the sons of the Dominion. They have fully maintained the noble tradition of your forefathers who fought for hearth and home under the leadership of the heroic Brock."

Then came a sentence which reads strangely to-day: "I have received with pleasure the address from the German residents of Toronto, in which they testify to their appreciation of the advantages of British citizenship."

There was a dinner at Government House in the evening and afterwards the Royal party attended a production of *Lohengrin* at Massey Hall under the direction of Mr. Walter Damrosch. Mme. Sembrich was "Elsa," Dippel sang the title role, and the other principals were Louise Homer and Muhlmann. On Friday there were two performances, *Romeo and Juliet,* with Sybil Sanderson, and *Carmen,* with Calvé.

The ceremonies of Friday opened with a notable military review. Then followed a review of the firemen, a visit to Bishop Strachan School, the planting of a maple tree in Queen's Park, and attendance at a special convocation of the University. There was an evening reception at the Parliament Buildings and on Saturday morning the party left for Niagara Falls. The total outlay by the city was $10,623.76 without counting the thousands spent by private citizens in decoration and illumination. Everything about the reception was right, except the weather, but the people willingly got wet to pay a tribute of loyalty, even as their fathers had done in 1860.

Mr. Oliver A. Howland was the Mayor for 1901—coming from a Mayoralty melée. There were five candidates, and the vote was as follows: O. A. Howland, 12,310; E. A. Macdonald, 3,303; John Shaw, 992; F. S. Spence, 8,153; C. C. Woodley, 220. The Mayor in his inaugural address expressed indignation at the prevalence of gambling in Toronto, and particularly at the making of a "book" on the result of the civic elections. He compared the entry of the professional gambler into this alluring field, with Catiline's bold entry into the very Senate, and quoted Cicero's rebuke: "To this length you have stretched our patience, O Catiline." His Worship urged that the several members of the Board of Control should devote themselves to the particular supervision of stated Departments of the Civic Government, so that an administration in a sense responsible to Council could be erected. Reference was made to the fact that the amount of money handled annually by the City exceeded the budget of any of the Provinces. Although the people had voted in favor of the purchase of the Gas Company's plant, the Mayor favored making haste slowly. He also intimated that there were grave inequalities of assessment that operated to the disadvantage of small retailers and to the advantage of the Departmental stores.

An auditor's report on the position of the Gas Company was presented to Council during 1901, and possibly the facts revealed turned away the public from the notion of purchase. The Act of 1887 had provided that the profits should be divided after the following system: A dividend of ten per cent. to shareholders, the building up of a reserve equivalent to half the capital stock; directors' fees of $9,000; a plant and buildings renewal fund of 5 per cent. annually on actual value; a special surplus fund.

It was provided that when the special surplus fund should reach an amount equivalent to 5c a thousand cubic feet on the amount of gas sold, the price to the consumer should be lowered by that amount. The auditor took exception to the practice of decreasing surplus by writing off a certain amount annually on mains, but in general the report showed that the Company had not dealt unfairly with the City. A comparative statement showed that the prices had declined from $5 a thousand in 1845, to 90c between 1896 and 1900.

There was more talk about the purchase of the plant and its operation as a civic utility, but civic opinion was not favorable. Ultimately the City secured the right to buy common stock at par, and the appointment of the Mayor as a member of the Board of Directors.

During 1900 the people had rejected a by-law for the expansion of the Exhibition, and there was a feeling, particularly amongst manufacturers, that the Fair was in urgent need of improvement. Accordingly a special committee was named by the Council of 1901 to make a full inquiry into the affairs of the Exhibition Association. The Committee consisted of Aldermen Hodgson, Starr, Oliver, Loudon and Urquhart. The report showed that after the incorporation of the Exhibition Association in 1879 the City had granted a lease of the land for ten years, and in 1889 had renewed it for another ten years. Under the second lease the Association was authorized to erect buildings, and subject to the approval of Council, to raise money by mortgage; devoting all surplus funds to the liquidation of the debt. During the 20 years the Association had expended on the erection of new buildings and the repair and extension of buildings already in existence, $218,201.33. Of this $85,000 was borrowed. At the termination of the second lease this sum was still owing, and there was a bank overdraft of $14,425.55.

Under these circumstances a new arrangement had been made. The City took over all assets of the Association and assumed its liabilities, permitting the Association to retain $10,000 to carry on business, and a new lease at nominal rental was drawn. Responsibility was placed upon the City for the erection of new buildings. Up to 1901 the total outlay by the City on the Exhibition had been $450,865.61. This did not include interest on the money invested, the maintenance of Exhibition Park as a Park or the civic contribution towards carrying volunteers to the new rifle ranges, made necessary by the expansion of the grounds to take in the former rifle range.

The Committee suggested that the Mayor and aldermen should be members of the Association and that five of the Directors should be named by the City Council. The recommendation carried.

Through the initiative of Mayor Howland a convention of municipal representatives from various cities in Ontario and Quebec met in Toronto on August 8th, 1901, to discuss the increasing tendency of corporations to encroach upon municipal rights. Mayor Lighthall, of Westmount, Que., was named secretary of the convention, which took to itself a name—the Union of Canadian Municipalities, and several vigorous resolutions were adopted. The most important was to the effect that municipalities should have full and exclusive control of their streets, and that no legislation should be passed infringing upon such control unless it were subject to the consent of the municipality concerned. For a number of years the Union was an effective force in the Parliamentary and Legislative Committee-rooms.

Mayor Howland, representing the City Council, with Mr. Hugh Blain and Mr. H. P. Eckhardt, representing the Board of Trade, were members of a deputation which called upon the Provincial Government on February 18th, 1902, to urge the construction of a railway from North Bay to the Temiscaming District. Three days later Premier Ross announced to the House that the Government would give serious attention to the proposal. Surveys were made in the course of the summer and the Bill authorizing the construction of the railway as a Government work was passed during the Session of 1903.

Authority to make use of the waters of Niagara River for the development of electric energy had been granted by 1900 to two corporations; the Canadian Niagara Power Company and the Ontario Power Company. There was grave concern in Toronto and in the manufacturing towns of Western Ontario lest the power to be generated might be all exported to the United States, leaving Canada helpless. Moreover, many men of municipal experience doubted the wisdom of handing such enormous privileges to individuals, when electric energy was likely soon to become the very soul of industrial production.

On January 27th, 1902, the City Council, on motion of Alderman Spence and Alderman Sheppard, named a special committee to assist the City Solicitor in his efforts to secure legislation empowering Toronto to purchase and distribute electric energy. Meanwhile Alderman Burns had given notice of motion instructing the City Engineer to communicate with the Niagara Power Companies with a view to supplying the city, the manufacturers and the citizens with power, light and heat at more reasonable rates, and the Toronto branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association had written to the Council expressing appreciation at such action as had been taken.

The City Bill came before the Legislature's Private Bills Committee for discussion on February 13th, when Mr. J. J. Wright, of the Toronto Electric Light Company, declared that many failures had occurred elsewhere in attempts to transmit energy for long distances economically. He said that in Toronto power could be produced more cheaply by steam. The discussion was adjourned until March 5th, and then there was a real gathering of the clans. Mr. E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., on behalf of the Electric Light Company, denounced the proposal that the community should enter into competition with citizens holding a franchise, and made a fervid onslaught on the Bill. Mr. C. H. Ritchie, K.C., appeared on behalf of private companies applying to the Dominion Parliament for authority to transmit power from the Falls; Mr. Lynch-Staunton opposed the Bill on behalf of the Bell Telephone Company, while Mr. H. S. Osler and Mr. Henry O'Brien represented the Consumers' Gas Company.

Mayor Howland, Mr. F. S. Spence and others of the Council, were overweighted in the conflict, though they fought manfully; the Committee refused the request of the City by a vote of 23 to 6. The six were Crawford, Fox, Lee, Marter, Pyne and Tucker.

The action of the Legislature was not favorably received by the press of Toronto and Western Ontario. There was a lively feeling that corporations were too tenderly considered and the general public not considered at all, and there were indications that the Provincial Opposition might make the Power question a political issue. Because of the prevailing sentiment the aldermen continued their agitation. On December 15th Aldermen Woods and Hubbard moved that the City apply again for the legislation desired and this was carried unanimously.

Western Ontario municipalities had formed an association for the discussion of the power question, and the Chairman, Mr. E. W. B. Snider, of St. Jacob's, invited Toronto representation at a convention to be held on February 17th, 1903, at Berlin (now Kitchener). Mr. Spence headed the Toronto delegation. The Convention was a distinct success, over ninety municipalities or individual manufacturing concerns being represented. Among the delegates was Mr. Adam Beck, of London, who said that he had come merely to learn.

He acquired information rapidly, for by the time of the second meeting of the association, in Toronto on August 12th, he was one of the recognized leaders of the movement. Meanwhile Toronto had been "turned down" again by the Legislature on the grounds that the City had no complete scheme. The convention determined to ask the Government to undertake the distribution of power. Premier Ross declined on the grounds that only a part of the Province would benefit, but promised to give authority to the municipalities to undertake it in co-operation, first investigating through a commission.

On December 21st, 1903, the Toronto City Council agreed to join with six other municipalities in undertaking such an investigation. The members of this preliminary Commission were E. W. B. Snider; P. W. Ellis, Adam Beck, W. F. Cockshutt, and Robert A. Ross, engineer, of Montreal. R. A. Fessenden, of Washington, was retained as an expert, and J. G.

Haight, of Waterloo, acted as secretary. Toronto contributed to the expense of this inquiry $11,756 of a total of $16,000. Not one dollar was contributed by the Province. The "meat" of the Commission's report was found in these sentences: "The basal fact that power and light can be supplied under a municipal development . . . at prices beyond the reach of permanent commercial competition, is not open to argument. Private companies have to pay higher interest rates on their bonded debt, and in addition they have large issues of capital stock on which dividends have to be earned."

All the corporations represented at the meeting of the Private Bills Committee on March 5th, 1902, and many more, were in constant opposition to the Hydro-Electric idea. Engineers in private employ could not see anything but disaster and heavy debts for such municipalities as joined the co-operative union. Estimates of Hydro-Electric engineers were held up to ridicule, and financial leaders uttered grave warnings in public and in private. Yet Spence, Burns, Loudon, Urquhart, Hubbard, Sheppard, Oliver and the less experienced members of Council, persisted in their belief that the vital interest of Toronto was the securing of cheap power, and were steady in their support of the municipal power union. When the question came to a vote the electors endorsed the courageous and unfaltering attitude of their representatives.

The Ross Government was defeated in 1905, and Mr. James P. Whitney became Premier, with Mr. Adam Beck as a member of his Cabinet. On July 5th, 1905, the Act was passed constituting the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.

Niagara power was first received in Toronto at the end of 1912. By this time the local Hydro-Electric Commission had organized and completed a distribution system in competition with that of the Toronto Electric Light Company, which had refused to sell out its business, even on most favorable terms.

The eleventh annual report of the Toronto Commission showed total assets of $15,186,386.90; total liabilities of $10,140,229.48; reserves and accumulated surplus of $5,046,147.42. The average rate to consumers was rather lower than 1 1-2c per kilowatt hour. The revenue for 1921 from the sale of energy was $3,622,605.23. After meeting operation and maintenance charges of $2,213,373.95, and setting aside for reserves and contingencies over $731,000 there was a net surplus of $214,353.31. The growth of the system in Toronto from 1912 to 1921 is best shown by the following table:

End of	Meters in Use	Street Lights in Use	Kilowatt Hours Sold	Connected Load H.P.	Peak Load H.P.
1912	13,858	33,824	35,176,548	46,296	17,198
1913	24,999	38,944	65,052,951	68,461	22,520
1914	33,976	40,596	82,927,015	90,162	28,753
1915	39,284	43,411	109,501,981	111,413	40,180
1916	44,013	45,212	139,003,756	125,840	47,165
1917	50,461	45,841	171,691,213	169,818	56,662
*1918	53,598	29,527	230,413,561	184,930	60,154
*1919	63,762	45,091	180,609,938	176,351	59,618
*1920	71,447	45,472	214,908,545	194,800	62,339
1921	81,923	46,126	221,384,558	227,600	76,378

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* Owing to the shortage of power during 1918, 1919 and 1920 it was necessary to stop canvassing for new business and to curtail street lighting.

In view of general electrical experience of the past ten years, there is nothing surprising in this rate of increase. Aldermen who brought Hydro-Electric service to Toronto could not foresee any such success. The best they hoped for was a rate-schedule about half that of the private company. Actually it is less than one-quarter.

Mr. P. W. Ellis, the Mayor of the City, and Mr. George Wright, form the Toronto Hydro-Electric Commission.

Two serious fires occurred in June, 1902. On the 6th the Horticultural Pavilion in Allan Gardens was swept away. Although a flimsy structure of wood and glass, the Pavilion had been an exceedingly useful auditorium for all manner of meetings, political, civic, religious and educational. It had been the only large concert hall for more than twenty years, and its disappearance caused general regret. At the fire the discovery was made that some of the supporting timbers were rotten, and that the building must have been unsafe. Perhaps the fire was not wholly a disaster. The Pavilion was built in 1878 under the supervision of Langley and Langley, and was valued at $30,000.

Five firemen were killed and one fatally injured at a fire on June 10th at P. McIntosh and Sons' premises on Front Street. They were W. Harry Clark, Walter O. Collard, Adam Kerr, Fred. C. Russell, David See and D. J. Nolan. There was a public funeral, which was a notable demonstration of the regret of the community, and of the sympathy of Toronto for the relatives of these faithful servants.

A street railway strike in June, 1902, threatened public order. The men went out on Saturday, June 21st. On Sunday the Company undertook to run cars with strike-breakers and trouble broke out. Cars were stoned at the King Street barns and one man was injured. About the Scollard Street barns a crowd collected in an effort to prevent the Company from taking beds and supplies into the building for the accommodation of the strike-breakers. The militia regiments were called out to assist the police and for a time the situation had an ugly appearance. Fortunately the strike was settled on the next day.

It had served to show clearly the unpopularity of the Company, and to justify the long-continued efforts of the City Council to compel the observance of the agreement. The apparent determination of the Company to carry out only a portion of its obligations was the occasion of continual litigation. Not only was the service irregular and insufficient, but the Company refused to make necessary extensions to serve the needs of the expanding city, and was engaged in efforts to secure vested rights on the streets not covered by its franchise. A Dominion Bill to incorporate the Toronto and Hamilton Electric Railway Company proposed to give authority for the merging of the Metropolitan and other radial electric lines, and for the carriage of freight on city streets; contrary to the will of the City. Since the radials were owned by the chief stock-holders of the Toronto Railway Company there was danger in permitting their entrance, particularly as the proposed franchise was to run beyond the term of the street-railway franchise. For a number of years the City was compelled to watch like a hawk all projected legislation, both Federal and Provincial.

A resolution of regret and sympathy was passed on September 16th, 1902, at the death of President McKinley, who had been shot in the neighboring city of Buffalo while attending the Pan-American exhibition. During the funeral business houses were closed and the bells were tolled.

The first official mention of automobiles is found on November 3rd, 1902, when the street traffic by-law was amended to apply to motor-driven vehicles.

Mayor Howland was re-elected for 1902, his vote being 13,425, as compared with 8,818 for Mr. W. F. Maclean and 642 for C. C. Woodley. The citizens approved on January 27th, a by-law for the expenditure of $133,500 on Exhibition buildings; namely, a new manufacturers' hall, an art gallery, and a dairy building. In his inaugural address the Mayor announced a *quasi* undertaking on the part of the Federal Government; "if we do our share in cleansing the Bay by the construction of a proper trunk sewer, the Government will come to our aid and do its proper share in the deepening and improvement of the harbor." This is the point of beginning in the waterfront improvement of recent years.

There was a pretty Mayoralty fight in 1903. Mayor Howland was opposed by Alderman Daniel Lamb and Alderman Thomas Urquhart, while Mr. C. C. Robinson and Mr. C. C. Woodley were extras. The vote was as follows: Howland, 7,869; Lamb, 6,473; Robinson, 912; Urquhart, 8,636; Woodley, 410. Thus Mr. Urquhart was elected, although he had little more than one-third of the votes polled.

Four distinguished citizens died in the early part of 1903; Sir Oliver Mowat, Lieutenant-Governor, and former Premier of Ontario; Judge McDougall, of the County Court; Mr. Emerson Coatsworth, City Commissioner, and Mr. Alexander Manning, ex-Mayor and a resident of Toronto since its incorporation in 1834.

On February 3rd, 1903, the City Council accepted with thanks the gift from Mr. Andrew Carnegie of $350,000 for the building of a central public library and guaranteed to provide sites for branches and contribute not less than $35,000 annually for maintenance.

The great fire of April 19th and 20th, 1904, began in the E. and S. Currie neckwear factory on the north side of Wellington Street near Bay, probably from an electric short circuit. There was a strong north wind and despite the most ardent efforts of the firemen building after building caught fire. By midnight the whole area south of the *Telegram* office to the Bay and from the Queen's Hotel to the old Custom House on the corner of Front and Yonge Streets was a seething furnace. Firemen came to aid from Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Peterboro', Brantford and London, but despite all efforts 14 acres of warehouses were razed, and the loss reached $13,000,000. The insurance amounted to $8,885,000. Eighty-six buildings were destroyed and 5,000 persons were temporarily out of employment. Messages of sympathy came from all over the world. Perhaps none was more welcome than that from the Duke and Duchess of Argyle, better known to Toronto and to Canada as the Marquess of Lorne and the Princess Louise. There were offers of financial aid for sufferers from more than one municipality, but fortunately the fire touched no homes. It was a business loss rather than a domestic calamity. The disappearance of fourteen acres of dwelling houses would have been a disaster indeed.

For the most part the warehouses destroyed were those of long-established firms, with ample resources—such firms as W. R. Brock and Co., Gordon Mackay and Co., Copp-Clark, Brown Brothers, W. J. Gage, Warwick Bros. and Rutter, the Allan Company. They were greatly embarrassed, of course, by the loss of heavy stocks of goods, but they were able to continue in business and erect buildings better suited for their needs. The district burned over is now completely filled with steel-and-brick structures of the highest modern type. The wholesale district of Toronto is of superb quality.

One useful result of the fire was the establishment of a high-pressure water system for the down-town area, and the general extension of the waterworks at a cost of over $700,000. Plans for the under-Bay tunnel, approved by the Mansergh Report, were at last completed and the contract was let in 1905.

Mayor Urquhart continued in office during 1904 and 1905. For the first year mentioned he was elected by acclamation. On New Year's Day, 1905, he defeated Mr. George H. Gooderham by over 2,000 majority. The Board of Control for 1904 was composed of F. S. Spence, John F. Loudon, Fred H. Richardson and W. P. Hubbard, elected by the City at large instead of by the Council. Charges of electoral irregularities were investigated between February 9th and May 14th by Judge Winchester, and it appeared that a few poll clerks, scrutineers, and politicians of the minor sort had been guilty of improprieties for the advantage of two of the candidates. One of the officials of the Toronto Railway Company, also, had been unduly interested in the contest. There was no widespread corruption, but the cases of personation and fraudulent marking of ballots were sufficiently serious to compel an improvement of the electoral system.

Mr. Emerson Coatsworth defeated Mr. F. S. Spence in the municipal election of 1906, the Board of Control being W. P. Hubbard, S. A. Jones, J. J. Ward, and John Shaw. During this year the British Association met in Toronto, and a valuable report on the organization of a proper sewage-disposal system was received from Mr. George R. Strachan, an English engineer. The rapid growth of the City had made necessary the early construction of a trunk sewer. Unfortunately the ratepayers were not inclined to meet the need, for they defeated a by-law to borrow $3,000,000 for this purpose. Not for two years could authority be secured.

At the same time they refused to endorse a proposal to raise $110,939 for the construction of a bridge over the railway tracks at the southern end of Yonge Street. There was reason in this action. A lively agitation had sprung up for the general separation of grades all along the waterfront. On September 26th, 1907, the Council passed the following resolution: "That the railway tracks from Sunnyside to what is known as the diamond crossing at a point west of Bathurst Street be depressed, and that the City's share of any expenditure as might be agreed upon of the cost of this depression apply only to the two tracks at present there; that any additional expense for any additional tracks the railway may need must not be an extra expense in any way against the City, provision to be made in connection therewith for overhead crossings at the several intersecting streets. That the railways should be required to raise the grade of their tracks west of Sunnyside crossing to the city limits at their own expense and to provide subways at the several intersecting streets and park entrances. That a bridge be built crossing Queen Street east at the Don at the expense of the railway companies, and that the Council also take the same position as to the expense of the bridge to be built at Sunnyside. That all the railway tracks, both those used for through traffic and those used for shunting, from a point about Spadina Avenue to east of the Grand Trunk Railway crossing on Queen Street east, be raised on a viaduct; on the Canadian Pacific, to a point approaching the Queen Street crossing of the Don." This resolution was forwarded to the Railway Commission at Ottawa.

Mr. Joseph Oliver was Mayor during 1908 and 1909, a period of great civic expansion and heavy capital expenditure. The electors endorsed on June 27th, 1908, a by-law for the outlay of $2,400,000 for improvement of the sewer system, and approved the expenditure of $750,000 for the filtration of the water supply. In November, 1909, by-laws were carried for the outlay of $320,000 on Exhibition Buildings, and of $262,000 for new fire halls and police stations. A proposal for the construction of a viaduct connecting Bloor Street and Danforth Avenue was defeated at this time and again in 1910. A palm house was built in Allan Gardens to replace in a measure the old Pavilion, and preparations were under way for the building of the Central Technical School. Besides the construction of the Hydro-Electric distributing system was being proceeded with.

The Railway Commission at Ottawa had issued an order for the separation of grades on the waterfront, and Mayor Oliver in his inaugural address for 1909 publicly thanked the Board of Trade and its president, Mr. Lionel Clarke, for their activity in the matter. The judgment assessed one-third of the cost of the viaduct on the City and two-thirds on the railways, but immediate construction was not possible because the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had appealed to the Supreme Court against the order.

During 1909 the number of liquor licenses that might be issued within the municipality was reduced from 150 to 110, and the City made an agreement with the Federal Department of Militia for the acquisition of the Old Fort, Stanley Barracks and the Garrison Common, for the enlargement of the Exhibition Grounds. The corporation transferred to the Government the Bâby farm on the banks of the Humber, valued at $20,000, paid $180,000 in cash, gave the Crown a lease on the new rifle ranges at Port Credit on a nominal rental and continued the arrangement of meeting the cost of transporting volunteers to the ranges in excess of 15 cents return fare. A Stores Building was leased to the Government at a rental of $445.80 per annum.

George R. Geary, Esq., was elected Mayor for 1910, defeating Controller H. C. Hocken by about 4,000 majority, During this year the limits of the City were still further extended, and the electors gave authority to Council to undertake the construction of a civic system of street railways to serve outlying districts. The Toronto Railway Company had taken the ground that it could not be forced to build lines beyond the limits of the City as it was in 1891. In this attitude it was supported by high judicial decisions.

It became necessary, therefore, for the City to construct lines in areas recently annexed. Ultimately such civic lines were built on Gerrard Street, from Greenwood Avenue to East Toronto; on Danforth Avenue from Broadview to Luttrell, on St. Clair Avenue from Yonge Street to the Northern Railway crossing, on Lansdowne Avenue from the Canadian Pacific crossing to St. Clair, and on Bloor Street west from Dundas to High Park. On these lines a two-cent fare was charged and annual deficits were carried by the city at large. When the franchise of the Toronto Railway Company fell in in 1921 these systems were co-ordinated with the Company lines and a universal 7 cent fare was established. The first capital outlay authorized by the electors in 1910 was for $1,157,293.

Other expenditures authorized in the same year were $102,564 for the improvement of roads leading in to the City; $824,400 for storm-sewers; $51,282 for the construction of good roads leading into the city.

In connection with the proposal that the village of North Toronto should be annexed to the City, a joint report of protest was made to Council by the heads of departments. They presented the following startling list of annexations made within five years, and were emphatic in protesting against the heavy financial burdens such extensions made upon the City.

District	Date of Annexation	Additional Acreage
Avenue Road	March 3rd, 1905	144.7
North Rosedale	November 15th, 1905	244.1
Russell Hill Road	December 10th, 1906	28.1
Deer Park	December 15th, 1908	243.
Baldwin Estate	December 15th, 1908	53.3
East Toronto	December 15th, 1908	535.4
Wychwood and Bracondale	February 1st, 1909	1,608.7
West Toronto	May 1st, 1909	1,353.7
Balmy Beach	December 15th, 1909	187.
Dovercourt and Earlscourt	January 10th, 1910	639.1

The population brought into the city by these annexations made a total of only 35,561, or fewer than 7 persons to the acre.

Mayor Geary continued in office during 1911 and was faced by a serious breakage in the waterworks intake pipe, which necessitated long-continued and difficult repair work. In this connection there was an investigation by Judge Winchester which resulted in a recommendation that the Works Department should be re-organized into two separate departments, under a waterworks engineer and a general engineer, both responsible to a Commissioner of Works. On this recommendation Mr. Roland C. Harris was appointed Commissioner. A special report on future waterworks requirements was secured from Mr. Isham Randolph, Mr. T. Aird Murray, and Mr. Willis Chipman, expert engineers. They reaffirmed the opinion of Mr. Mansergh in 1895 that Lake Simcoe was unsuitable as a water supply, and suggested that ultimately there should be an additional intake off Scarboro' Heights and a reservoir of 130,000,000 gallons capacity on the highlands back of the shore line.

Mayor Geary in his 1911 inaugural address referred in some detail to the plans for the reorganization of the Harbor Board, in accordance with the Federal Act of I. George V. cap. 26. The Commission was to consist of five men, three to be appointed by the City, one by the Governor-in-Council of its own motion, and one by the Governor-in-Council on recommendation of the Board of Trade. The City undertook to transfer all City waterfront property and waterlots to the Board and give it complete control. Any surplus arising from the operations of the Board would be paid to the City Treasury, and Harbor Board bonds would be guaranteed by the City. The Government was expected to deepen the harbor to 22 feet. "We have a magnificent harbor," said the Mayor, "but we have failed miserably to avail ourselves of Nature's generosity. We have barely sufficient wharfage to accommodate the lake traffic of to-day, to say nothing of the future. We have been too neglectful of our shipping and harbor interests."

The arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the new Governor-General and his lady, was a feature of the year 1911, and there was a civic reception in their honor. The death of King Edward was the occasion of stately memorial services, and the coronation of King George V. on June 22nd was fittingly celebrated. Mayor Geary represented the City at Westminster Abbey, and during his absence Mr. Controller Spence was acting Mayor.

The death of Judge Mabee in 1912 was followed by the appointment of Mr. Henry Drayton, K.C., as Chairman of the Federal Railway Commission. He had been Corporation Counsel of the City and his retirement from that office brought a problem to the civic administration. It was solved by the nomination of the Mayor. Mr. Geary retired from the Mayoralty on October 21st, 1912, and Controller H. C. Hocken was appointed to fill out the term. The people ratified the choice of Council by electing Mr. Hocken on January 1st, 1913, by a large majority over Mr. Thomas Davies.

In his inaugural address he pointed out the extraordinary expansion of the City. Within five years the area had increased from 17.83 square miles to 33.09. In the same period new buildings to the value of $15,606,325 had been erected, and the assessment had increased by nearly $220,000,000. The number of passengers carried by the Toronto Street Railway had increased from 89,139,571 to 132,000,000.

Significant of the optimistic temper of the times was the carrying by the ratepayers on one day of eight money by-laws aggregating $13,056,000.

During 1913 the Council made an agreement with Mr. Home Smith for the maintenance of the Humber boulevard which he and his associates owning large residential areas in that neighborhood, dedicated to the City.

The great question of the year was the Mayor's proposal to purchase the assets of the Toronto Railway Company and the Toronto Electric Light Company. Mr. Hocken initiated the negotiations with Sir William Mackenzie for the ending of these franchises, and finally $22,000,000 was named for the railway and $8,000,000 for the lighting plant. While the sum was large the supporters of the proposal pointed out the advantage of obtaining a complete monopoly of the city lighting market for the Hydro-Electric distributing plant, now practically completed. They also pointed out the fact that one year's deficit on the civic street car lines—$83,000—represented a capitalization of $1,500,000; and that the deficit on this account was likely to increase during the eight years remaining of the Toronto railway franchise. Further, the people were entitled to a better street railway service, which could not be secured from the Company on an expiring franchise and with consequently restricted borrowing powers.

The opponents of the purchase vehemently objected to any payment for intangibles such as franchise-values and good-will. They insisted that the spirit of the contract with the Toronto Railway Company was that at the end of the franchise period the City would be liable only for physical assets. As for the Electric Light Company, it had refused a reasonable price for its stock, and had chosen to compete with the civic system. Therefore the competition should go on.

It is interesting to notice that in 1921 by the "clean-up" of Mackenzie properties effected through the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, the associated municipalities of the Hydro system secured for $33,000,000 the Electrical Development Company's generating plant at Niagara Falls, the transmission line and right of way from Niagara to Toronto, the Toronto Electric Light plant and all the radial electric roads centred in Toronto. The share assumed by Toronto was equivalent to about $22,000,000. A long arbitration was necessary to fix the value of the expired Toronto Railway franchise, and the new construction was a heavy charge on the treasury.

Whether Mayor Hocken's arrangement was a bargain or not can be determined now by actuaries. At the time journalists determined that it was not, and the Mayor's prestige suffered. Nevertheless he was re-elected for 1914.

The war was the great fact of 1914 and successive years, and municipal affairs were subordinated to it. The pressure of rising prices for materials and labor bore hard upon the municipalities in Canada. In Toronto the comfort of a low tax rate fled away. From 1898 to 1913 the average impost on the ratepayer was a shade over 19 mills. In 1915, it was 23; 1916, 22.5; 1917, 25.5; 1918, 30.5; 1919, 28.5; 1920, 30.5; 1921, 33; 1922, 32.35.

The pre-war position of the City's finances was as follows: The bonded debt, less sinking fund accumulations, was $60,564,385.48. Of this rather more than $34,000,000 was invested in revenue-producing properties and "specials," such as the waterworks, the Hydro System, the Exhibition, the Local Improvement loans, the street railway pavement loans. This $34,000,000 was "self-carrying." The debt which had to be carried by interest and fixed charges collected in taxation amounted to $26,158,114. Against this, the City owned real estate valued by the assessment department, a low valuation, at $41,747,541.

The taxation for 1914 amounted to $10,517,294. Among the chief operating disbursements were $1,910,714 for the Works Department, $665,258 for Waterworks, $986,051 for Street Cleaning and garbage collection, $998,761 for the Fire Department, $861,364 for the Police Department, and $2,549,541 for the Schools.

The Provincial election of 1902 gave the Ross administration a majority of only 4, and by reason of subsequent election protests, it was for a time only 1. Owing to the lack of "a working majority" the Government was at its wits' end and crude Partyism flourished. Early in the year 1903 statements were made in the Liberal press forecasting the desertion of the Conservative Party by the newly-elected member for Manitoulin, Robert Roswell Gamey. He had declared that Manitoulin was his politics and that in order to serve the needs of his constituency he would support the Government. Mr. Gamey became an intensely unpopular figure among Conservatives, while Liberal workers discerned in him the characteristics of true statesmanship!

On March 11th, 1903, he rose in his place in the House and charged that he had been bribed by Government agents. At the conclusion of his speech he handed $2,000 in Ontario Bank bills to Hon. J. P. Whitney, leader of the Opposition, and declared himself an unbought Conservative. The agents whom he accused of suggesting the bribery and carrying it out were Captain John Sullivan and his son Frank, and he named the Provincial Secretary, Hon. J. R. Stratton, as being privy to the conspiracy. The money, he said, had been secured in the Minister's office by Frank Sullivan and had been paid to him in the smoking-room of the Legislature. He declared that the statements in the Liberal papers and the interview in *The Globe* relating to his supposed change of allegiance had been prepared in Mr. Stratton's office, and that as soon as he had signed them the protest against his election had been withdrawn by the Liberal counsel.

After the political tradition the accused "denied everything and demanded an investigation."

An inquiry by Chancellor Boyd and Chief Justice Falconbridge was opened on April 3rd and continued for 27 days. In all 119 witnesses were examined and the forensic battle was exceedingly interesting. Hon. S. H. Blake, Mr. C. H. Ritchie and Mr. W. D. McPherson represented the accuser, with Mr. E. E. A. DuVernet as Gamey's personal counsel. The other side brought together Mr. E. F. B. Johnston, Mr. W. R. Riddell and Mr. J. M. McEvoy. The case was a political sensation of the first magnitude.

As might have been expected, the Report settled nothing. The Judges found the charges not proven, but the Conservative Party was by no means content, and did not scruple to denounce the Judges as well as the Liberal Party on every platform in the country. For the first time since Confederation the Province of Ontario had a political argument of real importance which continued with variable vehemence until the General Election of January 25th, 1905.

As a result of the polling the Liberal Party was crushed. Only 27 followers of Mr. Ross were returned in a House of 96. Toronto was solidly Conservative, as was to be expected. The members for the City were Mr. Thomas Crawford, Dr. R. A. Pyne, Mr. J. J. Foy and Dr. Beattie Nesbitt. On February 7th Hon. J. P. Whitney's Administration was sworn in, Mr. Foy being Attorney-General and Dr. Pyne Minister of Education. The other members of the Cabinet were Hon. Nelson Monteith, Hon. W. J. Hanna, Hon. J. O. Réaume, Hon. Adam Beck, Hon. J. S. Hendrie and Hon. W. A. Willoughby. The presence of Mr. Beck in the Government was a presage of the body of progressive legislation which made possible the establishment of the Hydro-Electric System of Ontario which has been a success of the most spectacular sort.

An event of great importance to the prosperity of Toronto was the discovery of the mineral wealth of Cobalt. Early in 1903 individual prospectors had discovered promising silver deposits, and the construction of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway revealed more. Soon there was a veritable rush to the district and the first mines opened were found to be of unprecedented richness. On December 3rd, 1904 Mr. Frank G. Carpenter writing in *The Buffalo Express* said: "Three years ago the land about Cobalt could not have been sold for ten cents an acre. To-day some of it would bring $100 an inch."

At first all the ore was shipped to the Eastern States for reduction. The following table indicates the rapidity of the development:

Year	Tons Shipped	Value
1904	158	$ 136,217
1905	2,144	1,473,196
1906	5,335	3,764,113
1907	14,082	5,650,000

In four years 21,719 tons of ore, worth over $11,000,000 came out of the Cobalt region. Not even yet is there complete knowledge of the mineral resources of Northern Ontario. Silver, gold, nickel, copper, arsenic and all manner of treasure lie in those grim Laurentian hills.

In 1906 Mr. Hendrie, speaking for the Provincial administration said: "The Government has decided as a matter of Government policy that no Bill will be confirmed in which any railway corporation secures a franchise in any municipality for a longer term than the 25 years which has been mentioned in the Railway Act." In this respect as in many others the Whitney Government gave proof that it would protect the municipalities, beginning with Toronto, against flagrant violations of their natural rights. An interesting decision by the Legislature in 1906 had to do with the disposition of the "Gamey money," the $2,000 handed by the Member for Manitoulin to Mr. Whitney while he was Leader of the Opposition. It was given to the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children.

There were two general elections in 1908. The Federal members chosen by Toronto were Mr. Edmund Bristol, Mr. A. C. Macdonell, Mr. Joseph Russell, Mr. E. B. Osler, and Hon. George E. Foster — all Conservatives. On June 8th Mr. Whitney's Government was sustained at the polls, securing eight supporters from Toronto, Hon. Dr. Pyne, Mr. T. R. Whitesides, Mr. W. K. McNaught, Mr. John Shaw, Hon. J. J. Foy, Mr. G. H. Gooderham, Mr. Thomas Crawford, (afterwards Speaker) and Mr. W. D. McPherson.

In 1909 the City was enlivened in the latter part of August by the visit of Lord Charles Beresford who spoke before the Canadian Club on naval affairs. He was in opposition to the Fisher policy of naval concentration, and said so. Realizing, himself, the vigor of his protest, he declared that he was "a mustard plaster on the back of humanity." An important transaction of importance to Toronto was completed in 1910 when the Provincial authorities sold the old Government House property at the corner of King and Simcoe streets to the Canadian Pacific Railway for additional freight yards. The consideration was $800,000.

The administration record of the Whitney Government was one of diligence and efficiency. The Premier, by his very definite utterances to complaining persons and to "influential deputations," commanded first the respect and then the affection of the people. His manner was still spinous, his opinions firmly held, but men knew exactly what he meant. There was no vote-hunting diplomacy in him, save the highest; to do his best for the Province. He went to the country in 1911 and again in 1914, making concessions to no one, showing tenderness to no specific element of the population, but winning easily. His sudden illness in the early part of 1914 revealed in a way that surprised him the affectionate sympathy of the people. Friends and enemies united in the hope for his recovery. For a time his health improved, but a few weeks after the Great War broke out he died. His old friendly enemy, Sir George Ross, had died only six months before.

Sir James Whitney was succeeded by Hon. William Hearst, under whose direction the war-policy of the Province was devised and carried out. Toronto had ten members in the Legislature chosen on June 29th, 1914—all Conservatives, Hon. Dr. Pyne, Mark H. Irish, Hon. Thomas Crawford, W. D. McPherson, E. J. Owens, Thos. Hook, Hon. J. J. Foy, George H. Gooderham, W. H. Price, and Joseph Russell.

When the War began, the Province of Ontario had occupied farm-lands worth $611,756,000; farm buildings and implements valued at $392,000,000; live stock, $219,000,000; farm products in one year, $295,000,000; industrial products in one year valued at $671,000,000. The Provincial revenue was about $8,000,000.

In 1914 the Toronto-Hamilton highway was undertaken. Toronto contributed $150,000, Hamilton, $30,000, and the counties along the route $4,000 a mile.

On June 14th, 1907, Mr. John Ross Robertson wrote as follows to Mayor Coatsworth:

"Some time ago the Corporation was good enough to accept from me four oil-paintings of the Town of York, now Toronto, in 1793 and 1820, and of Toronto in 1842 and 1854. To make this set of views of my native city complete, I have had painted a view of York, now Toronto, in 1828 and one of Toronto in 1834, both by Mr. Owen Staples, and I respectfully beg acceptance of them by the Council of the Corporation.

"Let me just say that all these paintings are from absolutely authentic drawings and sketches which have been carefully reproduced in every detail.

"The painting of York in 1793 is really two pictures in one frame with a dividing band between the pictures. One of them shows the site of the Old Fort in 1793 and the other a part of the north shore of Toronto Bay close to the Old Fort, also in 1793. The originals of these two pictures are two drawings made by Mrs. Simcoe, wife of Governor Simcoe, and are to be found in the King's Library in the British Museum, London.

"The picture of York in 1818-1820 is from the original oil in the possession of Mrs. Stephen Heward, daughter of the late Hon. George Cruikshank, and made by Mr. Irving, a personal friend of her father.

"The picture of York in 1828 is from the original 'drawn by J. Gray, aquatinted by J. Gleadah, published London, England, Dec. 1st, 1828, and respectfully dedicated to his patron Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor, and gentlemen of Upper Canada, by their obedient servant James Gray.'

"The picture of Toronto, 1834, is one made from a picture of the windmill, in possession of Mr. George H. Gooderham, which he kindly lent to me, and from an old pencil drawing of Palace Street, now Front Street, which is in my collection.

"The picture of Toronto, 1842, is from a lithograph of a drawing made by Mr. James Cane, civil engineer of Toronto, the original of which with a map of the City was exhibited at the City Hall on Front Street in 1842.

"The picture of Toronto, 1854, is from the well-known picture by Whitfield which was produced in that year; copies of which are in my collection and also in the Public Library of Toronto.

"Perhaps you will kindly direct a memorandum of these facts to be made by the City Clerk in the records of the Council so that in after years the authenticity of these pictures cannot be questioned."

Since these pictures were hung in the corridors of the City Hall two others of heroic size were painted by Mr Staples and presented to the City by Mr. Robertson — Toronto in 1898 and Toronto in 1908.

CHAPTER VII.

TORONTO AND THE GREAT WAR

By JOHN A. COOPER

Toronto Armouries

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TORONTO'S military history had already covered more than a hundred years when the Great War began in 1914. Her baptism of military activity under war conditions may be said to have begun in August, 1812, when General Sir Isaac Brock took one hundred volunteers from the Militia Garrison of Toronto (then York) and hurried off to Amherstburg to protect what is now the Windsor-Detroit frontier. Later in that war, General Brock fell, crying aloud, "Push on, Brave York Volunteers."

From the day of the War of 1812 to the present time, Toronto has never been without a military organization. In 1837 the city militia was called out to defend the city from the rebel forces led by Mackenzie. In 1866 the city battalions were called to the Niagara frontier to repel a Fenian foray from the United States. In 1870 it furnished troops for Lord Wolseley's expedition to quell the rebellion of half-breeds in the Red River district now Manitoba. In 1885 it was again called upon to furnish troops to help suppress a second western rebellion.

Toronto's military spirit was the inheritance of British traditions. The Denison family, for example, had been leaders in cultivating and preserving that tradition and the "Body Guards" is the unit with the lengthiest record of service. This cavalry regiment was commanded by a Denison through several generations. The Queen's Own Rifles, the 2nd Regiment in the Canadian Militia, has a continuous history, running back to 1860. The 10th Royal Grenadiers, another volunteer militia organization, has an unbroken record of service covering almost as many years. The 48th Highlanders, though not so old, has been a favorite and efficient regiment. A long line of unselfish militia officers had laid deep and sure the military spirit of Toronto, and made possible the wonderful accomplishments during the recent war. Chief among these was Major General W. D. Otter, who commanded the Canadian Contingent in the South African War and later was Chief Inspector of Canadian Militia.

On August 4th, 1914, a despatch was received from Ottawa stating that the Parliament of Canada was summoned to meet on August 18th. On the following day, the Minister of Militia was given authority "to call out units of the active (non-permanent) militia, as circumstances may demand" and the military citizens of Toronto then knew that a war was at hand. The Toronto Armouries at once became a scene of great activity. On the 6th the militia was officially placed on "active service" and at the same time a despatch reached Canada that His Majesty's Government had accepted an offer of the Canadian Government to send an "Expeditionary Force" to Great Britain.

It is curious to note that this force was to be "one Division"—yet before the war ended, Toronto alone had contributed enough men to make three

Divisions. Toronto had given to the service of the Empire three times as many men as was at first expected from the whole of Canada.

In the hurly-burly one question came up for consideration which would never have arisen in the country where military obligations were universal. Before 1860 every Canadian was liable for military duty. About that date military training was made voluntary, with the formation of a skeleton army. The system worked satisfactorily for over fifty years but the militia could only be called to active service for home defence. Legally "home defence" was not "Empire defence." Therefore, the militiaman was not under any greater obligation to volunteer for service in a European war than was his fellow-citizen who had done no voluntary military training. The untrained citizen looked to the trained citizen for quick action, and the trained citizen was inclined to resent having to bear the whole onus of this important duty. The untrained citizen had been wont to call the militiaman a "toy" soldier and when he added that being a "toy" soldier implied a promise to serve on behalf of the untrained citizen, it caused some resentment.

The question was never publicly discussed, but its presence in the mind of the public gave a certain piquancy to private conversations. In due course, however, the demand for enlistment became so great that it was quite clear that the duty of service was universal. Naturally the trained citizen took the lead in recruiting work and in the organization of the various units. Indeed, in Toronto, as elsewhere, the leaders in all the units, whether cavalry, artillery, infantry, engineers or army service corps were men who had previously gained some training as voluntary militiamen.

While the militia was busy trying to find out what was required of it, the rest of the citizens were not by any means quiescent. There were no jingoistic outbursts. The great tragedy was met with seriousness and resolution. The stock exchanges were closed, gold payments were stopped, enemy subjects were put under surveillance, and trade was momentarily paralyzed. Nevertheless men and women gathered themselves into new groups and prepared to meet the new conditions. While Canadians met in London, England, to form "The Canadian War Contingent Association," Toronto was despatching 4,800 troops to Valcartier Camp, and raising its first million dollars for the Patriotic Fund for soldiers' dependents, the Hospital Ship Fund and the Red Cross Society. The Hospital Ship Fund was a suggestion of Toronto members of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire; later this money was diverted to "The Canadian Women's Hospital" established near Portsmouth, England. Toronto contributed in one day, one seventh of the amount finally raised. Similarly, Toronto men and women concentrated on other forms of patriotic activity with enthusiasm and fervour. Red Cross supplies and the making of them was a commonplace in every household. While the British "Contemptibles" were falling back from Mons, every woman who could nurse was anxious to offer her services and many young women began to take some training of this nature in the hope that they might have a part in the great work of alleviation.

With the stock exchanges closed, with the ocean commerce at a standstill because of the German sea-raiders, with general trade dormant, that latter half of 1914 was a dubious period. Recruiting was the only steady activity. Soon, however, orders for war supplies of one kind and another began to come in from England, and the making of these took up some of the industrial slack. When it was clear that a second contingent of Canadian troops would be sent abroad the Canadian Government added to the war orders. The First Contingent, which sailed from Quebec in October had taken all the surplus uniforms and supplies, and more, too; hence everything required for the Second Contingent had to be made. In September, General Sam Hughes had called a meeting at Ottawa to discuss the making of 18-pr. shrapnel shells and this manufacture later added very largely to industrial activity, though no shells of importance were made until the following year. From October, Canada began to improve commercially and from that time forward Canada went through the war with gradually increasing industrial activity.

Toronto was represented at Valcartier, later at Salisbury Plains and still later in the First Division, C.E.F., by three battalions. Drafts from the three older regiments were combined into the 3rd Canadian Battalion, under Lieut.-Col. Robert Rennie, M.V.O. This was largely Queen's Own Rifles, but because of the presence of representatives from the two sister regiments, it adopted the name "3rd Canadian Battalion Toronto Regiment." The 4th Canadian Battalion was recruited partly in Toronto, but mainly from the towns lying immediately north of the city. It was commanded by Lieut.-Col. R. H. Labatt. The 15th Battalion was formed from the 48th Highlanders Regiment, and managed to maintain its identity as such. Its first officer commanding was Lieut.-Col. John A. Currie, M.P. All three battalions sailed from Quebec on October 3rd. The 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade, in which were the 3rd and 4th Battalions, was commanded by Lieut.-Col. (later Brig.-General) M. S. Mercer, formerly commanding officer of the Queen's Own Rifles. Toronto was also represented in the First Contingent by a Brigade of Artillery (the Third) under Lieut-Col. J. H. Mitchell, later in command of the 4th Divisional Artillery with the rank of Brigadier-General.

By the Christmas season, Canada's First Contingent was firmly planted in the mud of Salisbury Plains in England, and the Second was being trained in various concentration camps throughout the Dominion. Toronto, having a splendid set of Exhibition Buildings, was the natural concentration camp for this district. Early in December, 3,400 troops were reviewed in Toronto by the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister, who then made his first public appearance outside of Ottawa during the war period. The troops were under command of Major-General Lessard, a French-Canadian who had long been popular with Toronto folk. Some trouble had arisen between General Sam Hughes, Minister of Militia, and General Lessard and the Prime Minister apparently was anxious to smooth out the wrinkles. After the review he spoke highly of General Lessard's good work, but that officer and gentleman never got past the barrier which lay between Canada and the battlefields of Europe.

During this visit Sir Robert Borden addressed both the Empire and Canadian Clubs, reviewed the efforts of the nation in helping the Empire and announced that these efforts would be continued until Great Britain cried "Enough." He promised a third and fourth contingent and a steady flow of men until the task was completed. The one thing he insisted upon was that the men should be adequately trained and equipped before going overseas. That policy was carefully enforced during the long four years that followed.

During the winter of 1914-1915, the Second Contingent was being got ready for overseas. The 19th (Lieut.-Col. John I. McLaren) and 20th battalions (Lieut.-Col. J. A. W. Allan) were the leading units in Toronto, but there were also batteries of artillery, engineers, army service men, signallers, and various other units that make up a division. In addition recruiting began for the Third Contingent, and the 34th (Lieut.-Col. A. J. Oliver), 35th (Lieut.-Col. F. C. McCordick), 37th (Lieut.-Col. C. F. Bick), and other battalions began to assume the appearance of real units. Later came the 58th (Lieut.-Col. H. A. Genêt), and 74th (Lieut.-Col. R. C. Windeyer), which brings the record up to the summer time and the camps at Long Branch and Niagara, the latter being still the main training camp for Military District No. 2.

In April and May the Second Contingent had gone overseas. They had been reviewed at least twice before leaving. On March 20th there was a parade of about 9,000 men, one of the largest parades ever held in the City. The chief figure was Major-General S. B. Steele, of South African fame, who was slated for command of Canada's Second Division, an honor which later went to Major-General Turner, V.C., another South African veteran. In the latter part of April these same troops were reviewed by Major-General Sam Hughes.

Before the summer broke, news came of the first big battle in which the Canadians were engaged—now known as the Second Battle of Ypres. The 1st Canadian Division had landed in France in February and had got its first lessons in real warfare in the Ypres salient. On April 22nd the Division became involved in the engagement in which the Germans first used gas preceding an attack. The casualties were heavy—over 6,000. The 3rd Battalion Toronto Regiment lost 19 officers and 460 men. Among the Toronto officers who fell were Lieutenants McDonald and Medland of the Queen's Own; Captain G. C. Ryerson, of the Grenadiers; Lieutenants Kirkpatrick and Ryerson, of the Body Guards; Captain Lockhart-Gordon and Lieutenant H. N. Klotz, of the Mississauga Horse. Lieutenants Darling and Warren, of the 48th, were the first casualties from that regiment, their deaths occurring previous to this battle. In this particular battle, the 48th lost Major A. McGregor, Captain Daniels and Lieutenant Langmuir. This huge casualty list and the well-known names in it, gave a zest to the summer training, and also had a tremendously sobering effect upon the whole population.

After Neuve Chapelle and other battles of 1915, the cry came for more shells and more machine guns. A woman journalist wrote in a Toronto weekly in August:

"If you have not given a machine gun yet you had better hurry up and save your pennies or you'll be hopelessly behind the times. Everybody's doing it, Doctors, Lawyers, Bankers, Freemasons, Varsity Students, Daughters of the Empire and children of the Seven Seas are giving machine guns. The Ministerial Association of Toronto in solemn session, decided to give an extra good gun."

The number of machine guns sent over with the First Contingent was only nine. When the war ended, each division had a machine gun battalion, and every platoon of infantry had its own Lewis gun. The Germans taught us that. But the people at home were quick to supply a deficiency—whether of machine guns, field kitchens, ambulances or Red Cross supplies.

In the early days of September, the Second Contingent reached France and the first units of the Third Division were being gathered together in France and England. The Duke of Connaught, as Governor-General and commander of the Canadian Army, came to Toronto during the Exhibition and reviewed the two senior battalions from Niagara Camp—the 35th and 37th. The other battalions, 58th, 74th, 75th, 81st, 83rd, 84th and 92nd were rounding into shape. All of these battalions had been recruited without difficulty. Indeed most of them were able to pick and choose from a plethora of officers and recruits. The 75th, organized and enlisted by the Mississauga Horse, was about the first unit to put on a recruiting campaign. It was short, swift and successful. The 83rd, (Q.O.R.), and 92nd, (48th Regiment), had no difficulty in getting up to strength. Indeed the 95th was filled up in October in about a week. From that time forward recruiting became more difficult. A general recruiting depot had been established at the armouries and it was soon forced to resort to personal solicitations by recruiting sergeants in order to keep up the supply of men. In other words, all the units recruited after the close of 1915 were raised largely on the popularity of the commanding officers and the efficiency of each battalion's recruiting organization.

On November 9th, General Sir Sam Hughes, who had been overseas in August and had also been knighted by His Majesty for his distinguished services as Minister of Militia, reviewed the Toronto garrison. The garrison at that time consisted of the battalions whch had marched from Niagara to Toronto the previous month. These were the 35th (Lieut.-Col. McCordick); the 37th, (Lieut-Col. Bick); 58th, (Lieut.-Col. Genêt); 74th, Lieut.-Col. Windeyer); 75th, (Lieut.-Col. Beckett); 83rd, (Lieut.-Col. Pellatt); 81st, (Lieut.-Col. Belson); 92nd, (Lieut.-Col. Chisholm); and 95th (Lieut.-Col. Barker). Only two of the nine battalions on parade had the full equipment. Rifles, uniforms, and boots were plentiful, but the new Webb equipment was scarce.

Quite a number of United States citizens, anxious to fight, came across the line and finally a battalion of these was formed and known as the 97th battalion, American Legion. Its commanding officer was Lieut.-Col. W. L. Jolly.

During 1915 the honors and rewards began to pour in and had some effect upon public sentiment. One of the first of these was the C. B. awarded to Brig.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, who commanded the 1st Brigade, and later in the year took over the command of the Corps Troops. Other Toronto awards included Captain Hayward, M.C.; Lieut.-Col. J. H. Mitchell, Legion of Honor; Captain Alexander, M.C.; Major W. R. Marshall, D.S.O. The greatest honors of 1915 were those that came to Canada as a nation. At Ypres, Festubert and Givenchy, Canada's citizen soldiers had proved that they were worthy sons of the Empire, equal in courage and discipline to the British best.

By the beginning of 1916, Canada had settled down to a distinct monotony in war effort; and Toronto reflected that tendency. A battalion marching down a main street was an event of almost daily unimportance. The recruiting meetings in the theatres, on the City Hall steps, the playing of bands, the banners on street cars, these were the ordinary things of life. Women who knit socks in public may have been a curiosity in Toronto in 1915, but not in 1916. Every woman who could knit was hard at it all the time, and bridge parties and dances had given way to knitting parties and bandage socials.

The work of recruiting had been systematized but was steadily growing more difficult. There were many calls for Army Medical Corps, Army Service Corps, Motor Transport, Engineers, Artillery, Signallers, Cyclists, Machine Gunners, Naval Services, Patrol work and even for the growing Flying Corps. There was no lack of young officers, because the Officers Training Corps at the University of Toronto and other schools had kept up the supply of these. Senior officers might be scarce, but junior officers and candidates for junior officers' positions were decidedly plentiful.

The so-called "Third Contingent" entrained and marched away, but new units were being authorized. The 123rd (Lieut.-Col. W. B. Kingsmill), and 124th, (Lieut.-Col. W. C. V. Chadwick), had been raised during the winter. The 134th, 166th, 170th, 180th, 198th, 201st, 204th, 208th and 216th (bantams) were authorized and were recruited during the first months of the year. On July 1st Camp Borden was opened and soon all the battalions of Districts No. 1 and 2 were concentrated there. It was a new camp, but had many advantages over the smaller camps at Niagara and Long Branch. It was in charge of two very capable officers, General Logie (now judge), and General Mewburn (afterwards Minister of Militia), both experienced militia men from Hamilton.

Some of the Toronto battalions went direct from Camp Borden to England, others returned to Toronto for winter quarters. The 134th (Lieut.-Col. D. Donald and Lieut.-Col. Armour Miller); 166th, Lieut.-Col. R. C. Levesconte and Lieut.-Col. W. G. Mitchell); 169th, (Lieut.-Col. J. Wright); 170th, (Lieut.-Col. L. G. Reed); 180th, (Lieut.-Col. R. H. Greer); had "gone east". The 67th, 69th, 70th and 71st batteries returned to Toronto, as did the cyclists and the 198th, 204th, 208th, 216th, 220th, 228th (Northern Ontario), and 23rd (Peel) battalions. The 201st (Lieut.-Col. E. W. Hagarty), had been broken up and attached to the 170th and 198th.

If the record of 1916 was uneventful at home, Toronto's men in France were making new records. In the first half of the year there were two rather notable engagements—St. Eloi and Sanctuary Wood. These were the days of trench warfare and short penetration. Nevertheless even the meagre advances made were of prime importance as proving the growing superiority of the allied troops over the enemy.

During this period, the 3rd Canadian Division was formed in France. It included the 7th, 8th and 9th brigades, and absorbed the six battalions of Canadian Mounted Rifles (the 4th was from Toronto), and certain units previously under command of Major-General M. S. Mercer, of Toronto.

General Mercer was fated to have only a short six months of command. On the morning of June 2nd he and General Victor Williams (9th Brigade), went up to the front line on a tour of inspection. Two hours afterwards, the heaviest bombardment ever made by the Germans on the Canadian lines came down suddenly and overwhelmed companies of the 1st and 4th C. M. R.'s and one of the companies of the Princess Patricia's. General Williams was wounded and taken prisoner. General Mercer was killed in Armagh Wood. He was buried at Poperinghe—the most brilliant soldier Toronto contributed to the war.

In the latter half of the year, the chief engagement was the battle of the Somme—one of the most tragic events in the history of the Canadian Corps. Courcelette, Moquet Farm and Regina Trench are names which brought further fame to Canadian soldiers, but much sorrow to Canadian homes.

Previous to this battle, the 3rd Canadian Battalion was commanded by Lieut.-Col. W. D. Allan. Lieut.-Col. R. Rennie, D.S.O., had been promoted Brigadier and given command of the 4th Infantry Brigade (2nd Canadian Division) in November, 1915. About a year later Colonel Allan became ill as a result of an old wound and was returned to England, where he died. The battalion was then taken over by Lieut.-Col. J. B. Rogers, M.C., who remained in command until the battalion returned home.

The 15th Battalion (48th Highlanders), passed to Lieut.-Col. W. R. Marshall when Lieut.-Col. Currie was invalided out after the battle of Ypres. In 1916 when Lieut.-Col. Marshall was sniped, the command was given to Lieut.-Col. Bent, a Nova Scotian, who brought the battalion back to Canada.

The 19th Battalion changed commanders in July, 1915, when Lieut.-Col. W. R. Turnbull took command. After the Somme, Major (Lieut.-Col.) Gordon F. Morrison, of the 19th, took command of the 18th Battalion, and Major (Lieut.-Col.) L. H. Millen took over the 19th.

The 20th Battalion received a new O.C. in England in 1915, Lieut.-Col. Allan returning to Canada and Lieut.-Col. C. H. Rogers (of the 2nd Battalion) taking command. He was succeeded in December, 1915, by Lieut.-Col. H. V. Rorke, of the same unit. Later (1918) this Battalion was in charge of Lieut.-Col. B. O. Hooper, who went over with the 19th.

Just previous to the Somme, the 4th Canadian Division was formed with the 10th, 11th and 12th Brigades of Infantry and the necessary complement of artillery and engineers. The 75th Battalion under Lieut.-Col. S. G. Beckett, was the only Toronto unit in this Division. Brigadier-General Mitchell, formerly of the 3rd Brigade C.F.A., commanded the Divisional Artillery.

This brought the Canadian army in the field up to a strength of 112,000, nearly double as many soldiers as Wellington commanded at Waterloo.

The year 1917 was much the same in color as 1916, so far as Toronto itself was concerned. Active recruiting of battalions was over. The 198th

(Lieut.-Col. J. A. Cooper); 204th, (Lieut.-Col. W. H. Price); 208th, (Lieut.-Col. T. H. Lennox); and 216th, (Lieut.-Col. F. L. Burton), battalions left early in the year and there were no others. A change of system by the authorities made the creation of battalions unnecessary. Henceforth recruits were used as reinforcements for battalions already overseas. The 220th, (Lieut.-Col. B. H. Brown); 234th, (Lieut.-Col. Wellington Wallace); and 255th, (Lieut.-Col. G. C. Royce), never reached full strength, through no fault of their own, but were all creditable units. It was much the same with battalions in other cities and districts.

Out of the two hundred battalions that had already gone overseas, only sixty remained intact. Of these, forty-eight were in France, and twelve were in the 5th Division in England. Of the forty-eight battalions in France, Toronto and District were represented as follows:

First Division: 3rd, 4th and 15th Battalions.
Second Division: 19th and 20th Battalions.
Third Division: 58th Battalion and 4th C.M.R.
Fourth Division: 75th and 102nd Battalions.

The 4th Battalion was a Toronto District unit. The 19th was as much a Hamilton Battalion as a Toronto unit. The 58th was only partly Toronto and the 102nd originally a Western unit, only nominally represented this district. The 123rd and 124th, two Toronto units, went to France as Pioneer Battalions, and in 1918 were absorbed into the Engineers. The Toronto battalions in the 5th Division were the 134th, 198th and 208th. These were broken up when the Division ceased to exist early in 1918.

It is impossible to follow all the Toronto units in the cavalry, artillery, medical and other services. Needless to say, these officers and men gave as important service as the infantry battalions. It is interesting to note that No. 4 University of Toronto General Hospital, (Col. J. A. Roberts, F.R.C.S.), opened at Salonica in November, 1915, and was transferred to Basingstoke, England, in August, 1917.

It is quite clear, however, that considering her contributions to the war—one seventh of the enlistments—Toronto had fewer battalions in France and fewer generals than any other city in the Dominion. Even though the treatment extended to Toronto in this respect was not quite fair, the citizens have the satisfaction of knowing that no other city contributed more generously of manhood.

During 1918 there were two features in recruiting for the army, the formation of Depot Battalions at home for the supply of recruits and the enforcement of conscription. There were no marching battalions and spectacular reviews as in the early part of the war, but there was plenty of grim work in training the last recruits, in looking after wounded men who had returned incapacitated or as convalescents, in administration of patriotic funds, gathering Red Cross supplies, collecting Y.M.C.A. and Knights of Columbus funds and such subsidiary tasks. The munitions factories were still working at top speed, while the building of ships rose to be an important and vital industry.

A city's efforts on behalf of the war cannot be measured in dollars, yet it is interesting to note how generously the citizens contributed to the various appeals made to them. The largest amount of money contributed to any one fund was, of course, to the Canadian Patriotic Fund. From 1914 to 1918 Toronto subscribed $7,645,000 to this fund, Of this amount $1,000,000 was paid through the civic treasury and the remainder through private subscriptions.

The second largest item was paid out for life insurance on citizens. The City Council agreed to pay $1,000 to the relatives of every citizen who was killed overseas and this entailed a civic expense which amounted to about $4,500,000.

Next in order were the contributions to the British Red Cross amounting to $2,077,000. It is claimed that Toronto's contributions to the British Red Cross were the largest of any city in the Empire, population considered. To the Canadian Red Cross. Toronto contributed over $1,000,000 in cash and another $2,000,000 in goods. In addition to these funds other contributions were: Red Triangle Fund (Y.M.C.A.) $600,000; Navy League, $550,000; Belgian Relief, $420,000; Catholic Army Huts, $200,000, and various smaller funds which bring the total up to about $20,000,000.

To all these was added Victory Loan Campaigns, which were a feature of 1917, 1918 and 1919. Canada could not borrow from abroad—not even in the United States. The Dominion Government needed much money for the support of the army, for hospitals, for demobilization bonuses and for pensions. The campaigns put on to raise 2,000 million dollars, were spectacular and absorbed the enthusiasm of thousands of strong-willed, unselfish citizens. In these Toronto took a leading part. Because it had given so freely of its manhood to the army, so it gave freely of its money to maintain that army. The average subscriptions in Toronto were more generous than in any other city in the Dominion.

In France, the Canadian army continued its good work, whether as fighters or forestry corps, or railway troops. In February the 5th Canadian Division was broken up, and the troops used to strengthen and supplement the army in France. During the first half of the year the chief work was holding the line and putting on raids. In the latter half came the famous "Hundred Days," when the Corps fought a wonderful battle at Amiens, side by side with the Australians, transferred back to Arras and began a glorious march on Cambrai, Valenciennes and Mons, which continued with success until the Armistice took effect on the morning of November 11th.

To picture the effect of this "Hundred Days" of successive victories on the people at home would require many words and much space. Suffice to say that the Armistice was celebrated on two different days, with a glorious abandon which only comes to a people once in a generation. Then followed the march into Germany and then in 1919 the homecoming of the veterans. Such wonderful receptions, huge banquets in the Armories and processions Toronto may never see again. Her 60,000 had returned, but another 10,000 lie in Flanders fields to remind the generations yet to come that Toronto had kept the faith—had been true to King and Empire, and had given generously in the fight for the world's freedom from tyranny and oppression. All that remains today are the memories of deeds done and work achieved—of battles at home and battles abroad, lost and won—of noble youths who gave their lives freely that others might live in peace and security.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WAR AND AFTERWARDS

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MR. THOMAS L. CHURCH, barrister, politician, sportsman, had been a member of Council for some years, first as Alderman, then as Controller, when he went before the electors in 1915 as a candidate for the office of Mayor. He was opposed by former Controller J. O. McCarthy, who had been Mayor Hocken's staff captain and had favored the street railway purchase plan. Mr. Church conducted an energetic campaign and was elected by over 6,000 majority. He accepted the verdict as a mandate to keep clear of any temporizing with the Toronto Railway Company, and to give steady support to the Hydro-Electric enterprise. This policy he followed year after year, for Mr. Church was so fortunate as to enjoy the confidence of his fellow-citizens for seven consecutive years, as Mayor of Toronto, and then to be elected as a Member of the House of Commons at Ottawa for a Toronto constituency. In 1916 he defeated H. Winberg by over 18,000 majority. In 1917 he was elected by acclamation. In 1918 he defeated Mr. R. H. Cameron by over 9,000. In 1919 there were four candidates. Mr. Church was nearly 10,000 votes ahead of Mr. John O'Neil, while Mr. W. H. Shaw and Mr. Thomas Foster "also ran." In 1920 Mr. Samuel McBride secured 20,818 votes, but Mr. Church had 25,720. In 1921 the Mayor's majority over Mr. McBride was about 16,000. Such remarkable popularity was more easy of explanation than Mr. Church's enemies imagined. It was not due entirely to the fact that his civic policy reflected the general opinion of the citizens, neither was it wholly the result of the steady and sometimes vociferous friendship of the *Toronto Evening Telegram*. Mr. Church had personal qualities of quite remarkable nature. He possessed a memory for names and faces that was nothing short of uncanny. There are those who say that he was personally acquainted with every one of the 66,000 soldiers which Toronto gave to the Great War, and that he knew each man's "next-of-kin." There is sufficient exaggeration in the statement to prove its general accuracy. Mr. Church was untiring in his efforts to ease the lot of the soldier while in training, and after his departure. He was available at any hour of the day and night to give a helping hand to the desolate relatives of the men, many of whom found the going hard with the breadwinners away. When battle-broken soldiers began to return Mayor Church was always at the railway station to greet them, and any one with a complaint found an eager listener in His Worship. One remembers seeing his high-powered motor car standing one morning before a mean house in the northern suburbs. Out of the front door came an undertaker bearing a little white coffin. There were only two mourners; the father, a wounded soldier, and the Mayor of the City. That is merely one incident of many which showed that Mr. Church had a big heart in his lean body. It was his ardent personal interest in people, rich and poor, Tory and Socialist, Christian and atheist, that kept him at the City Hall. No man could have done as much as he merely to get votes. There was a sincerity in his activity that no "practical politician" could ever feign. There is reason to believe that no one was more surprised than he at his continuing popularity.

Under Mr. Church a Transportation Committee of Council was organized as early as in 1916, to make preparations for the taking over of the street railway at the end of the franchise period; namely, in 1921. That this was in keeping with the determination of the citizens was shown early in 1917 when the people voted 40,328 to 3,725 in favor of acquiring and operating the street railway as a civic utility. For the last years of the franchise the Company's service grew worse and worse. No money was procurable for betterments. The roadways deteriorated until a journey by street car was comparable to a sea voyage. The overcrowding was constant, and the last phase was diversified by labor troubles.

On June 4th, 1920, the Legislature passed an Act incorporating the Toronto Transportation Commission and authorizing it to operate the lines of the Toronto Railway Company, the Civic car lines and any other street railways that the City from time to time may acquire. The arbitration to determine the value of the Company's assets as on September 1st, 1921, did not prevent the taking over of the lines by the Commissioners, Mr. P. W. Ellis, Mr. George Wright and the late Mr. Fred R. Miller, and their reconstruction under the direction of Mr. H. H. Couzens, manager and engineer. The Commission was authorized to fix a schedule of fares sufficient to meet all interest and fixed charges, operating and maintenance outlay, and depreciation. The fact that the schedule began with a seven cents cash fare with a rate of six cents for quantity purchase caused a flurry among the people, and particularly among the civic politicians, but as the reconstruction proceeded and the service improved in speed and comfort the agitation died down. To-day no other city in the world possesses an internal transportation system so completely efficient and worthy. That fact is attributable to the courage and determination of the ratepayers, their representatives in Council, and the members and executives of the Transportation Commission. Sir Adam Beck represented the City on the Arbitration tribunal.

For some years before the outbreak of the war the restriction of the liquor traffic was a question of the most lively interest in Provincial affairs. The Whitney Government had administered the License Law with rigor, compelling all hotel keepers to keep hotel as well as to maintain a bar, but the official temperance advocates were not satisfied. They complained of an amendment to the Local Option law providing that a three-fifths vote would be necessary either to establish a no-license condition in any municipality, or to restore licenses in communities which had been under Local Option previously. When Mr. N. W. Rowell became Provincial Liberal leader he favored the abolition of the bar and appealed to the electors on that issue—not with success.

The war enlivened the activity of the Prohibitionists. On October 15th, 1915, a Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, which represented all temperance organizations and a considerable group of business men not hitherto associated with any of these organizations, appealed to the Government for the enactment of war-time prohibition, and then secured a petition to that effect, bearing 825,572 names. The Hearst Government accepted the challenge and on March 22nd, 1916, the Ontario Temperance Act was introduced in the House by Hon. W. J. Hanna. It provided that the continuance of the law after the war would depend upon a favorable vote on a referendum to be submitted when the soldiers had returned from oversea. The law came into effect on September 16th, 1916, and subsequently was approved by a vote of the people.

The municipal life of war-time was diversified by official farewells to regiment after regiment, by receptions to distinguished strangers on war missions, such as Earl Balfour and General Pau, by tag-days for war charities, by "drives" for the Red Cross, the Patriotic Fund, and the various Victory Loans, by memorial services in honor of the slain. Yet the government of the city had to be carried on despite these distractions. Pavements and sidewalks were laid, the departments were maintained despite the loss of experienced men and the growing difficulty of filling their places. It was necessary to readjust the salary schedules to approximate to the rapid increase in the cost of living. Most capital outlays were curtailed. The only considerable construction was that of the Bloor Street viaduct, begun on January 16th, 1915, and opened to the public on October 18th, 1918. The Province completed in 1915 the new Government House in North Rosedale at a cost of about $1,000,000. On December 16th, Sir John and Lady Hendrie moved in. Generally speaking, however, both City and Province were careful in undertaking new commitments, because of the need of concentrating resources for war purposes.

Past five o'clock and a cloudy morning! Suddenly broke forth a symphony of steam whistles and a clangor of bells. Lights began to gleam in upstairs windows and in a few minutes people half-dressed were pouring forth into the streets suspecting the truth but wondering if the false alarm of a few days before was being repeated. Then came the mad delivery cars of the newspapers, the drivers taking corners at 30 miles an hour, the helpers tossing the heavy rolls of "extras" all the way to the sidewalk. The newsboys with their arms full scattered like bees from the hive—"Extra, Extra! War Over! Extra!" One glance at the despatches which had an official tone, and the citizen threw away the paper and set out to enjoy himself. Grave personages went home to shave and have breakfast, but the majority were not grave. Here was a rickety wagon in a yard. Bring it out, pile boxes about it and set it on fire! The Hebrew owner was placated with a few dollars cheerfully contributed, and soon the flames roared high and red. Men and women joined hands and danced about the fire. The asphalt melted and ran, but who cared! Then a great army of folk put their hands on one another's shoulders and organized a lock-step procession. In and out, weaving an intricate pattern amid the crowd, the procession of shouting men and women made its way. Nondescript bands appeared from nowhere. One climbed to the roof of a street car and went down town—the last trip of the day; for the conductors and motormen had no will to work. This band playing on a stalled car near Yonge and Queen Streets could not be heard from the sidewalk because of the roar of the crowd. All the way down Yonge Street the rubbish receptacles contained a succession of little bonfires, paling in the morning light. There was a great fire on the corner of Queen and Bay Streets, continually replenished by men and boys foraging in the back yards.

As the morning wore on came automobiles bearing effigies of the Kaiser, of Hindenburg, of Von Tirpitz, or dragging behind them old boilers, saucepans—tinware of all sorts, bells, anything and everything that could make a joyful noise. A Queen Street merchant acquired an instant reputation as a humorist by rigging up a gallows and hanging a pseudo-Kaiser on it—spiked helmet and all. By orders of Mayor Church a steam-whistle of surpassing shrillness was placed in the tower of the City Hall. For hours it joined the steam-whistle chorus which helped to make the whole city a bedlam. In the financial section multitudinous rolls of paper tape sprang from the upper windows of the tall buildings and hung in disorderly festoons across trolley and telephone wires. Motor cars crawled along the streets, with nine "insides" and as many more on the running boards. A Ford drifted by with two pretty girls sitting astride the hood.

In the hotels—fortunately "dry"—the rotundas were full of men singing soldiers' songs—"Smile, Smile, Smile," and "Sussex by the Sea." Dances were organized in the middle of the street. Feather "ticklers" appeared from nowhere. Young persons emphasized their youth by scattering talcum powder on all and sundry. From daylight till dark and after, the City was one huge impromptu carnival in which all took part. Fat stockbrokers went down the street whooping like Indians, and more than one member of the Board of Trade forever compromised his dignity.

In this rollicking celebration of Armistice Day, November 11th, 1918, there was one feature which was a portent—a long procession of munition workers in overalls. They were celebrating the end of a period of profitable labor. Within a week men and women alike were drawing their last pay-envelopes and the era of unemployment had begun.

It was a strange time. Business men had accustomed themselves to think and work in view of war. They had transformed their habits of thought, learned by experience that their only hope of survival had been to serve the national necessity. Now, suddenly, artillery shell-cases were not wanted. Men who had become expert machinists of a certain type found their knowledge no longer saleable. Shop owners faced the necessity of scrapping valuable machines of precision and setting up equipment designed to serve the peace needs of the people.

Gradually the transformation was made, despite the many difficulties and perplexities which it involved, and some of the former munition-workers began to find employment. But the labor conditions were complicated by the steady return of the gallant men who had served the nation overseas. In the majority of cases employers of 1914, 1915, and 1916 had pledged themselves to deal justly with members of their staff who might chance to return. Soldiers who came back to their former desk or benches frequently found that the work had grown unfamiliar or that they had lost, in the press of war-discipline, that measure of interest, initiative and efficiency which had made them useful in peace times. Many of them left work of their own accord, determining to start life anew. Those who stayed were often made uncomfortable to realize that they were crowding out some girl or young man who had "carried on" in the war period to the advantage of the institution. It took time to make necessary adjustments and there was real hardship for many. The peak of commodity prices did not come until the summer of 1920, almost two years after the fighting had ended. Those fortunate enough to be employed were receiving high wages, but not high enough to run "in parallel" with the cost of living. Those without employment were in misery.

World markets and world finance could not be stabilized. There was a sharp scarcity of all peace-goods, but no outsider could buy, for lack of money. The Canadian dollar was worth 86c in New York funds. The local market might have been stimulated by this fact, but the general public got the notion that commodity prices would return to pre-war standards and refused to buy even staple necessities. A lively trade was established, for instance, in the renovation of old clothes and the "turning" of overcoats, but new garments could not be sold. The city and the country were in a sort of evil enchantment.

That the great mercantile and producing institutions were able to maintain themselves at all through this difficult period is occasion for astonishment. Their only comfort lay in the undoubted fact that Toronto was in an easier position than many other cities on the Continent, mainly because of the diversity of production. Communities such as Detroit and Pittsburgh, dependant upon the market for automobiles or steel products, did not so easily recover.

Living conditions were complicated in Toronto by the lack of housing. The war had stopped all building but it did not prevent the growth of the community and the normal increase of new homes. There was sharp congestion even in districts where one family to one house had been the rule. Rentals were excessive. The cost of "a bath room flat" was greater than the former rent of a house with eight or nine rooms, and in many cases overcrowding was the consequence. That situation began to mend in the summer of 1921 with the rapid development on the extreme western border of the city, and by the erection of a multitude of bungalows in the Danforth and Birchcliff districts. For a time there was a danger that Toronto might become a nest of tenements, like too many large cities on this Continent. The danger was averted, partly because of the efficiency of the building by-laws, and the active supervision of the Department of Health, and partly because of the genius and traditions of the community. A majority of householders own the land and buildings which they occupy. Toronto is a city of homes, lawns and gardens, a city of flowers and shade-trees, a city of little parks, a community steadily hostile towards congestion.

Three times the direct heir to the Throne of England has been in Toronto. In 1860 came Albert Edward, surrounded by Victorian formalism and formalities, from the Duke of Newcastle downwards. The timid boy seemed longing to be free of the gyves of position. He could express his youth only in the somewhat stodgy dances of a State Ball. In 1901 came George, but the Court was still in mourning for Queen Victoria and the Princess May was in perpetual black. A self-imposed formality encompassed both her and her husband. The Prince was courteous and pleasing towards all privileged to meet him, but he did not express his personality to advantage in the meetings with the general public. In 1919 came Prince Charming.

Here was a young man who knew the surly savagery of the trenches; who was full brother to every man who had worn khaki. He was a sporting Prince, a steeplechase rider, a lover of boxing, and withal as modest as a University freshman. He was uncommonly good-looking, of a merry temperament, and with a steady courage that led him to expose himself unduly at a time when some "Red" fanatic was in every crowd, perhaps fingering the saw-handle of an automatic. Is it any wonder that men and women alike cheered this gay, blithe, Personage without a surname, and cried God bless the Prince of Wales? A thousand years of tradition were behind him, an æon of aristocracy, yet in his manner he was like those cheery subalterns who had marched away from this city by hundreds and thousands to meet the Great Adventure.

He arrived in Toronto on August 25th to find a choir of children, even as his father and his grandfather had found. He must needs accept twenty-seven formal addresses at the City Hall and have his merry eyes dazzled by an infinity of top-hats. But he shoved his khaki cap a hair's breath to one side and seemed to be enjoying himself. He opened the Exhibition in the presence of a great crowd of cheering Canadians, and stood up in the motor car which brought him to the grounds that he might better acknowledge the people's greeting. At the Public Reception in the City Hall he shook hands with all the fervor of a candidate for Parliament, and perhaps with more sincerity. At the Yacht Club dance he wandered out on the pier for a quiet smoke and found scores of canoeists waiting on the chance of seeing him. Since his right hand was lame from shaking, he must needs reach down his left, to the infinite satisfaction of youths in flannels and maidens in summer sweaters.

On August 26th he visited the hospitals, sending ahead of him toys for sick little children, and greeting the disabled soldiers with great heartiness. At the University Convocation at Osgoode Hall, again at the Exhibition, His Royal Highness increased his popularity, and endured formalities without evincing any symptoms of boredom. Then on the afternoon of the 27th he drove twenty miles through the city streets and said farewell to fifty thousand of his own folk. His valedictory message to the Mayor was as follows: "I desire to express through you to the people of Toronto my warmest thanks for the very wonderful welcome which has been accorded to me during my visit to your great city. No words of mine can properly express all I feel, but I leave Toronto very happy."

For the first twenty years of its existence Toronto was a nest of small houses in a clearing, a meeting place of three roads; from Kingston, from Holland Landing, from Dundas and beyond, a village beside a marsh, but with as fair a prospect of forest, lake and island as one could ask.

From the end of the war with the Americans until the "forties," the village had expanded to a size commensurate with its dignity as a capital. "The streets are well paved, and lighted with gas, the houses are large and good, the shops excellent." Queen Street was a northern thoroughfare and

Bishop Power was vigorously criticized because the site he chose for St. Michael's Cathedral was so far from the town.

The era of railway building continued the prosperity and growth of the city. The Normal School was on the northern skirt of the community. Allan Gardens had been improved by the Horticultural Society and Queen's Park was established. There was an entrance from Yonge Street—a woodland avenue guarded by a lodge, where College Street now begins—and an entry from Queen Street now known as University Avenue. Bloor Street as yet was a quiet country road with the sleepy village of Yorkville nestled about the Yonge Street crossing, and the Asylum was in the open country.

So the growth continued, northward and westward, year by year. Village after village was enveloped. Distant hamlets became near-by suburbs and ultimately part of the city. College Street became the southern limit of a residential district full of high-peaked roomy houses. The City leaped across the Don and wandered eastward. Then came electrical transportation, and then the automobile.

To-day from the town-line between York and Scarboro' to the Humber the City lies—an east and west distance of twelve miles. It runs northward to the very edge of Hogg's Hollow, six miles from the Bay. The total assessment in 1922 was $775,578,488. The climate is modified by the lake, so that the average winter temperature is 22 degrees above zero, and the average in summer is about 70 degrees.

There are 9 High Schools, 99 Public Schools and 28 Separate Schools in Toronto; 248 miles of asphalt pavement; 733 miles of concrete sidewalk; 615 miles of water mains; a similar length of gas mains, and 172 miles of street railway single-track. There are 579 miles of sewers, and over 46,000 electric street lights.

The following detailed official statement of the physical construction of the Toronto water works is submitted by Mr. R. C. Harris, Commissioner of Works:

"The Water Works System of Toronto has been municipally controlled and operated since July, 1873, at which time the privately owned plant was taken over at a price of $220,000.

"In 1893 the present arrangement for control of the water works was inaugurated. The works and property of the water works are under the control of the City Engineer (from 1912 called the Commissioner of Works), and the revenue collection, etc., is under the direction of the City Treasurer, now called the Commissioner of Finance.

"The water supply is obtained from Lake Ontario, through two six-foot rivetted steel intake pipes. These intakes extend 2,250 feet, and 2,412 feet, respectively, from the Island shore.

"The water is pumped from the intake shore cribs to the filtration plant, which consists of twelve slow sand beds and ten drifting sand filters, and a clear water reservoir. The water pumped to the drifting sand filters is chlorinated prior to filtration. The average daily yield of the filtration plant in 1921 was 66 mil. Imp. gallons. The pumping equipment consists of one steam pump of 72 mil. Imp. gallons daily capacity, and six electric pumps, having a combined daily capacity of 153 mil. Imp. gallons.

"After filtration the water flows by gravity through a 72-inch conduit and an 84-inch conduit, northerly across the Island to the south shaft of a tunnel laid under the bay. This tunnel is 8 feet in diameter and 5,087 feet in length. The tunnel connects with the main or low level pumping station, near the foot of John Street. The pumping equipment at the main pumping station consists of five steam pumps, having a combined capacity of 102 mil. Imp. gallons per day; and six electric pumps, having a combined capacity of 110 mil. Imp. gallons per day. Two high pressure fire service pumps having a combined capacity of 10 mil. Imp. gallons per day, are located at this plant. The water for the high pressure system is drawn from the Bay.

"From the low level station the water is pumped through distributing mains to the various parts of the City—any excess pumpage flowing to the Rosehill reservoir. The reservoir has a capacity of 33 million Imperial gallons, and covers an area within embankments of nearly 13 acres. The average elevation of the surface of the water above the zero of Lake Ontario is 215 feet. Water is drawn from this reservoir at times of heaviest demand.

"The main pumping station directly supplies, roughly, all that section of the City lying south of College Street; the upper level districts, including North Toronto, being supplied by means of re-pumpage at the high level, Riverdale and East Toronto stations. At the high level pumping station, which is situated on Cottingham Street, the pumping equipment consists of eight steam pumps, having a combined daily capacity of 75 million Imperial gallons; and eight electric pumps having a combined daily capacity of 66 million Imperial gallons.

"The Riverdale pumping station, situated on the Jail grounds on Broadview Avenue, is used for the purpose of augmenting pressure in the section of the City east of the Don River, and north of Gerrard Street. The pumping equipment at this station consists of two electrically-driven centrifugal pumps, each of 5 million Imperial gallons daily capacity.

"East Toronto re-pumpage station and the Beech Avenue station, which were taken over from the former town of East Toronto at the time of annexation, are used for stand-by purposes.

"Tests for purity of the water are made hourly at the filtration plant laboratories. Tests are also made of the water as taken from the City mains, by the laboratories of the Medical Department. The water is, and has been for some time, uniformly pure.

'The total consumption of water in 1921 was 24,140 million Imperial gallons; and the average daily consumption was 66.14 million Imperial gallons. The maximum consumption for one day was 90.29 million Imperial gallons, (July 5th, 1921.)

" The mileage of pumping mains ranging from 16 inch to 42 inch in size was 50, on December 31st, 1921. The mileage of domestic mains, in sizes up to 12 inch, was 565 at that time.

"There are 3,678 meters in use in the City, and 3 1-4 per cent of the services are so equipped. About 1-3 of the revenue is derived from metered services.

"The estimated value of the system is $16,000,000."

In the words of the Commissioner of Finance, writing in December, 1921, the City "has passed successfully through a most critical stage in its financial history." The acquisition and rehabilitation of the Toronto Railway, together with the resumption of a normal works programme, made necessary new issues of debentures to the amount of $32,250,000, bring the gross funded debt on December 31st, 1921, to $130,008,954. More than half of this sum is invested in revenue-producing or specially rated enterprises, and carries itself without recourse to taxation. The investment in the street railway at the end of 1921 was $25,481,737. Fares are fixed to cover interest, sinking fund, depreciation, operation and maintenance. The waterworks plant represents an investment of $16,684,904. The ordinary householder pays a flat rate of about $12 a year, and large consumers are charged on low meter rates; but the revenue is sufficient to meet all fixed and current charges.

The Exhibition buildings have cost $2,079,690. The space-rates charged to exhibitors during the annual Fair are sufficient to pay interest, sinking fund and maintenance; whatever surplus funds are earned by the Exhibition are applied on the cost of maintaining the Park as a pleasure-ground for the citizens during 50 weeks of the year.

The Hydro-Electric investment is $10,752,923—entirely carried by consumers of electric light and power on a rate-schedule lower than that of any other large city in the world. The City has advanced $12,834,449 for the ratepayers' share of local improvements, which is collected in annual instalments in the tax-bills.

The total of these public-utility obligations is $69,089,311. Behind that debt are realizable assets in the form of plants, properties and equipment in excess of the liability. After deducting this amount, and the sinking fund accumulations, the net general debt of the City, the carrying charges of which must come from annual taxation, is $45,112,321. The City has fixed assets in general lands and buildings in excess of this debt, in addition to the taxing power on an assessment of nearly $800,000,000. The annual revenue from taxation and miscellaneous sources is over $26,000,000.

Among the assets above mentioned are public schools worth about $15,000,000, technical schools worth $2,500,000, high schools of about the same value, fire halls valued at over $1,000,000, local improvements (city's share) of nearly $9,000,000, and park lands worth nearly $4,000,000.

So much for the material progress of 130 years. These improvements could not have been effected if the people had not been diligent in business and spirited in their outlook. From the beginning a hopeful philosophy has ruled in all sections of the population. Mrs. Jameson, art-critic, author, biographer of Goethe, was in Toronto in 1837 with her husband, Robert Jameson, attorney-general and later Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada. In one of her letters to England she wrote: "I saw last night eight houses burned to the ground. A poor woman upon whose bedstead I was standing was looking steadily and quietly at her house blazing. I said to her with compassion: 'It is dreadful to stand by and look on thus, and see all one's property destroyed.' She replied very quietly: 'Yes, ma'am—but I dare say some good will come of it; all is for the best if we only knew it.' What do you think of that for philosophy?" It is the philosophy which has enabled the people of Toronto to withstand set-backs and disasters—from the terror of fire and financial losses to the horror of a great war. It is the philosophy which has kept the Government clean and efficient, which has maintained high ideals in conduct, has built schools and churches innumerable, which has given men courage, ardor, enthusiasm, and a fine type of civic pride.

In 1869 a newspaper reporter wrote a record of some of the sights and sounds of Stanley Street on Christmas Eve. Stanley Street of those days is now Lombard Street, and is devoted to the printing trade. Once it was the centre of a vicious slum consisting mainly of houses of ill-repute and unlicensed groggeries. For years there was a red-light district in the city—in Stanley Street, Centre Street or elsewhere—but public opinion was always hostile towards segregation of vice and gradually the plague spots were eliminated. To-day irregular resorts are not tolerated. The men or women who devote their property to immoral uses know that the police are their enemies and that sooner or later trouble will come. It is not pretended that Toronto has destroyed the social evil. From time to time houses in respectable neighborhoods come under suspicion, but vigilant supervision has done much to put away the open shame of nearly every modern city. The casual stranger in Toronto may find means of debasing himself, but he must inquire the way. Even street-walking is far less prevalent and open solicitation is rare.

There are slum areas in Toronto. The district bounded by Queen and College Streets, Yonge and University Avenue, offers a problem to civic administrators. So also does the region of Claremont Street and Niagara Street. Wherever colonies of foreign poor assemble, renting separate rooms instead of self-contained apartments, difficulties arise. British immigrants seeking a start in this new country are more likely to "squat" in the outskirts of the city, acquire a lot on easy payments, build a shack, and ultimately a house. Thousands of men beginning with nothing but resolution and diligence have been able to acquire a sizeable estate in this manner. A "shacktown" region in its first years is anything but pleasing, but it improves and ultimately is by no means discreditable.

The pride of Toronto is in the infinity of moderate-sized houses, nearly all of brick, and for the most part faced by well-kept lawns and flower gardens. There are, of course, choice residential areas where men of wealth are housed magnificently. There is at least one baronial castle, and a gubernatorial residence which is the nearest thing to a French chateau that this young country can boast.

Undoubtedly there is no other city of comparable size where the population is as homogeneous as in Toronto. Mention has been made of foreign citizens, but the colonies are not large. The great bulk of the people are of English speech and not often does one hear any other language on the streets. The representatives of the electors in the City Council are all English-speaking, and nearly all of British birth.

It is a matter for congratulation that Toronto has never been subject to outbreaks of graft and contract-milking in its civic government. The aldermen and officials have been worthy and honest men who have given good service to their fellow-citizens. That does not mean that municipal administration in this community is perfect. Mistakes have been made. Undue optimism sometimes has been the cause of bungling and waste, but in the main the work of the Council has been creditable.

AFTER this discursive study of 130 years of activity is the Spirit of Toronto discernible to any? What is the atmosphere of this community? Can we still trace the feelings, customs, habits, that marked the founders of the municipality? Have they persisted in their successors—persisted through an era of change? If so, the Personality of the City is discoverable.

From the first Toronto was a nest of optimists. The citizens believed in the future and its promise, and spent money to back their belief. Consider the fact that gas was available for house and street lighting before the Act of Incorporation was seven years old. That optimism remains and colors the whole life of the community. In like manner the diligence of the pioneers persists in their children. Toronto is full of eager, ardent workers. The streets are busy. Men walk rapidly. The sharp, clear sunlight may be in part responsible; the stimulus of the pure North American air. Whatever the cause, the stranger entering the city cannot but be impressed at the stream of active life swirling about the downtown corners.

Of course such busyness is common to every great city, but in Toronto it is perhaps less discourteous than in some. The hurrying business man will share the sidewalk with a shade less grimness. The lofty young stenographer will mitigate in some degree the hauteur of her expression if her way should be blocked for a moment. With respect may it be said that the downtown folk of Toronto resemble more their counterparts of Boston than of New York.

Governor Simcoe and his immediate successors were lovers of outdoor recreation. They galloped on the hard sands of the Peninsula. They hunted the fox on the ice-bound bay. They tramped incredible distances. They loved the canoe and the paddle. Before the Nineteenth Century was of walking age men of York played cricket in summer and curled in winter. Decade after decade the love of outdoor sport persisted in the community, and as the City expanded the need for playgrounds and open spaces was continually recognized and met. Toronto to-day is an out-of-doors city. All summer long the parks are the resort of tens of thousands. Picnics begin with the first glint of green in the brown sod, and merge in autumn into an infinity of corn-roasts, with shore bonfires twinkling in the early darkness. In the narrow space of time while *al fresco* luncheons are impossible one finds in the parks skaters, ski-runners and snow-shoers—rosy young folk of both sexes tasting the sweetness of the winter air. The Saturday half-holiday is almost universal—a concession to the out-of-doors spirit of the city, and every organized sport on land and water, is followed with enthusiasm.

The first settlers of this neighborhood were proud of their British citizenship. Most of them had suffered for it, and consequently their loyalty had become a passion. Perhaps in early times it would have been difficult for them to prove in what respect they were freer than the men of other nations, but they did not argue the question. One does not bring laborious intellectual exercise to prove that one's own family is less desirable than the family of the man next door. Similarly, loyalty to the British family of peoples was not for our fathers a conclusion of logic. It was an emotion, often unreasoning, but none the less strong and compelling.

Loyalty to the Throne and flag of England is still a passion in Toronto. The war-effort of this community is told elsewhere. It is a record of a great, almost unbelievable achievement. Every nine persons of the city were represented by one physically fit man in khaki. The crosses marking the last home of Toronto men in Flanders are numbered by thousands. Men and money without stint were available from this city to maintain the British Empire in its day of trial. That Empire is our pride and our glory, even as it was in the time of our civic ancestors.

Despite this loyalty the first Mayor of Toronto was William Lyon Mackenzie, agitator, popular tribune and potential rebel. The paradox is explained in the fact that the early citizens never confused the King with the men who did His Majesty's business. These latter may have been tyrannous, unjust, inconsiderate, and public resentment rose against them to a height, but the blame was laid upon them, not upon the Throne or the British system of government. Mayor Mackenzie was chosen by the aldermen, it is true, but the aldermen, most of them hot Reformers, had been elected by the people at large, in an open vote. There was a sturdy independence in the minds of the people. They were sure that the King's business was being bungled and were of a mind to rebuke the devourers on behalf of His Majesty. ("God bless him, and take off your hat like a loyal citizen.")

Dickens said that the Toryism of the place was appalling, but he did not know what a mixed and curious Toryism it was. Even to-day the City is Conservative in its attitude towards the Throne and towards the maintenance at all hazards of British connection and British prestige. But it is Radical in its economic outlook. Nowhere else on this Continent is there a stronger support for public ownership of public utilities. Millions of dollars have been poured out for the waterworks, for the Hydro-Electric system, for the street railway, for the Exhibition. Such Toryism as may be content for private capital to take undue tolls from the people has no support in Toronto. The City is more Liberal (or Progressivist) in municipal affairs than any other in America, and more Conservative in national affairs. Yet should a situation arise wherein its national representatives or its favored national party might display a tendency to inhibit or restrain the rights or the aspirations of the City, Toronto would still be capable of a dramatic gesture of protest at the proper moment. The spirit which elected William Lyon Mackenzie in 1834 still lives.

Often the cultivation of cynicism is the chief activity of a really metropolitan community. Toronto has not reached that point and in consequence is often under the accusation of being provincial. The tolerant smile of a Montrealer when Toronto is mentioned—by an outsider—is almost as lofty as that of a New Yorker when reference is made to Montreal. The growth of Toronto has not quenched its fervor or driven its people into the cave of self-sufficiency. To that extent, and that only, it is provincial. No metropolis in the world can offer more comfortable standards of living, greater educational advantages, more variety of diversion. Nowhere else are the opportunities for success more plentiful for diligent and energetic men. Since incorporation in 1834 the population of Toronto has doubled every fifteen years. Now that the transportation question is settled there can be no drag upon its growth, and undoubtedly middle-aged men of to-day will see the time when over 1,000,000 people will find a home in this city. Mere size is not the chief desire of thinking folk. A city, like an individual, may grow clumsy and ungainly. But there is hope that Toronto will continue its habit of growing in grace, at the same time maintaining the traditions which have brought the city to its present eminence and distinction—steady and unquenchable loyalty to British connection, ardent interest in its own government, municipal, Provincial and Federal, diligence in business, honesty and courage in public affairs, enthusiasm for wholesome sport and recreation, respect for constituted authority. These are the springs of contented and happy citizenship, whether civic or national.

In outward semblance Toronto is an American city. Plate glass abounds. The shop windows are dressed in the alluring New York manner. The crowds are well-garbed and vivacious. The theatres and picture houses are served with plays and films from the United States and the posters are exactly such as one may see in Detroit or in Chicago. General poster advertising blossoms on every vacant lot or blank wall. The news-stands carry all the New York magazines. The multitudinous motor-cars are such as may be found on Woodward Avenue or State Street. At night the sky is aflame with advertising legends in electric lights. Even sky-scrapers have made their appearance.

The downtown offices for the most part are luxurious palaces of marble and mahogany, with hardwood floors and beautiful lighting. Princesses innumerable inhabit them, clicking the keys of typewriters and adding machines with aristocratic fingers. Arnold Bennett has noticed the lovely combination of business and beauty found in the offices of "Those United States." The telephone is everywhere. The filing cabinet of American design is close at hand and the desk-top is likely to be covered with a sheet of plate glass—so that only the most surefooted flies dare light upon it.

Move away from the downtown district in the American-type street car and you notice that the lawns are tended carefully and are unfenced from the street—an American custom. But instead of a clap-boarded house set in the midst, as one might find in Cleveland or Buffalo, you see a solid, sturdy-looking residence of red brick. Even in the farthest outskirts frame construction is not favored. The building by-law is responsible, it may be said, but behind that by-law is the sentiment of the people. Canadians are a cautious folk. They say: "If fire can be avoided, why not avoid it?"

While there is an appearance of Americanism in the community look at the Courts. Here the judges and counsel are formally robed in the British fashion. Look at the Legislature during its session, and behold the British House of Commons; from the Speaker's three-cornered hat to the mace and the sword of the sergeant-at-arms. Step into a Church on Sunday and hear the sonorous prayers for "George, our gracious King and Governour, Her Majesty Queen Mary, and all the Royal Family." Regard this city on the evening of Victoria Day, May 24th, and see the flaring rockets and Roman candles of patriotic celebration. Look upon it on July 4th, and see Everyman going about his business as if it were merely July 5th, or July 6th.

In a word, Toronto is British in the North American manner. The flattery of imitation may persuade some visitors that Toronto is as its neighbors, but these visitors will be wrong. Toronto and Canada are perfectly equipped to interpret Great Britain to the United States, and the United States to Great Britain. We take the best treasures of each country and work them into an amalgam called Canadianism, which we like to believe is a precious metal of itself, unique in quality, and warranted not to tarnish.

PART III.

The City in its Activities

CHAPTER I.

THE NEWSPAPERS OF TORONTO

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THE NEWSPAPERS OF TORONTO

ANY modern journalist who examines with care some of the newspapers published in Toronto in the 'forties and earlier is likely to regard them with wonder, and leap to the conclusion that they were not newspapers at all. Next to nothing appears about sport, social life, business occurrences, or the activities of criminals. A "news story" after the Twentieth Century model, is unknown. Reports of meetings are as chronological as the secretary's minutes. The "feature" lies buried, if there be a feature; and the headings convey only general notions of the news. They are not digests of the stories they lead. The great proportion of each issue is occupied by political discussion; by the reports of political meetings drawn out to an incredible length, and by the daily editorial bombardment of the enemy's forces. To modern eyes they are more like party campaign pamphlets than newspapers, though it must be said to their credit that they are not so dull as those lamentable brochures of battle.

Yet one would be wrong in dismissing all this early journalism as unworthy, and contemptible. We who live under a government chosen by ourselves—an administration which is very tender of the rights of the subject—are inclined to minimize the importance of political disputation. When no one is oppressed, politics ceases to be of general interest and ultimately becomes only a game. But in the day of our grandfathers, government was clumsy and heavy-footed. Settlers in Upper Canada suffered in physical well-being and estate by the reserving of uncultivated farm lots next to their clearings. Out of the woodlands came wild animals to eat their crops and terrorize their children. It was not possible to complete a clearing or to maintain proper roads when one-seventh of the land was unoccupied—being held by the Crown for the endowment of a Church towards which most of the settlers were unsympathetic.

Thus day by day, and every day, the average pioneer had a grievance. Meeting his neighbor at the mill or at the blacksmith's shop he spoke bitterly of the government and the officials. Imagine how he would hail the information that a Champion of the Poor had arisen, a man who was not afraid to say and even to print the whole truth about government and the arrogant, unprofitable servants of government. Under such circumstances politics would be news, and an editorial article full of hot denunciation would have no less charm than the story of a football game has for grandfather's grandsons.

Undoubtedly a successful speech is that one which summarizes in the most vigorous way the thoughts and aspirations of the audience; so with respect to a leading article in a newspaper. When the subscriber agrees with the argument, he praises—not himself—but the editor, the man who has made the subscriber's thoughts articulate. The newspapers of early Toronto concentrated upon the most important subject of the day, used practically all their space upon it and allowed trivialities to remain trivial. It was *The*

Examiner which printed a "local" item to this effect. "Word came to the city yesterday that a murder was committed in Weston one day last week. No further information has been received." In the same issue was a long letter hostile to the principle of Church Establishment.

Happy is the State which has no politics—the community where government operates so smoothly and with such patent justice to all that the citizen becomes indifferent about the Party in which he was born and the Honored Leader whom he is supposed to idolize. The fact that in our time a political speech is not generally interesting is a direct tribute to the successful trial of Democracy in Canada, and an indirect tribute to the pioneers who were hearty partisans and smote the enemy hip and thigh on every possible occasion. In the old times a professional newspaper man had to have a knowledge of shorthand so that he could make verbatim reports of such speeches as the tribunes designed to make. There is no room in the modern newspaper for such reports, even if any one cared to read them, and the reporter's shorthand, so painfully acquired, soon atrophies. Different times, different manners!

The first newspaper with "York" on the date line appeared on October 4th, 1798. It was a little four-page quarto 11 x 9 inches in dimensions and with three columns on each page—*"The Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle.* Printed by William Waters and T. G. Simons. Price 4 dollars per annum." In virtue of its official nature as the mouthpiece of the Government, the paper bore on the title page the Royal Arms and the initials "G.R." The copy mentioned was number 188 of volume VI. Previous to October 4th, 1798, *The Gazette* had been printed at Newark, having been established in 1793 by Louis Roy, a French-Canadian formerly connected with the *Quebec Gazette.*

There is a copy of the issue of Oct. 4th, 1798 in the Provincial Library. Like all printed books and papers of the period, the typography is excellent, although the long "s" still persisted before a vowel. Under the heading "European News," appears the King's speech at the Prorogation of Parliament on June 29th, in which spirited reference was made to the conflict with France. Following this report, comes the following news item: "Letters from Lisbon say that Admirals Nelson and Curtis have joined St. Vincent's fleet, which now consists of 32 sail of the line. He (Nelson) is to go in quest of the Toulon fleet, leaving the Spaniards to be watched by a small squadron."

At the time this had been printed, the Battle of the Nile had been fought. Two months had gone and three more were to elapse before the news of the action of August 1st, 1798, reached York. Nelson's despatches were printed in the issue of January 5th, 1799, under the heading of "glorious, glorious news." Record is made of the firing of a salute by the garrison at 5 p.m. on Jan. 4th, and of the general illumination of the town in honor of the victory. Happy candles sputtered in every log cabin window and threw their pale reflections on the soundless bog now called Front Street.

In the first York newspaper an official list of recent land grants appeared over the signature of William Jarvis. In York County David Burns had secured 700 acres, Lieutenant Ab. Iredell, 210, Captain David Demont, 200.

Hon. William Dummer Powell, 300, Anne Powell, 400, John McGill, adjutant, 200, Hon. D. W. Smith, 7 acres. Mrs. Eliza Thompson received 410 acres in the Township of Scarboro', and the following lots in the Town of York were granted: 1 acre to Allan Macdonald, 1 acre to Ephraim Holland Payson, 1 acre to Hon. W. D. Powell, 1 acre to John Powell, his son, 1 acre to Anne Powell, his daughter, and 3-10 of an acre to Hon. D. W. Smith. There was one advertisement filling almost a column; that of John Cumming, of Kingston, who offered for sale a miscellaneous catalogue of articles, "cloths, swandown, casimeres, kerseys, baizes, flannels, callicoes, and chentzes . . . nails, bar and sheet steel, tools of all sorts . . . Jamaica spirits, rum, brandy, and wine . . . hyson, souchong, green and bohea teas . . . . gunpowder and shot, German flutes, black pepper and cutlery."

The first advertisement originating in York appeared in the issue of November 3rd, 1798—William Cooper's announcement that he was about to open a school at his house in George Street "for the instruction of youth in reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar. Those who chuse to favour him with their pupils may rely on the greatest attention being paid to their virtue and morals." There never has been lacking in Toronto, since 1798, an opportunity to gain instruction—and to have our morals supervised!

In December, 1798, Miles's Tavern* was the scene of an auction sale of the property of "the late John Lawrence," consisting of 228 acres on the east side of the Humber, broken lots 1, 2 and 3. Probably this sale marked the first considerable land transfer within the present City borders, other than the transfers from the Crown to various individuals.

One glint of light upon the social interests of the inhabitants of York appears in a notice calling upon the "Gentlemen of the Town and Garrison" to meet at Miles's Tavern on December 10th, 1798, to make arrangements for the regular Assemblies of the season. An item appearing in *The Gazette* six months later, June 29th, 1799, mentions a procession of the members of Lodge No. 2 and Harmony Lodge, No. 8, of the Masonic Order, to the Government Buildings, where a sermon was preached by Rev. Robert Addison.

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* Abner Miles was the first hotel-keeper in York. In the Toronto Public Library is his day-book from September 1st, 1795 to the end of 1796, one of the earliest manuscripts relating to the City and perhaps the first record of commercial transactions. It begins with the item of a sale to Peter Long of 28 pounds of "flower" and 6 pounds of bacon for 19s 1d. On September 3rd flour and smoked pork were sold to "Big Dutchman Sawyer," the price of the pork being 1/6 a pound. A nice distinction in measures is remarked on September 9th. Levi Bliss bought 3 pints of wine "Cameron measure" for 9s. John Pursell secured one pint "my measure" for 3s 10d. On the 19th is this entry: "Major Small's soldiers dr. to 1 quart of rum towards a dying settler." Two days later there was no such excuse: "Small's soldiers, to 7½ pints rum 10s 6d."

The list of names is interesting—Abraham Johnson, David Morgan, Joseph French, William Bond, John Macdougall (variously spelled by Miles "McDogle," "Mack Dugle" and McDugal", Squire John Wilson, John Coon, Dr. Hurst (possibly an army surgeon) George Hall, Joshua Chamberlain, William Berczy the leader of "the Dutch settlement" in Markham, Isaiah Skinner, William Hunter, the Widow White, Mr. Scadding, Josiah Phelps, Samuel Herren (Heron) Col. Jessop, Nicholas Miller, Gideon Tiffany and William Willcocks. On July 5th, 1796 Miles helped Mr. Willcocks move his things to his house and charged him 3s. for the service.

The rate of passage by Miles's boat from the Genessee to York was 16s. from York to Newark, 8s. Prices for bread were 6d. a pound, for whiskey £1 a gallon, for Indian meal 3d. a pound, for a pair of sleeve-buttons, 6d., for a man's hat, 16s., for a heifer £8. For "four meals of victuals" supplied to Joshua Chamberlain Miles charged 4s. For a fortnight's board the charge was £2 2. A pair of shoes cost 12s. "To Small, coffin for his child, 8s." A half-bushel of salt cost Asa Johnson on Dec. 12th, 1795, 10 shillings.

This day-book contains the first record of house rent in Toronto. On March 8th, 1796 Miles made this entry against William Hunter " To the use of a house from the 4th of Sept., 1795 to the end of February, 1796 £6 16s.," about £1 7s. a month Halifax currency. This would be, roughly, $5 in our money.

Evean Eveans, "taylor and habit maker from London," was established in a small building belonging to Mr. Willcocks by June, 1799. Ten months later Rock the Hairdresser, also from London, was mixing lather "in Mr. Cooper's house next the Printing Office," and Elisha Purdey was mending watches in the house of Mr. Marther.

While many fragmentary notices of this sort may be gleaned from *The Gazette,* the official nature of the publication rather cramped the editor's pen. There was no free discussion of public questions in print.

One writer after another has declared that an opposition paper entitled *The Upper Canadian Guardian or Freeman's Journal,* was established in York during 1807 by Joseph Willcocks, who had been sheriff of the Home District. He was dismissed, apparently for some injudicious criticism of the Executive Council. That public sympathy was on his side appears in the fact that he was subsequently elected to the Assembly for the West Riding of York, the First Riding of Lincoln and the County of Haldimand. He took his seat on January 26th, 1808. By February 18th he was in trouble. Captain Cowan "rose up in his place and did inform the House that an honorable Member (J. Willcocks) had made use of language out of doors derogatory to the honor and integrity of this Honorable House, and nearly in these words: 'That the members of the House of Assembly dared not proceed in the prosecution they had commenced against him. He was sorry they did not continue it; it would have given him an opportunity of proving that they had been bribed by General Hunter; and that he had a member of the House ready to come forward and give testimony to that effect.' The gentlemen that were present were Titus Simons, (the printer), Samuel S. Willmott, surveyor of lands, and Dr. James Glennon, practitioner of physic in this town." The Assembly determined that the expressions said to be made use of by Mr. Joseph Willcocks were false, slanderous, and highly derogatory to the dignity of the House, and set a day for his trial. That trial occurred on February 20th, the accused was found guilty of contempt and by Speaker's warrant was committed to jail, where he stayed until March 16th.

For four years Willcocks remained in York feeding fat his grudge against the Government. Then came the War of 1812. With another member of the Assembly he deserted to the Americans and later was killed at Fort Erie. The Speech from the Throne in 1814 said: "It has been more a subject of regret than surprise to have found two members of the Legislative body in the ranks of the enemy. This disgrace could not have been had their malignant influence in the last session failed to respect the call for a suitable modification in the Habeas Corpus Act.......Means should be adopted to punish such traitors as adhere to the enemy by the confiscation of their estates." As a result, the House passed on March 12th, 1814, an Act for the more impartial and effectual trial and punishment of High

Treason and Treasonable practices committed in this Province." The House agreed to the suggestion of the Governor that the forfeitures of such traitors as adhered to the enemy should be applied to the relief of the sufferers by the war.

J. Bennett, of the firm of Cameron and Bennett, publishers of the *Upper Canada Gazette,* printed the following notice in 1807: "Having seen the prospectus of a paper generally circulated in Niagara intended to be printed in Upper Canada, entitled the *Upper Canadian Guardian* or *Freeman's Journal.* but executed in the United States of America, without my knowledge or consent, wherein my name appears as being a party concerned, I therefore think it necessary to undeceive my friends and the inhabitants of Upper Canada, and to assure them that I have no connection with, nor is it my most distant wish or intention in any wise to be connected with the printing or publication of said paper." From this involved and complicated piece of English, Dr. Scadding leaps to the conclusion that the newspaper projected was actually published, and in York; his opinion is followed by his successors. Yet no one has ever seen a copy of the paper, and there seems to be no mention in contemporary documents of Willcocks as a publisher. A careful reading of Bennett's declaration may justify the opinion of the writer that only the prospectus was "circulated in Niagara." It is highly improbable that there was any other printing shop in York but that owned in part by Bennett and supported by the Government. If Willcocks assumed that he could induce Bennett to print his proposed newspaper he was publicly advised of his mistake; possibly at the instance of the Government, which had rigid notions concerning "a licentious press." Eighteen years later Charles Fothergill, publisher of the Government *Gazette,* then called *"The Weekly Register,"* was dismissed by Sir Peregrine Maitland because he printed this sentence: "I know some of the deep and latent causes why this fine country has so long languished in a state of comparative stupor and inactivity while our more enterprising neighbors are laughing us to scorn." That Willcocks would be permitted in 1807 to enter upon a course of denunciation such as he meditated does not seem reasonable.

It is assumed, therefore, that *The Upper Canadian Guardian,* which has been considered as a reality of paper and printers' ink, was never more than a ghost-newspaper; that it never appeared in Niagara or anywhere else; and that the only printing press in York from 1798 to the sack of the town by the Americans in 1813 was the one under the heavy thumb of the Administration. The weight of that thumb is indicated by the fact that in Niagara a lively journalist, Bartemus Ferguson, was condemned in 1819 to stand in the pillory on account of an alleged libel in a letter by Robert Smilay, which Ferguson was so bold as to print. In 1801 Hon. Mr. Allan having complained of an article in the *Upper Canada Gazette,* the Executive Council resolved to dismiss the printer and find another.

It appears that no York newspapers of the period from 1813 to 1817 have been discovered. That no *Gazette* of any sort was published during these years seems difficult to credit, considering the Government's need of some vehicle for the dissemination of proclamations and settlement regulations. The Government could not have realized as yet the folly of attempting to make a private printing enterprise official, for *The Upper Canada Gazette* in 1817, under Dr. Horne and his successor, Charles Fothergill, was still a "controlled" publication. Mr. Fothergill's fate has been already mentioned.

The story of the founding of *The Colonial Advocate,* by William Lyon Mackenzie, has a place in the early chapters of this work. From 1824 it regularly assailed the officers of Government with a freedom and a savagery which fills the modern reader with astonishment. If our theory is correct, with reference to the proposed Willcocks sheet, *The Colonial Advocate* was the first Opposition journal in Upper Canada—thirty-one years after the founding of York. It continued from 1824 to 1834, when it died of financial inanition. Shortly before the Rebellion, Mackenzie produced some numbers of a paper called *The Constitution,* which was very violent in tone.

The Observer, printed and published for J. Carey, was a four-page folio about 10 by 20 inches, each page containing five columns. The earliest number at the Public Library is dated October 23rd, 1820, and is No. 23 of Vol. 1. The chief "news story" is a part of the evidence received at the trial of Queen Caroline. The editor writes: "Never was swearing paid for at such a rate in either Italy or England before." There is no reference to Upper Canada politics, and not much to Upper Canada news. Here is one item which approximately fixes the date of Hon. J. H. Dunn's appointment as Receiver-General: "We regret that George Crookshanks, Esq., a gentleman as amiable in private life as he was dignified in his public situation, has been removed from the situation of Receiver-General of this Province in consequence of the appointment of ——Dunn, Esq., by the lords of the Treasury. We hope that the person appointed will, like his predecessors, give that satisfaction to the public which will secure to him the approbation of his Government." John Carey was an Irishman who had reported the Parliamentary debates for *The Gazette* before launching into business for himself.

The most pretentious of newspapers before 1830 was *The Loyalist,* established on June 7th, 1828. It was an 8-page quarto of three wide columns to the page, and the title page was decorated by a wood-cut design of the rose, shamrock and thistle intertwined. There is reason to believe that this paper had appeared in a different form previous to the date mentioned, but proof is lacking. The issue of June 7th had on its front page some miscellaneous literary pieces—on May Day, Love of Country, and Helpless Infants. Page two was devoted to summarized British news under Old English type headings: "England," "Ireland" and "Scotland." The editor, whose name does not appear, has a quarrel with Mr. Carey, as the following note will show: "As to Mr. Wilson's (of Gore) ideas of Carey selling himself to Government, we took no notice of them, and for the best reason in the world. We were quite satisfied that it had too much good sense to purchase a useless article, and that if it were even otherwise, it has too high a sense of what is due to its own dignity to descend to such a traffic." There is also on the editorial page a rebuke to *The Colonial Advocate.*

Among the advertisements is one inviting tenders for the repair of the buildings at the Fort, signed by Isaac Blackburn, D. A. C. G. These buildings are named: the Commandant's quarters, the Captains' quarters, the officers' brick barracks, the officers' blue barracks, the garrison hospital, the men's splinter-proof barracks, the men's brick barracks, blockhouse No. 2 and the main guardroom.

There is an announcement also of the benefit on June 9th, 1828, of Mr. Dryer, who is playing in the town—probably at Frank's rooms. The programme includes "for the first time in York, Shakespeare's celebrated tragedy, 'Macbeth.' Page 8 was devoted to Poetry and to Lower Canada News.

Evidence that *The Loyalist,* despite its excellence, did not long survive, is found in the fact that it is not mentioned in a postal return to the British Government for the year 1830. Yet it is possible that the list was not complete. It does not refer to Francis Collins's paper, *The Canadian Freeman,* which was contemporary with *The Loyalist.* The editor was sent to jail in 1829 for a libellous remark concerning the Attorney-General and continued publication of the paper during his incarceration. There is a paper named *The Catholic Patriot* mentioned in the return. Inasmuch as Collins was a Catholic it is possible that he was the publisher. Of *The Watchman* and *The Star,* named in this same Parliamentary paper, nothing has been learned.

The Christian Guardian is listed. It was established in 1829 by the despised sect called Methodists, and was edited with authority and power by Rev. Egerton Ryerson. While it was primarily a religious paper it exercised great influence, and for a time was heartily in favor of Mackenzie's Liberalism. The editor finally perceived the tendency towards violence on the part of the fiery little Scot, and changed the policy of *The Guardian* in time to avoid dragging the Methodist body into the Rebellion. Ryerson was plentifully supplied with enemies, some of them were followers of Wesley. Before 1830 *The Canadian Wesleyan* had been founded, doubtless to speak in their behalf. While it is assumed that *The Wesleyan* died, *The Christian Guardian* lived on, and to-day is the oldest newspaper in Toronto. Among the eminent men who have occupied its editorial chair none was a more powerful controversialist than Rev. Dr. E. H. Dewart, who was in charge for many years. The present editor is Rev. Dr. W. B. Creighton.

The Courier of Upper Canada, established by George Gurnett, was one of the best newspapers of pre-Rebellion times. Dr. Scadding says that it was founded in 1828, but there is a file in the Public Library for the year 1835, bearing the series-number of Volume 10. The issue of February 21st was "Vol. 10, No. 5." If the volumes go by years, the customary practice then as now, February, 1825, would appear to be the period of its beginning. Mr. Gurnett's pronounced Toryism was tempered by common sense. He did not fill his paper with politics, though when he rebuked the Mackenzie party there was no mistaking his meaning.

The Library file mentioned repays careful study. News and advertisements are alike interesting. The Virginia State Lottery is regularly advertised and tickets are offered for sale. There is an announcement with reference to the "Toronto assemblies" to be held during the season at Keating's Rooms. On Feb. 21st appeared the report of a meeting held at Anderson's Tavern to adopt measures for the macadamizing of Yonge Street.

On February 28th, 1835, a meeting was called to consider the possibility of making a navigable cut through the sandbar at the eastern end of the Peninsula. Mr. Gurnett gave his approval to this project which he believed would greatly improve the shipping conveniences of the harbor. The meeting was held, and a resolution passed asking the Governor to have a report made on the feasibility of the project. The Governor acceded to the request and named Captain Bonnycastle to make an investigation. Despite this action the Eastern Gap was not opened until a succession of winter storms had swept away the sandbar. The first of these storms occurred in 1848, leaving a string of pools which by a little effort might have been connected, but the Harbour Commissioners of 1850 meditated filling them up again. While they meditated the east wind blew from time to time. By 1858, the Bay and the Lake were joined.

The following advertisement appeared on Oct. 13th, 1835:

"The extraordinary Exhibition of the Industrious Fleas from England has just arrived in this city and will be open for exhibition at the Steamboat Hotel on Thursday next, the 15th inst. Admission 1s. 3d. Children, half-price."

The issue of Jan. 16th, 1836, contained the advertisement of Mr. Gidney, Dentist, who had just returned to Toronto:

"Mr. G. remembers with lively gratitude the very liberal patronage received during his residence in this place in the winter of 1825. He now thinks that his services will be more valuable from the ten years additional practice, 6 or 7 years of which have been passed in some of the most opulent and enlightened Capitals in Europe."

The Courier was a four-page paper appearing three times a week. The office was at No. 10 New Street (Jarvis), on the east side of the market square, and the printer was R. W. Clendinning.

A paper called *The Toronto Recorder and General Advertiser* was published by George Perkins Bull during 1834, from his office "at the south angle of the Market Building." It was a semi-weekly, but without any individualistic features.

The Church, of Cobourg, had been used by Dr. Strachan in supporting Anglican claims as against the demands of *The Christian Guardian* and some of the secular newspapers of the day. In 1840 the office of publication was removed to Toronto, Mr. John Kent being the Editor. Subsequently the paper was in charge of Rev. A. N. Bethune, afterwards Bishop of Toronto.

In 1837 was established the first Catholic weekly, *The Mirror,* of which Charles Donlevy was the proprietor and editor. This paper continued publication until 1862, latterly by his executors, Donlevy himself having died in August, 1858. There is a tablet in his memory in St. Michael's cathedral. The first *Canadian Freeman,* to which allusion has already been made, though owned and mainly written by a Catholic, Francis Collins, made no pretence of being other than a secular newspaper.

Thomas Dalton, for four years, beginning in 1828, published at Kingston *The Patriot.* It was a heavy-footed journal and for lack of support the proprietor moved it to York. The first York issue, December 7th, 1832, contained the Editor's address to the inhabitants of Kingston, one of the most stilted and amusing of newspaper performances. His fellow-townsmen were informed, after half-a-column of high compliment, that they had not given him adequate support. Then follows this sentence: "I have turned my regards to York which from its powers concomitant of a metropolitan community possesses, first, a better fund of domestic intelligence for imparting value to editorial labors, and secondly, incomparably better means of affording them a just reward." In this same issue Mr. Dalton refers to Mackenzie as "the rampant, meretricious proprietor of *The Colonial Advocate.*" Mackenzie's response, direct and to the point, seems to reflect some of the cheerfulness which Dalton's four-knot galleon inspired within him: "Really, our officials will have a very heavy tax upon them if a few more broken-down Tory journals come in for a share of the loaves and fishes of York." Mr. Dalton's fortunes were mended by the change of venue, for *The Patriot* continued to appear. The proprietor died in 1840, but the paper was carried on for eight years by his widow. Then it was purchased by Colonel O'Brien of Shanty Bay, and Mr. Samuel Thompson was appointed as Manager. Dr. Lucius O'Brien was the editor.

Mr. Thompson had come to Toronto from England shortly before the Rebellion. In the year 1838 he obtained employment as manager of *The Palladium,* a weekly paper similar in plan to the New York *Albion,* and the property of Mr. Charles Fothergill. After Mr. Fothergill's indiscretion in *The Weekly Register* in 1826, he had founded this paper and carried it on, though without any marked financial success. The office was on the corner of York and Boulton streets, and its most elaborate equipment was a Columbian hand-press. Mr. Thompson in his interesting Reminiscences, says: "Fothergill was a man of talent, a scholar and a gentleman; but so entirely given up to the study of natural history and the practice of taxidermy that his newspaper received but scant attention, and his personal appearance and the cleanliness of his surroundings still less. His family often suffered from want of the necessaries, while the money he should have spent upon them went for some rare bird or strange fish." It was not surprising that *The Palladium* soon died, despite its new manager.

Mr. Thompson had then acquired an interest in *The Toronto Herald,* a modest weekly conducted by John F. Rogers and George Hackstaff. While he was in charge of this shop he printed Alphæus Todd's Parliamentary Law, a book of 400 pages, the first law commentary to be published in Toronto, and still the authority on the subject as every active politician knows.

In Lord Sydenham's time the two leading papers of the City were *The Patriot* and *The Courier,* each anxious not to offend the Administration lest the seat of government might be removed from Toronto. *The Herald* was a guerilla warrior and was anxious about nothing — save perhaps its receipts, for ultimately it discontinued publication.

When Mr. Thompson came to *The Patriot* in 1848 it was in steady opposition to *The Globe,* now established some four years. The competition was exceedingly keen, and it was apparent that the period of Daily newspapers was at hand. *The Patriot* office, on the south-west corner of King and Church Streets, was burned out in the great fire of 1849 when the second St. James's Church was destroyed. Richard Watson, the Queen's Printer of the day was caught by the flames while attempting to remove some of the furniture to safety, and ardent efforts at rescue led by Colonel O'Brien failed.

Despite the disaster, *The Patriot* continued publication and in April, 1850, appeared as a daily under the name of *The Daily Patriot and Express.* A copy of this paper for August 6th, 1850 (Vol. 1, No. 98) is in the Public Library. Its most interesting feature is the following editorial article:

"We understand that Colonel Gugy yesterday gave notice of a motion to the effect that the reporters be subjected to fine and imprisonment who do not give correct and impartial reports of the proceedings of the House! We are much mistaken if the House would not prefer incorrect and partial reports of such scenes as took place on Saturday last and on previous occasions. We are informed that honorable members amused themselves by pelting each other with paper pellets intermingled with curses, oaths, and such like gentlemanly recreations."

For two weeks there had been an interesting little quarrel between the House and the reporters. The Journal of the Legislative Assembly for July 19th, 1850, says: "Mr. Christie of Gaspé rose in his place and informed the House that yesterday evening while he was in conversation, and as he thought, in an undertone, from within the Bar of the House, with a person outside the Bar, he was addressed in a rude and offensive manner by a person in the reporters' box, whom he immediately after ascertained to be a Mr. Ure, reporter to one of the papers published in this City, who desired the informant to cease his talking, which, he said, prevented him from hearing what was going on in the House." Mr. Christie followed the reporter outside and demanded an apology which Mr. Ure declined to make. He said: "You were talking and making a noise by setting two other persons near you at laughter, so that I could not do my duty. You were out of your place which is at the other end of the room, while I was in mine, and you were where you had no business to be."

As soon as this complaint was made the House on motion of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Boulton ordered Mr. Ure to appear forthwith at the Bar. On his appearance he pleaded inexperience in the ways of Parliaments and expressed regret for his unintentional offence. Then he was reprimanded by the Speaker and suffered to depart. One sentence of the reprimand follows: "You are totally mistaken as to your position. You are no part of this House and have no pretended position to maintain or duty to perform which can interfere with the privileges of Members or give you any right over them."

The feeling of the House was very hostile towards reporters; so much so that they all withdrew from the Legislature. On July 31st Mr. Cameron and Mr. Perry moved that it was desirable for the press to have every reasonable facility under the direction of Mr. Speaker in such part of the House as will be most free from interruption. The motion was lost — by a vote of 7 to 54. On that very day the reporters drafted a petition to the Legislative Assembly. A photographic fac-simile of the signatures is given below, and the text of the petition here follows:

"We the undersigned conductors and reporters of the public press humbly approach your Honorable House and represent:

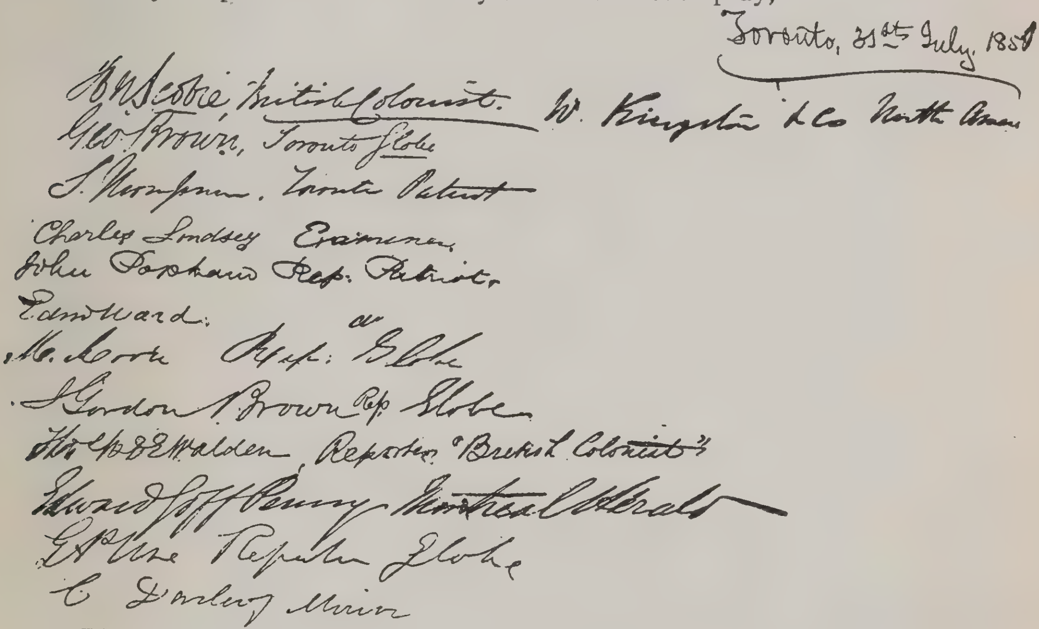
That the people of this Province have a right to be present at such proceedings of your honorable house as have been heretofore, and are now usually considered to be public.

That inasmuch as the whole people of the province cannot personally be present at such proceedings of your honorable house, it is the opinion of the undersigned that the reporters of the press — in addition to their right to be admitted as a portion of the public — ought also to be provided with suitable accommodation, so as to be enabled to make known the proceedings of your honorable house; and ought furthermore to be protected from such annoyance as may prevent or impede the publication of your proceedings.

That the ground upon which the undersigned withdrew themselves from the sittings of your honorable house was the passing by your honorable house of a certain resolution, followed by other proceedings by which the aforesaid rights were practically denied.

Whereupon the undersigned pray your honorable house to take such orders as may amount to the recognition of the rights herein set forth.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray,—"



Toronto, 31st July, 1851

H N Scobie, British Colonist. W. Kingston & Co North Amer
Geo Brown, Toronto Globe
S. Thompson, Toronto Patriot
Charles Lindsey Examiner
John Popham Rep: Patriot
Edw Ward: do
M. Cook Rep: Globe
J Gordon Brown Rep Globe
Thos de Walden Reporter "British Colonist"
Edward Goff Penny Montreal Herald
G P Ure Reporter Globe
C Donlevy Mirror

The signatures are: H. N. Scobie, British Colonist; George Brown, Toronto Globe; S. Thompson, Toronto Patriot; Charles Lindsey, Examiner; John Popham, rep. Patriot; Edward Ward, do; M. Cook, rep. Globe; J. Gordon Brown, rep. Globe; Thomas de Walden, reporter British Colonist; Edward Goff Penny, Montreal Herald; G. P. Ure, reporter, Globe; C. Donlevy Mirror; W. Kingston & Co., North American.

With this, the quarrel died, and the reporters resumed their places.

In May, 1853, Mr. Thompson sold his interest in the *Daily Patriot* to Mr. Ogle R. Gowan, who had already acquired the weekly edition, and bought *The Colonist,* from the widow of Mr. Hugh Scobie, the founder. This paper, which had appeared first in 1838 as a weekly, represented the Scottish Conservative element of the population, and was fully as hostile towards George Brown as *The Patriot*. Frequently the papers had hunted in couples. *The Colonist* was now a daily, published from a brick building extending from

King to Colborne Streets and formerly used by James F. Smith as a grocery store. Thompson's partners were Hugh C. Thomson and James Bain, The paper in typographical style and make-up resembled *The London Times*, save that frequently it printed excellent woodcuts illustrating the news of the day. John Sheridan Hogan, M.P.P., was a contributor to the editorial page and also served as Quebec correspondent. Hogan's "Essay on Canada," written for the Universal Exhibition in 1856 was a distinctive and admirable performance. Elsewhere in this work reference has been made to the tragic end of this eminent newspaper man. A gang of thugs assaulted and robbed him while he was crossing the Don bridge, and then threw him into the river.

By 1857 *The Colonist* was printing four editions; morning, evening, biweekly and weekly, with a total circulation of 30,000. The expenses of the institution were about $400 a week. (A modern Toronto Daily would think itself fortunate if its disbursements were short of twice that sum *per day!*) Then came an era of Hard Times, and soon *The Colonist* was in difficulties. A number of prominent Liberals proffered aid, but it was declined, and the paper became the "organ" of the Macdonald-Cartier administration, *with the right of supplying stationery to various Government Departments!* Even this dubious privilege was of no particular aid in getting the paper out of the morass, and in 1858 Thompson sold out to Sheppard and Morrison. They in turn sold to *The Leader*, and *The Colonist* was ended.

The Leader was published first in 1852, at 120 King Street, a few doors east of the Market "over the leather-shop of the proprietor James Beaty, at £1 5s. per annum." The printer was James Carroll. There was a semiweekly and a weekly edition, and for many years Mr. Charles Lindsey was Editor. It perished for lack of support in 1876.

Two Catholic papers were established in Toronto during the decade ending 1860. *The Catholic Citizen,* "Printed by Robert L. Thomas, for the Proprietors," of whom the principal owner was Michael Hayes, first appeared in 1854, and lasted until 1862. The second *Canadian Freeman,* (the first by Francis Collins, has already been mentioned) came out in 1858, and continued until 1863. This was published by James Mallon and edited by James G. Moylan, later, and for many years, Warden of Kingston Penitentiary. Both papers were ably edited and did good work in their day.

Frequent references have been made earlier in this work to *The Examiner,* conducted by Francis Hincks. It was established in 1838 and was printed "by M. Reynolds every Wednesday at 21 Yonge Street, south of King Street." The files of *The Examiner* in the Toronto Public Library began with No. 27 of Vol. II., January 1st, 1840. Two "sticks" of news from England appear on the first page. All the rest of the paper is occupied with political information and dispute. Parliamentary reports occupy page two and one column of page three. Then came three columns of political editorials and one column of advertisements. Page four is all advertisements. Among the merchants making announcements are Alex. Ogilvie, wines and groceries, 197 King Street, Shaw, Turnbull and Co., Dry Goods, and Edward McElderry, drygoods, at 1 Wellington Buildings. Mr. Hincks, being fully occupied with his Parliamentary duties, retired from the editorship on June 20th, 1842, being succeeded by Mr. Charles Lindsey. Ultimately—in 1855—*The Examiner* was merged with *The Globe.*

Mr. Peter Brown and his sons George and Gordon established in 1842 *The Banner,* a paper not free from oddities. It maintained departments headed Religious News, and Secular News, and was serious to the point of grimness while separating the sheep from the goats. In May, 1844, *The Globe* was founded and during 1846 and 1847 its subscription list was greatly augmented by the serial publication of Dickens's new novel "Dombey and Son." The paper was published three times a week.

Political considerations had urged the establishment of *The Globe.* George Brown had a message of Liberalism and the will to deliver it—in Parliament, on the platform, and by printers' ink. At first there was little to distinguish *The Globe* from *The Examiner, The Colonist* or any of its contemporaries. But J. Gordon Brown, brother of the statesman and manager of *The Globe,* was a born journalist. He had the "nose for news"—an appreciation that the task of his paper was to find out everything and find it out first. *The Globe* marked the general improvement of newspapers all over the Continent and kept up with the front line. Thus it obtained early a high reputation. The public imagined that George Brown was responsible; so the prosperity of his business brought grist to his political mill. Years after his death elder statesmen in the villages of Ontario were wont to tell Sir John Willison—fourth in the royal succession as Editor—that *The Globe* was not like it was in George Brown's time. Thus are editors kept humble in the way of their pilgrimage. In fact the elder statesmen were wrong. *The Globe* never abandoned the news-tradition of Gordon Brown, but faithfully remembered that its first task was to print the happenings of the day. To influence the political thinking of its constituency was a natural desire, but to obtain a constituency and keep it was more important. To-day everyone knows that the desideratum of a daily journal is News, well-written and properly displayed. That opinion did not become universal in Canada until long after Confederation. The policy of *The Globe* in its news-room was influential in forming it.

When *The Daily Globe* was founded on October 1st, 1853, the literary staff consisted of three men, aside from the Editor. They were Mr. Gordon Brown who wrote editorials and supervised the make-up, Mr. Henning who was exchange editor and Mr. Erastus Wiman, the sole reporter, who afterwards had an important interest in the Great North-Western Telegraph Company, and was heard of from Boston and New York in connection with the Commercial Union campaign.

Hon. George Brown while acting as Editor did not suppress his political and other prejudices. For years no theatrical perfomances were advertised or reported. Horse-races and many branches of sport went unnoticed, and the Monday paper was set up on Saturday night to midnight and on Monday morning just after midnight. Mr. Brown's articles blossomed in italics, capital letters and exclamation points. So were the Tories smitten! But many Tories bought the paper in order to be informed—though the editorial articles deeply angered them.

Hon. Mr. Brown's fervor led him on at least one occasion into inconsistency, as Mr. T. H. Preston pointed out in 1897 in a brilliant article on The Liberal Press. Mr. Brown on one day wrote "The cup of the Government's iniquity is running over." In the very next issue he wrote: "The Government's cup of iniquity is nearly full."

William McDougall was the owner and editor of *The North American,* a four-page paper, each page carrying seven wide columns. Vol. I., No. 1 appeared on October 28th, 1851, and was of Clear Grit quality. Naturally it was hostile towards *The Globe,* although its programme, set forth in elaboration daily on the editorial page, differed but slightly from the platform of Hon. George Brown. In 1857 *The North American* was merged in *The Globe* and Mr. McDougall became an editorial writer under his old enemy. In later years he entered Parliament, was a member of the coalition which brought about Confederation, and when Brown broke away, remained with Sir John Macdonald. He was the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba but had difficulty in reaching his capital.

In 1875 *The London Advertiser* established a paper in Toronto called *The Liberal* in opposition to *The Globe.* In view of this bold act of lésé majesté, *The Globe* never even mentioned the culprit, and it soon perished—having perhaps suddenly realized the enormity of its offence.

After the assassination of Hon. George Brown—which has been mentioned earlier in this work, Gordon Brown took the chair. He was succeeded by John Cameron, formerly of *The London Advertiser.* Then Mr. J. S. Willison (now Sir John) was in command from 1891 to 1902 when he retired to take over *The News.* Rev. James A. Macdonald, D.D., followed him, and the present editor is Mr. Stewart Lyon, whose brilliant letters from the Canadian Corps in Flanders are still remembered.

For many years the late Senator Jaffray was Chairman of the Board of Directors and held a majority of the stock. In the depression of the early 'nineties he suffered financial reverses all along the line, and *The Globe* itself was losing money. But he held on with admirable courage and lived to see his chief treasure prosperous and firmly established. The political policy of *The Globe* is towards radicalism in domestic policy—tempered by consideration for established interests; towards a Low Tariff, tempered by the industrial requirements of the country; towards the cultivation of a strong national spirit, tempered by a passion for British connection; towards closer relations between Ontario and Quebec, tempered by a Presbyterian conscience. This may indicate that there is a tinge of independence in its make-up. If so, the indication is not so far from the truth as some may imagine.

Among the men of distinction who have written for *The Globe* are Edward Farrer, William Houston, J. E. Atkinson, John Lewis, John A. Ewan, Frederick Hamilton, S. T. Wood, Peter McArthur and Victor Ross. The editorial writers at present are Mr. Lewis, Mr. M. Rossie, and Mr. John McLean. The managing editor is Mr. Harry Anderson and his chief assistant in the news room is Mr. M. O. Hammond.

Mr. John A. Ewan represented *The Globe* in Cuba during the Spanish-American War—being the first properly accredited staff war-correspondent ever sent out of Canada. When the South African War broke out, Mr. Frederick Hamilton accompanied the First Contingent and wrote a series of excellent descriptive letters. He had the good fortune also to score a decisive "beat" on all other Canadian papers with the cabled list of casualties in the fight at Paardeberg, Feb. 18th, 1900.

In a letter to *The Globe,* published in May, 1897, Mr. J. E. McMillan of Victoria, an old-time printer of Toronto said: "*The Globe* of the present day is not the first of that name published in Toronto. The first flourished for a season, battled under the banner of reform . . . and then passed away. John Carey was the Editor and Proprietor, a genial old Irish gentleman. As early as 1820 he had published a paper in Toronto called *The Observer.* Corroboration of this information appeared in an item published by *The Globe* of May 9th, 1916: "Mr. Charles E. Bright of Brampton has in his possession a copy of *The Globe,* dated Toronto, May 2nd, 1840, and labelled Vol. I., No. 6. How long the paper continued to be published Mr. Bright is unable to say, though it was published by his great-grandfather John Carey. It was a four-page weekly."

Reverting to the Catholic Press, there were, in addition to those mentioned, three other papers published during the episcopacy of Archbishop Lynch. These were, the *Irish Canadian*, by Patrick Boyle, from 1863 to 1892; the *Tribune,* under various editors, 1874-1885; and the *Catholic Weekly Review,* 1887-1893. In the latter year the last named was amalgamated with the *Irish Canadian,* and publication continued as the *Catholic Register,* since re-named *Register Extension.* Withdrawing from the *Register,* in 1890, Mr. Boyle resumed publication of his paper, but on his sudden death a year later it finally ceased to exist. He was responsible also for the *Evening Canadian,* the first and only attempt at a Catholic daily in this Province. This came out in October, 1882, and lasted for about six months. And one cannot write of the Catholic press without recalling to mind Rev. J. F. McBride, who though always a busy secretary or parish priest, found time to give of his best to the columns of the several journals mentioned, especially the *Weekly Review.*

Mr. T. C. Patteson was the founder of *The Mail,* which came into being in 1872 as a strong supporter of the National Policy and as the Toronto mouthpiece of Sir John A. Macdonald. Associated with Mr. Patteson were Mr. Charles Belford, Mr. George Gregg, formerly Parliamentary correspondent of *The Leader,* Mr. William Rattray, Mr. John Maclean, father of the Member of Parliament for East York, and that mysterious, erudite, and fascinating personage Mr. Edward Farrer, whose career merits treatment by an accomplished biographer. *The Mail* was scarcely settled into its stride when the Pacific Scandal clouded the reputation of its chief hero, and the Conservatives became temporarily unpopular. In 1877 the property was sold to the chief creditor, Mr. John Riordan, paper manufacturer of St. Catharines. Mr. Christopher W. Bunting was named General Manager and Mr. Farrer became the Editor. By the election of 1878 Sir John Macdonald was reinstated in the confidence of the public and the future of his "organ" seemed to be assured. But there was an independent strain in editor and proprietors, and in 1885 *The Mail* ventured to differ with the

Premier on the Riel question. The breach grew wider and soon Sir John considered that his former supporter had gone wholly over to the "ranks of Tuscany." There was no Conservative daily in this Conservative city of Toronto. Therefore one must needs be founded. Thus *The Empire* came into being in 1887, the Manager being Mr. David Creighton. Mr. John Livingstone was the first Editor. On his retirement to go West, Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun was appointed, and until 1895 *The Empire* was a power in the land. In that year it was sold to *The Mail,* which under the editorial direction first of Mr. Martin J. Griffin and then of Mr. Arthur Wallis had abated its political insurgency. Mr. W. J. Douglas was the Manager. Mr. Wallis was the first Editor of the *Mail and Empire* and remained in office until comparatively recent years when he became Registrar of the Surrogate Court. His former aide-de-camp succeeded him—Mr. C. A. C. Jennings. Mr. Vernon McAree assists Mr. Jennings in Viewing with Alarm all Radical or Socialistic proposals, and in Pointing with Pride to the well-worn old paths. There is a conservative spirit even in the Manager's office for the make-up of the paper is as the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not. *The Mail and Empire* has always been a creditable newspaper, strong in its foreign news connections, reliable in its City intelligence. For thirty years the news editor has been Mr. W. J. Wilkinson. Mrs. Coleman (Kit) was one of the best women journalists ever developed in Canada, and Mr. H. H. Wilshire had a great following as "The Flaneur." Mr. Woods of the Calgary *Herald,* Mr. Morrison of The Edmonton *Journal,* Mr. Norman Smith of the Ottawa *Journal* and Mr. Hector Charlesworth have served on the City desk. The present City Editor is Mr. Malcolm Macdonald who has a long record of cautious and painstaking service.

In 1866 Mr. John Ross Robertson and J. B. Cook established *The Daily Telegraph,* the first distinctively evening paper in Toronto. By Feb. 3, 1871, it claimed a circulation of 25,700. Mr. Cook withdrew towards the end of that year to found *The Toronto Express,* with J. Webb as Editor, and the *Telegraph* became a morning paper. Meanwhile *The Leader* was printing an evening edition. Mr. Robertson believed that there was a place for a chronicle of "today's news to-day," particularly if special attention was paid to the interests of Toronto. In 1876 he founded *The Evening Telegram,* and drew attention to it by announcing that he would print condensed advertising at 1 cent a word. This was cutting the prevailing rate in two. From the beginning *The Telegram* was a "local" paper, and an ardent observer of municipal government. Mr. John C. Dent was the first editor; being in office about a year. Then came Mr. A. F. Pirie, one of the wittiest and most companionable of men, whose paragraphs, straight-flung and barbed at the point, enlarged public interest in the enterprise. But Mr. Pirie purchased *The Dundas Banner* and entered on the blameless life of the "country editor." In the year of the *Globe* fire (1895) Mr. Pirie spoke at the banquet of the Canadian Press Association in his usual happy vein. He said: "I desire to admit frankly that the members of the country press are not beautiful. But if we are not beautiful we are good, or, as I told Mr. Willison of *The Globe* this afternoon, if we are not good God would burn down our offices too."

Mr. Pirie's successor at *The Evening Telegram* was Mr. John R. Robinson who had served the paper as head of the City Hall staff. Virile, opinionated, and courageous, he soon made the paper a power in the city, and a terror to such aldermen and civic officials who showed signs of "wobbling" or seemed unduly eager for self-aggrandisement. Mr. Irving Robertson and Mr. C. H. J. Snider are associated with him. Mr. Percy Bretz is the City Editor.

The popularity of *The Telegram* was greatly enlarged also by the public spirit of its founder and proprietor. Newspaper men like to think that one of their number made the Sick Children's Hospital what it is to-day. Mr. Robertson's ardent interest in Toronto appeared in a long-continued inquiry into the historical beginnings of the city. The articles which appeared weekly in *The Telegram* for many years, mainly written by Mr. T. G. Champion in consultation with Mr. Robertson, are preserved in the six volumes of "Landmarks of Toronto" which are a gold-mine to the historian. The remarkable collection of portraits and prints relating to this city and district, now preserved in the Toronto Public Library is another example of Mr. Robertson's indomitable sentiment. Behind that rough-hewn, stern countenance, was a soul incurably romantic.

The News began a rather varied career in 1880 as an evening edition of *The Mail*, but soon was travelling "on its own" with Mr. E. E. Sheppard at the helm. That distinctive and powerful radical writer finally left the Daily field to edit *Saturday Night*. Mr. H. C. Hocken gave *The News* some reputation as a critic of municipal affairs; then in 1903 the paper was purchased by a Company whose chief shareholders were Mr. J. W. Flavelle and Mr. J. S. Willison, former editor of *The Globe*. Mr. Willison (now Sir John) selected an exceptionally good staff, with Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun as Associate Editor and undertook to conduct an independent journal of literary distinction for which perhaps the public was not ready. In the meantime a question arose in connection with the erection of the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, in which Mr. Willison was warmly interested; namely, the authorization of Separate Schools. The Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier followed a policy which Mr. Willison considered as wholly improper and without legal and constitutional justification. Being a "bonnie fechter," he removed his coat and perhaps at the same time his philosophic attitude of detached independence. There were Liberals who called *The News* a vile Tory sheet. There were Conservatives who sullenly resented the appearance of a former Liberal editor in the very vanguard of their forces—laying down the law and the prophets for the Opposition and in a measure compelling a straight fight on a most dangerous political question. Yet *The News* had a high standing in the country at large, although it was very moderately supported in the City. Meantime Mr. Flavelle disposed of his interest and for several years Mr. Willison was the majority stock holder. Then came the Reciprocity fight of 1911 in which *The News* took a leading part—to the destruction of the Laurier Government. Circulation had increased largely and the paper was on the eve of a prosperous career when the Great War came with all its complex economic problems. In 1917, Sir John Willison withdrew from daily journalism and was succeeded as Editor by Mr. F. D. L. Smith. Two years of ardent effort followed, but adverse circumstances were too strong. A convulsive reorganization by which the name of the paper was changed to *The Times* was soon followed by a placid giving up of the ghost, in September, 1919. *The News* had individuality and some distinction Its disappearance was regrettable.

The Toronto World made its first appearance in January, 1880, under the direction of W. F. Maclean, Archibald Blue and Albert Horton. At first it was an evening paper but by the summer of 1881 it was printing both morning and evening editions and Mr. Blue and Mr. Horton had withdrawn. The proprietor and editor was an uncommonly good writer, held tenaciously to his opinions and was as versatile as he was courageous. While *The World* began life as "an independent Liberal journal" it grew into an independent Conservative journal. There was never any doubt about its independence. Mr. Maclean himself is elected continually as a Conservative member of Parliament for East York, but he has always plowed a lonely furrow. His strong views in favor of Public Ownership of Railways and, indeed, of all naturally monopolistic utilities made him rather less than popular among the more ardent advocates of the *laissez-faire* policy. Because these business leaders were influential in the counsels of both the old line parties Mr. Maclean was never branded in the forehead by either.

As a newspaper *The World* was always worthy, presenting the "meat" of the news, foreign and local, in an attractive style, and showing an alert quality that sometimes its contemporaries lacked. The staff was never large but it had spirit and a fine loyalty. One of the news-editors of special genius was Mr. H. Burrows. He seemed to have an instinct for uncovering curious happenings. The Ponton Bank Robbery case in Napanee which was a *cause célèbre* in the later 'nineties was first discerned as a news possibility by Mr. Burrows. He had a man in Napanee for some days before the other offices awakened to the importance of the case. It is said that on one occasion a young reporter had been left without a special assignment. Timidly he approached Mr. Burrows and said: "What shall I do?" "Do? Do?" returned the Editor, "Go out and get some news." "Where shall I go, sir?" was the rejoinder of bewilderment. Burrows stared for a moment, contemplating the verdancy of the "cub," then he replied "Go to the corner of Queen and McCaul Streets." The lad being a literalist, trudged to the corner named. He had not been there more than five minutes when one of the old Bloor and McCaul street cars jumped the track at the corner and plunged into a haberdasher's store. For a number of years Mr. Wallace Maclean, Mr. F. D. L. Smith and Mr. M. E. Nicholls were editorial writers. The first editorial work done in Toronto by Mr. Joseph T. Clark was contributed to *The World*. Of late years Mr. Albert E. S. Smythe was the editor. War-pressure bore too hardly on the paper and in 1921 it was sold to *The Mail and Empire*.

Mention must be made of *The Sunday World*, established in 1891, and printed on Saturday nights. It was the first weekly of that sort founded in Canada, and the original name is maintained by the present publishers in the office of *The Mail and Empire*.

There was a printers' strike in the office of The News in the latter part of the year 1893. The strikers, being unable to get their side of the question at issue before the public determined to found an opposition paper. The committee named to begin consisted of Mr. H. C. Hocken, foreman of the *News* composing room and Mr. W. H. Parr, his assistant. They took to themselves Mr. Thomas A. Gregg as managing editor and on November 3rd published on the press of *The Toronto World* the first number of the *Evening Star*.

After a few weeks an arrangement was made with Mr. W. F. Maclean whereby he would receive a percentage of the revenue for the use of his plant, and an office was opened at 114 Yonge Street—the premises now occupied by the Patterson Candy Company. Mr. Gregg continued as Managing Editor, Mr. Hocken was business and advertising manager, and Mr. Parr mechanical manager.

The sledding was hard although the printers worked merely for their strike-pay. Suddenly appeared Mr. Frederick Nicholls as a good angel, prepared to buy the property. Though it was not generally known he was acting on behalf of certain capitalists associated with the Street Railway who desired a daily paper to advocate the running of Sunday cars. The sale was effected and Mr. J. J. Crabbe came in as the managing editor. Meanwhile Mr. Hocken had returned to *The News* as a writer rather than as a printer. Mr. Crabbe had been engaged previously in mercantile pursuits. Mr. Walter C. Nichol was editorial writer. (Hon. Mr. Nichol is better known to-day as Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.)

As the General Election of 1896 approached, Mr. E. E. Sheppard of *Saturday Night* itched for the strife. Accordingly he secured an option on *The Star*, and brought in Mr. Colin Campbell as managing editor. He himself contributed a series of editorials signed "S." Occasionally Mr. Joseph T. Clark, his chief assistant at *Saturday Night*, obliged with an article signed "T." After the election Mr. Sheppard went to South America on a Government mission, and neglected to take up his option within the time-limit set. Thus the property remained in the hands of the Nicholls syndicate. The paper was losing money and could not last long. Some Liberal leaders of the City were anxious to see it continued, secured an option on it, and looked out for a Moses to lead it out of the wilderness. Mr. J. E. Atkinson, then editor of *The Montreal Herald*, was approached but would not consent to serve save by some arrangement whereby if he were successful he would secure the reward of his labors in a controlling ownership. The transfer was effected on those terms, and Mr. Atkinson began the uphill fight which brought *The Star* to a position of prosperity and influence. Mr. Joseph T. Clark was the chief editorial writer and Mr. Colin Campbell continued for some years as news editor. Offices were secured in the *Saturday Night* Building on Adelaide Street opposite the Grand Opera House. Not until the grade had been surmounted was the present commodious building on King Street acquired. Mr. Atkinson went to the University for his staff and trained many good men, such as Mr. E. Archibald, who is now Editor of *The Montreal Star*, Mr. Britton B. Cooke, Mr. Main Johnson and others. The *Toronto Daily Star* is one of the finest newspaper properties in the country, and while its editorial policy is contrary to the prevailing political opinion of the City, the people buy it for the excellence of its news service and its unquestiond attractiveness. Mr. John Bone is the managing-editor. The "Sunday edition," known as the *Star Weekly,* is as good a publication of the sort as the continent can show.

The Sun, an evening paper, reached at least 595 numbers, according to the issue of November 28th, 1874, but it was not a profitable venture. W. H. Barrett was the manager.

On May 24th, 1873, appeared in Toronto a four-page weekly named *Grip,* which had a long and lively career. The first issue was edited "by Charles P. Hall, assisted by his many friends." The number dated August 2nd, 1873, shows that the Editor was by this time "Jimuel Briggs," the pen-name of Mr. Phillips Thompson. There was another change on Sept. 13th, when "Mr. Barnaby Rudge" was in charge. This was Mr. J. W. Bengough, whose cartoons brought the paper into notice. Under his direction the little weekly developed into a most creditable humorous publication. It is unfortunate that American competition, and perhaps a decay of public ardor for political controversy, caused the death of *Grip* with volume 42, No. 26, and whole number 1,100.

It is not pleasant to think that when Toronto had a population of fewer than 200,000, it was possible to maintain here a humorous paper and also a literary periodical of high distinction. *The Week,* edited by Goldwin Smith, while to-day, with 500,000 people, we have nothing of the sort. We get our humor from *Judge* and *Life,* and what we are pleased to call our literature from *The Saturday Evening Post.*

Saturday Night first saw the light on December 3rd, 1887; and was designed as a 12-page illustrated weekly journal, devoted to independent political comment, musical and dramatic criticism, social news and light fiction. It was the first journal of that kind to be published in Canada, other weekly ventures having taken the form of literary journals, comic journals or picture publications. The idea is understood to have originated with the late W. E. Caiger, an advertising man in the employ of the *Evening News,* of which E. E. Sheppard was editor. Mr. Caiger had assistance in preparing his prospectus from W. C. Nichol, a reporter on that paper, who had earlier served an apprenticeship on *The Hamilton Spectator,* and who subsequently became editor and proprietor of *The Vancouver Province,* and later a real Personage in British Columbia. The affairs of *The News* had at that time become involved through a libel suit launched against Mr. Sheppard and certain members of his staff, by the officers of the 65th Battalion, Montreal; and Mr. Sheppard finally decided to abandon daily journalism and take up the project conceived by his subordinates. The first issue on the date above mentioned, was, however, got out by Mr. Nichol. The issue was exhausted within two or three hours of being placed on the market, a fact which encouraged Mr. Sheppard in his resolve, and he made his first appearance in its columns over his famous signature of "Don" on Dec. 10th, 1887, Mr. Nichol accepting the post of assistant editor. In the following spring differences having arisen between Mr. Sheppard and the original projectors, they withdrew and founded a paper in precisely similar form, entitled

Life, which, however lived less than a year. During the first few years of *Saturday Night's* existence Mr. Sheppard was not sole proprietor; a number of prominent musicians and theatrical men, as well as one or two business friends being prominent shareholders, but allowing him control over the political policies of the enterprise. Afterward he acquired majority control of the stock, and continued in active control of the paper until the autumn of 1906. During his nineteen years incumbency he did much to encourage Canadian talent. Among those who served as staff writers or regular contributors during his regime were the late E. Pauline Johnson, the late Grace E. Denison (Lady Gay); Mrs. J. E. Atkinson, (who at that time wrote over the pen name, Clip Carew); the late Kate Westlake Yeigh, Jean Graham, H. C. Hocken, Peter McArthur, the late D. A. Mackellar, afterwards a well-known humorous artist in New York; the late James A. Tucker, Joseph T. Clark, for several years assistant editor; Hector Charlesworth; Albert E. S. Smythe and Newton McConnell, the well-known cartoonist.

Owing to failing health, Mr. Sheppard sold *Saturday Night* in 1906 to the late Mr. H. Gagnier, a publisher of trade journals, who engaged Joseph T. Clark as editor in chief, and H. W. Jakeway as assistant editor. Early in 1909 Mr. Clark retired to join the staff of *The Star,* and Mr. Gagnier engaged C. Frederick Paul, city editor of *The Montreal Star,* as his successor. A few months later Mr. Gagnier decided to increase the price of the paper from five to ten cents, make it a national rather than a local weekly, and give it a triple form—a general section; a complete financial section and a complete woman's section. After the enlargement, Hector Charlesworth rejoined the publication as assistant managing editor. Peter Donovan (P.O'D.) who had come from Montreal with Mr. Paul, was already in established favor as a humorist and book reviewer. Under Mr. Paul's supervision the financial section, employing a special staff, including Norman Harris, succeeded later by Wellington Jeffers, L. C. Allum, of Montreal, and the late H. M. P. Eckhardt, was built up into the most important independent financial review in Canada.

Incidentally it should be said that publications imitating the name, form and character of *Saturday Night,* have been established in at least ten other cities on this continent, with varying success.

In 1884 a young German named Ottonar Mergenthaler, living in New York, invented and built a machine to cast type in solid lines with Babbitt metal. The invention was not perfected until 1886, when a new machine which proved itself practical, was bought by Mr. Whitelaw Reid and installed in the office of the New York Tribune. Mr. Reid named the machine which revolutionized the newspaper business. He called it the linotype (line o'type). While one good printer could set about 1,500 ems an hour, the linotype could set 7,000. In the early 'nineties linotypes were being placed in the offices of the Toronto dailies. In the previous ten years also had been perfected the Hoe cylinder press, self-feeding from the web, and printing from curved stereotype plates instead of from the flat chases full of actual type. With the coming of the linotype, the composing room could handle a much larger quantity of matter, and larger and more complete newspapers became possible. All this is the product of our own day, for Mergenthaler died in 1899 at the age of 45.

As a result of changed conditions the adventure of starting a new newspaper has become more dangerous than ever. A battery of linotypes means the investment of perhaps $30,000 for type setting alone. The speedy duplex Hoe press is in itself a houseful of machinery and costs a fortune. No longer can an ardent young man start a new journal with no assets save a pad of copy paper and a lead pencil. Journalism has turned itself into an industry, with common and preferred stock, and a bonded debt.

How does modern newspaper writing compare with that of an elder day? On an average it is probably better; less turgid, less flowery. There is a saying that the whole trend of modern life is to produce by organization an infinity of reputable mediocrities and to stifle all genius. Perhaps the newspapers year by year are better written than they were 50 or even 25 years ago, but a stylist is not often found nowadays. In the old time it was a common happening for some mysterious human derelict to drift into one of the offices and reveal in his reports treasures of apt allusion and graces of a natural style. Such a man could write better when "three sheets in the wind" than the majority of the natty, sober, cocksure young fellows adorning the newspaper offices of to-day. He may have been an ex-lawyer, an Oxford don, a "Trinity College, Dublin," man; brought to a low estate by an undue fondness for beverages, but he had the knack and the background. Such a man generally knew the English Bible, Shakespeare, Addison, Macaulay; generally he was a classicist of parts, and often he had two or more modern languages. The writer can remember such a man who was retained to watch the French-Canadian papers and discover what the Quebec rascals were up to. He was efficient and useful three quarters of the time. Then he would be discovered, perhaps befogged and disreputable, sleeping on the rolls of paper in the press room. But by the powers, how he could write!

It is difficult for a young man of our own time to understand the revolutionary change—of even the past twenty years—in social customs, particularly in the use and abuse of strong waters. The reporter who did not drink was a curiosity. How could he avoid the pressing hospitality of all sorts and conditions of men? How could he reward the kindness of an outsider who was a continual source of news save by the usual invitation immortalized by Mr. Weller: "Sammy, let's mix ourselves a damp!?" How could he hope, if he were a political writer, to be trusted by the major and minor statesmen, if he declined to draw up to the round table of conference and ring the bell in his turn? Suddenly, and long before prohibition was a fact of life, it came about that no one was pressed to drink; fewer and still fewer business men had either the time or the inclination. Politicians and aldermen appeared who had dry proclivities. The newspaper editors "fired" one or two men who missed an assignment by self-induced illumination. Then insensibly, but none the less surely, reporters came to the belief that the only dependable illuminant was midnight oil. Some of the old timers were wedded to the old customs, and the older beverages, but the young fellows were of a new type.

A reflection of the old days appeared now and then, as the following true tale will indicate. The incident happened in Toronto about twenty years ago:

One afternoon before Christmas three department heads of a Toronto daily paper had loosened the reins a trifle. One had found congenial company in an Adelaide Street snuggery, where a bowl of Tom and Jerry, wreathed with holly, invited the convivial to tarry. Another met on the street a journalistic associate of an elder time, newly come from Winnipeg for the holidays. They stood long before the mahogany in the old "Headquarters" telling stories and moistening their clay. The third being far away from his kindred felt strange and lonely. Walking down the street he encountered an ill-clad, weary looking man selling lead pencils. He stopped to buy; then changing his mind, invited the man to have a drink. The tipple chosen was hot Scotch, moving itself aright around a lemon peel. In the glow of his own hospitality he surrounded two or three more nips of the seductive beverage. After an hour and a half of celebration the three separate celebrants went about their business. In due course they reached the office separately and prepared their copy for the next day's paper. The first-mentioned, as he was going out for supper, saw one of his colleagues asleep beside his desk. He took off his coat, sat down and by dint of using notes on his friend's desk, did the other man's task, sending the copy upstairs. Then he went out, free to resume congenial relations with Tom and Jerry. He was seen by the lonely Good Samaritan. That individual returned to the office and did the first man's work. Meanwhile the sleeper had awakened. Perceiving the absence of the Good Samaritan and suspecting the cause, he rubbed his eyes, did his work for him and went out to meet his western friend at the Rossin House.

About midnight the foreman of the composing room came down full of strange oaths and carrying the proofs of three separate stories from each of three departments. Brothers-by-kindness and strong waters commingled had kept half his staff setting columns of type that could not possibly be used. Nowadays such an entanglement could not be possible—since all copy goes to the composing room through the news editor. Organization was looser in those times—and after all, it was Christmas Eve; God love the time! The writer would not minimize in the least degree the good that has come to the newspaper profession through "drier" soil and customs, sterner discipline, closer organization, but he is inclined to wonder sometimes if the old-time comradeship persists in the news-room. Journalism used to have a Bohemian flavor. Men worked like slaves for $10 or $12 a week—but found the fascination of brotherhood in the task. Now the salaries are decent, and the work less intensive—save on special occasions—but can the average modern reporter fresh from college borrow a dress suit from the man at the next desk, or induce him to give aid in placating the landlady for another week? The serpent of efficiency crawls in most Toronto offices to-day! *Sunt lachrymæ rerum!*

CHAPTER II.

TORONTO HARBOUR

By E. V. ROBERTS

A Breeze on Toronto Bay

CHAPTER 11.

TORONTO HARBOUR

By E. V. ROBERTS

TORONTO Harbour is formed by a sandy spit leaving the main shore at the easterly limit of the city and extending westerly for a distance of approximately six miles, enclosing a natural bay. The easterly and narrower half of the bay, owing to the sediment brought down by the Don River, was always shallow and marshy; it is known as Ashbridge's Bay. The Westerly half, or harbour proper, consists of a circular basin nearly two miles in diameter in front of the central, or business portion, of the city. It is the only natural harbour-of-refuge on the north shore of Lake Ontario, and when extensive improvements now being carried out by the Toronto Harbour Commissioners are completed it will provide a navigable depth of 30 feet throughout and afford accommodation for vessels ranging from 5,000 tons to 10,000 tons.

Prior to the founding of the present City of Toronto, the history of the harbour is to be found only on the maps. The earliest of these was a French map, dated at Frontenac, 4th October, 1757, and signed "Labroquerie." Toronto Harbour is defined in outline only, while the peninsula, now island, is marked "Pres ille (Presq'isle) de Toronto." It also depicts the English and French fleets with the names of each vessel—England and France being then at war.

The next map was prepared from a survey commenced in 1783. In that year, with a view to ascertaining the location and size of the various harbours on Lake Ontario, instructions were issued for the survey of the north shore of the Lake. The work was carried out by H. Laforce, of the Naval Department, and Lewis Kotte, Assistant Engineer, and on the map which accompanied their report they made a large scale plan of "Toronto Bay" showing thereon several soundings. While the plan is not dated, it carries the signature of Lord Dorchester, who was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec in August, 1786; and there can be little doubt that the instructions issued to John Collins, Deputy Surveyor-General, by Lord Dorchester, in May, 1788, to examine Toronto Harbour and look over the locality with a view to the establishment of a settlement, were the direct outcome of this survey and plan. These instructions were carried out and on December 6th, 1788, a plan and report were submitted; the plan is signed by Captain Gothermann, an officer in the Royal Engineers, and is entitled "Plan of Toronto Harbour with the proposed town and part of the settlement." This is the first plan of a townsite at Toronto. It gave soundings all over the Harbour, and the report which accompanied it described the Harbour as "capacious and well sheltered."

Early in 1791, further instructions were issued by Lord Dorchester to lay out a row of eleven townships in the District of Toronto and carry them back one mile from the lake, the most westerly of these townships was to be named "Dublin." The work was assigned to Augustus Jones, a deputy surveyor, who completed the surveys and submitted his plans early in 1792. The plan referring to Toronto Harbour was entitled "Plan of the Front Line of Dublin, with the Harbour and Soundings".

Under the Constitutional Act of 1791, the old Province of Quebec was divided into the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, each with its own Government, and all plans relating to that portion of Quebec which then became Upper Canada were handed over to the Government of the new Province. Among other documents was the "Plan of the Front Line of Dublin" on which, to prevent confusion, had been written after the word "Dublin", in brackets and in red ink, the words "(now York)".

Soon after Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's arrival at Newark he instructed Lieutenant Joseph Bouchette to make a survey of Toronto Harbour and in the "Abstract of Contingent Expenses of the Surveyor-General's Department" to 10th October, 1792, we find the entry, "To Mr. Bouchette, for surveying the Harbours of Toronto, Oswego and Queen's Town, £5 16s 8d."

In May, 1793, Governor Simcoe moved from Newark to Toronto, the harbour of which, by an official order, was re-named York. This order was dated "York, Upper Canada, 26th August, 1793," and read as follows: "His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, having received information of the success of His Majesty's arms, under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by which Holland has been saved from the invasion of the French armies, —and it appearing that the combined forces have been successful in dislodging their enemies from an entrenched camp supposed to be impregnable, from which the most important consequences may be expected; and in which arduous attempts His Royal Highness the Duke of York and His Majesty's troops supported the national glory:— It is His Excellency's orders that on the rising of the Union Flag at twelve o'clock to-morrow a Royal Salute of twenty-one guns is to be fired, to be answered by the shipping in the harbour, in respect to His Royal Highness and in commemoration of the naming this Harbour from his English title, YORK.

"E. B. Littlehales, Major of Brigade."

In 1793 was prepared another plan entitled "Plan of York Harbour, surveyed by order of Lieut.-Govr. Simcoe;" it is signed by Alexander Aitken, a deputy surveyor. The reference on it defines as "proposed" the military improvements contemplated by the Governor. The outlines of Ashbridge's Bay and the Peninsula are shown, together with very complete soundings over the whole harbour and the approach to the entrance. On the 20th September, following the completion of this plan, Governor Simcoe sent a dispatch to Dundas in which he wrote: "I enclose for your inspection an actual survey of the Harbour of York (late Toronto) the proper naval and military arsenal of Lake Ontario, and in a great measure of Upper Canada. The port of Kingston which is at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, is, from its extent and situation, absolutely indefensible, and by being constantly frozen up during the winter is certainly liable at that season to be destroyed, as it is at no great distance from the United States.

"I propose, therefore, that the winter station of the Fleet, and the refitting post, and such naval buildings as may be wanting, be at York. This port is at a great distance from a foreign shore, is capable of being easily defended, and the grants of land having been made by the present Government, sufficient care has been taken that great reservations of timber should be made for naval purposes. The floating ice, (and a bridge which it makes from the islands near Kingston to the Continent) prevents the shipping in that harbour, as well as that of Niagara, from sailing for several days in the Spring when it is practicable to be at sea from York."

During his residence at York, Governor Simcoe carried out numerous improvements for the defense of the port, but it was not till 1796 that the first wharf was built. Reference to this wharf is made in the following letter to John McGill, Commissary of Stores, under date of 25th June, 1796, and signed "J. G. Simcoe": You are hereby instructed and directed to purchase from time to time such quantities of rum as may be requisite to give to the men employed at work in the water on the wharf and Canal at York, and for so doing this shall be your order and authority." Governor Simcoe had erected a fort on the west bank of a small stream, later known as Garrison Creek, and in order to facilitate the landing of stores a canal and sluices were built, which permitted the closing of the mouth of the creek and the regulations of the depth of water. The wharf was built on the west bank of the creek a short distance above the mouth near the entrance to the Fort.

In 1801, York was a customs port and *The Gazette* of Saturday, August 29th, 1801, published the following notice:

"TO THE PUBLIC.—His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, has been pleased to appoint the subscriber Collector of Duties at this Port, for the Home District; as likewise Inspector of Pot and Pearl Ashes and Flour Notice is hereby given that the Custom House for entry will be held at my storehouse at the water's edge, and that I will attend accordingly, agreeable to the Act.

"W. Allan."

"York, 25th August, 1801."

The storehouse referred to in the above notice was at the south end of Frederick Street. It is supposed that Mr. Allan built his wharf during the winter following his appointment, but it was not until November, 1803, that he was granted the patent of the water lots on which the wharf was built. It was first known as Allan's Wharf, later as the Merchants' Wharf; and was undoubtedly the earliest landing-place in Toronto for the larger craft of the lake.

The next wharves to be built were the King's or Navy Wharf, between John Street and Peter Street, and the Commissariat Wharf at the south of Peter Street. There is no actual date of the building of these wharves, but they, together with large storehouses, are shown on Lieutenant George Phillpott's "Plan of York" dated 24th May, 1818. On the same plan is also marked Cooper's Wharf to the south of Church Street; this was built by William Cooper, who was engaged in the wharfage business. The late John Ross Robertson in his "Landmarks of Toronto," says that "the wharf ran out from the beach, was large and important-looking and was the favorite landing place for schooners; the first steamers that ran on the lakes in 1816 discharged their cargoes there." The wharf had a large storehouse with a covered way in the middle; between the north end of this dock and the shore was a ship-building yard of no small dimensions." It is probable that this wharf was built in the winter of 1815-1816 as the patent to the waterlot was granted to William Cooper on January 24th, 1816. In 1828 it was purchased by Wm. Bergin. On the City of Toronto plan of 1834, it is called Feighan's Wharf. In 1845 it was leased to John Maitland and became known as Maitland's Wharf.

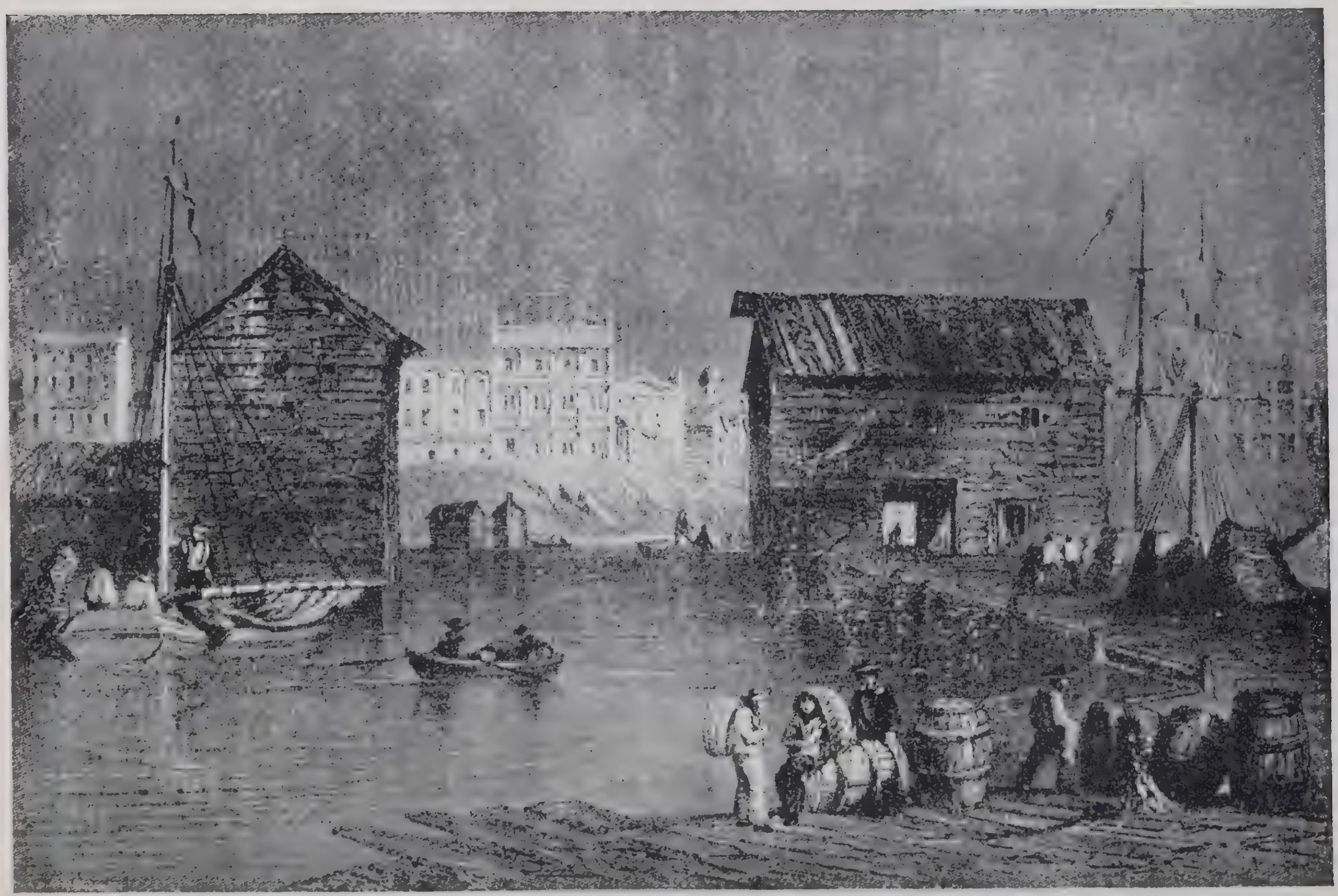
Between 1818 and 1834 only three wharves were built, Ewart's Wharf at the south of Church Street, on the east side and opposite to Cooper's Wharf. About 1831 a wharf was built a short distance east of the east side of York Street; this was probably Tinning's. The New Wharf (Queen's Wharf) was built in 1833 and 1834 and was extended in 1837. The principal record of these early wharves is to be found on the plans of the City which were prepared from time to time. On August 15th, 1828, John Ewart was granted the patent of the waterlot at the foot of Church Street and it is probable that Ewart's Wharf was built in the same year.

During the years which followed the founding of York, the new settlement had prospered. By the end of 1832 it had become a busy community, the very existence of which depended almost entirely on water transportation. With the approaching incorporation of the Town of York as the City of Toronto, the necessity arose for the construction of improvements to facilitate the navigation of the harbour and to provide more adequate wharf accommodation for large steamers. The matter was brought to the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, and on February 13th, 1833, an Act was passed granting £2,000 for "the construction of works to improve and preserve the Harbour of York." It appointed William Chisholm, Hugh Richardson, and James G. Chewett, Commissioners for superintending the construction of such works as they deemed necessary, and provided for the collection of harbour dues. The sum granted was insufficient to carry out all the work planned by the Commissioners, and in 1837 a second Act was passed granting a further sum of £2,500.

The construction of the "New Wharf," or "The King's Wharf," was the first work of any magnitude undertaken in Toronto Harbour. Upon the accession of Queen Victoria it became "the Queen's Wharf," and in later years "Queen's Wharf," which name it retained until 1917, when the old western channel was filled in and the wharf buried by the reclamation work of the Toronto Harbour Commissioners. The old lighthouse built in 1855 still stands as a landmark to define the western extremity of the old wharf.

In 1834 the Town of York was incorporated as the City of Toronto, plans of the new City and the Harbour were made, and a "line limiting the extending of wharves" marked thereon. The range of this line was from the Old Fort Point (near the foot of Dufferin Street) on the west, to Gooderham and Worts' windmill on the east, and on this account it was called the "Windmill Line."

In 1836, John Cull built a floating bath at the foot of Frederick Street; it was called the "Royal Floating Baths" and was 110 feet long by 21 feet wide, containing ten warm and ten cold baths; it had a promenade deck 80 feet long and was supplied with a drawing room, reading room and refresh-



Maitland's Wharf, 1841
From a drawing by W. H. Bartlett, engraved by J. C. Bentley

ment room. The newspapers of the day said of it: "Such a bath was badly wanted in this city, and we hope to see it respectably patronized."

In 1837, the City Council, noting with alarm the alienation of the waterfront of the harbour into private hands, made their first application for the patents of the remaining waterlots and the land adjoining them, across the then front of the City, for the purpose of constructing an Esplanade.

A plan of the harbour front of the City was filed in the Surveyor-General's office, on which was marked by a double line the location of an esplanade 100 feet in width, at distances varying from 150 feet to 300 feet from the existing shore line and extending from Graves Street to Berkeley Street; the patents for these lots were granted in February, 1840, on the understanding that an esplanade 100 feet wide as laid down on the plan above mentioned should be constructed within three years of the time the said waterlots were occupied by the City.

A plan of the City dated 1841, shows thirteen wharves, an increase of six since 1834; they were Small's Wharf, at Berkeley Street; a wharf at Princes' Street; Market Wharf at Market Street; Brown's Wharf, immediately west of Cooper's Wharf and Gorrie's Wharf, at Yonge Street. The last-named was built in the winter of 1840-1841. By 1847, five additional wharves had been built; Gooderham's Wharf, at Trinity Street, built in 1846; Cawthra's Wharf, a short distance east of Frederick Street; Machell's Wharf, west of Frederick Street, built in 1846; Helliwell's Wharf and Boulton's Wharf, between Market Street and Church Street.

In 1851, the construction of the Esplanade was commenced as a public quay along the waterfront, but was delayed for want of effective legislation. At this time railways were planned to enter Toronto from the east; the west and the north. Fearing that the railways might acquire the waterfront west of Graves Street and break the continuity of the esplanade, the City Council applied to the Government for a grant of the remaining waterlots. In March, 1853, the City received a license of occupation for the waterlots between Graves Street and the Queen's Wharf, together with the land adjoining them. In June of the same year "An Act conveying to the City of Toronto certain waterlots with power to the said City for the construction of an Esplanade" was passed. Under the provisions of this "Esplanade Act" the City Council was empowered to issue debentures to the amount of £120,000 to meet the cost of the construction and was authorized to levy a special "Esplanade Rate" on the owners and lessees of the waterlots to meet charges of sinking fund and interest. Shortly after the passing of this Act, the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which was then constructing its line into Toronto, made the City an offer to build the Esplanade with a cut stone face and macadamize the surface for £110,000, provided it was secured in a right of way for three tracks along the Esplanade. The City Council did not consider it and called for tenders, the contract being awarded to C. S. Gzowski and Company for £150,000, from which amount the sum of £10,000 was to be deducted for the Grand Trunk Railway right of way across the front of the City. There was a great deal of trouble in connection with this contract, which the City Council claimed had been obtained by misrepresentation. Work was stopped, the contractor's claims for work done were arbitrated and in March, 1856, the contractors were paid off and relieved of their contract. It was not until 1863 that the Esplanade was completed. During its construction a number of the older wharves were filled in and were not afterwards extended to the Windmill Line, as were some of the more recent wharves.

In 1862, Shedden's Wharf and Elevator at Peter Street were built for the Grand Trunk Railway; two years later they were completely destroyed by fire. In April, 1870, the Northern Railway built a Wharf and Elevator a short distance west of Brock Street (Spadina Avenue), this Elevator, in constant use for many years, was burned on April 21st, 1903. In 1880 patents were issued to the City for Toronto Island and for Ashbridge's Marsh, both of which had been held under License of Occupation since 1847.

In 1888 the "Windmill Line" was moved south 394 feet from Parliament Street to York Street, thence it ran straight until it intersected the old "Windmill Line" a short distance east of Peter Street. In 1894 it was again moved south a distance of 250 feet. The full effect of the southerly extensions of the "Windmill Line" soon made itself felt. Many owners immediately availed themselves of the privilege and extended their wharves to the limits, filling in their waterlots and making other improvements. Some of the dockages thus improved were the Yonge Street Wharf, then known as Milloy's, Nairn's Wharf, at Church Street, and the Electric Light Co.'s Wharf at Scott Street. In 1893 the Public Wharf on the west side of Yonge Street was constructed by the City at a cost of $45,000, other wharves were also built by the City a few years later, between Yonge Street and York Street.

In 1908 there were forty wharves on the Harbour front between Queen's Wharf and Parliament Street. They were all more or less in need of repair, and for the most part unsafe to receive a heavy cargo; the slips adjoining them were so badly silted-up that vessels drawing 12 feet of water frequently grounded before they could be warped into the wharf. Altogether conditions were as bad as could be and no attempts were made to provide any kind of accommodation or facility to meet the growing requirements of navigation. History was repeating itself.

For the first forty years after its naming by Governor Simcoe, York Harbour was absolutely without management of any kind or description, and though owned and controlled by the Government the only toll levied and collected was for the purpose of raising funds for the repayment of sums advanced for the construction and maintenance of the Island Lighthouse; no harbour dues were collected and nothing whatever was done to meet the ever-increasing demands of navigation or even to keep the harbour in a state of preservation. The commercial wharves were owned and managed by private individuals, who fixed and regulated their own tolls for wharfage.

In 1833 the Government acknowledged its responsibility by passing an "Act granting a sum of money for the construction of works to improve and preserve the Harbour of York," and providing for "regulations for the levying and collecting of tolls and wharfage."

The sum granted under the above Act was found to be insufficient for the purpose; accordingly an Act granting a sum of money to complete the improvement of the Harbour of Toronto was passed on March 4th, 1837. In accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1833, an order-in-council was passed on September 7th, 1837, adopting a schedule of Rates and Regulations.

In 1840, in order to meet the principal and interest of the sums advanced by the Government in 1833 and 1837 for the improvement of the Harbour, it was found necessary to increase the Harbour dues. An order-in-council was therefore passed on September 17th, 1840, adopting a new schedule of Rates and Regulations in lieu of those established in 1837.

These rates and schedules were in two parts, first, the tolls "to be collected on cargoes of vessels coming into the Port of Toronto and unladen within the same"; second, the tolls to be collected "for wharfage on vessels or other craft touching or lying at Toronto pier" (Queen's Wharf) "and also on articles discharged from vessels or other craft lying under and protected by the pier erected for the benefit of the Harbour of Toronto."

In other words, every vessel entering the harbour for the purpose of landing the whole or any part of its cargo at any wharf within the harbour was compelled to pay a toll on all goods landed. Merchants using the private wharves within the harbour complained that they were paying double tolls, one to the Government and the other to the wharfinger. They also complained that the salary of the Lighthouse keeper was being paid out of harbour dues, that the harbour dues received each year were far in excess of the interest and sinking fund charges required for the sums granted by the Legislature, and that the balance should be applied towards improving the harbour instead of being placed in the public chest.

So numerous were the complaints of merchants, vessel owners and captains about excessive harbour dues and the want of adequate accommodation for vessels and passengers, that the question was taken up by the Board of Trade. In the report for the year 1844 the Executive of that Board recommended "that a Harbour Trust should be instituted in Toronto, invested with the sole management of the Harbour, and of all the revenues derived therefrom. The principal object of this institution should be the improvement of the harbour, and the better provision for the accommodation of vessels and passengers touching at this port. At the present time from the high charges of wharfage levied on visitants and settlers arriving in Toronto a very unfavorable *first impression* was made; and, no doubt, we have suffered seriously from this evil. The general aspect, too, of Toronto from the water must be, to all strangers, very unpromising, they, certainly, are not prepared to find the interior what it really is, the most improved and flourishing town in British America. On the security of such a revenue as our Harbour Dues, ample funds might be procured at a low rate of interest, to carry into effect many valuable improvements, by which Toronto would be rendered a fitting seaboard *terminus* of those valuable inland lines of transport and communication."

A conference was arranged with the City Council in 1845 and a draft bill presented for its perusal. Delay after delay occurred, but on 10th August, 1850, "An Act to provide for the future management of Toronto Harbour" was passed. It provided for the appointment of five Commissioners, two named by the City, two by the Board of Trade and the fifth by the Government on the recommendation of the majority of such Commissioners. The Commissioners were given authority to impose tolls, to pass by-laws for regulating the use of the works and property vested in them and within their control, governing persons using the same, and supervising vessels entering and using the harbour. For defraying expenses the Commissioners were authorized to borrow such sums of money as they required not exceeding in the whole £50,000.

The first Harbour Commissioners were appointed at a meeting of the City Council held on Monday, September 16th, 1850. They were Mayor George Gurnett and Alderman W. A. Campbell. The Board of Trade appointees were P. Paterson and Thos. Clarkson, and on the nomination of these Mr. J. G. Chewett, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Act of 1833, was the Government appointee. They held their first meeting on October 19th, 1850, when Mr. J. G. Chewett was appointed Chairman. Captain Hugh Richardson, also one of the Commissioners of 1833, was appointed Harbour Master. One of the first acts of the new Commission was to draw up by-laws for the collection of dues and regulations of the port, which were passed on December 24th, 1850, and ordered published.

In January, 1852, Mr. Walter Shanly, Chief Engineer of the Toronto and Guelph Railway, at the request of the Commission, presented an estimate of the cost of extending the Queen's Wharf westward and a report on the state of the channel and the improvements required. He recommended that a pier should be built on the south side of the Western Channel and that it should be extended southwesterly until completely clear of the shoal, beyond which it should be carried into deep water; the Don River should be prevented altogether from discharging itself into the harbour, to effect which he recommended cutting a channel from some point below the bridge into Ashbridge's Bay and diverting the stream into this new channel by throwing a dam across the river at its outlet.

In February, 1853, the first complete breach in the peninsula occurred, being an opening about fifty yards in width and three feet in depth. From the information available it appears that no regular minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners were kept until 1854, on the 25th of February of which year the Harbour Master presented for the information of the Commissioners a report of the transactions of the Commission since its appointment. This is the earliest report of the Harbour Master.

On March 4th following, the Commissioners passed a resolution that premiums should be offered for the best reports on the means to be adopted for the preservation and improvement of the Harbour. The first premium was awarded to Henry Youle Hind, M. A., who entered into a long dissertation as to the formation of the Peninsula, and argued against a canal on the site of the present Eastern Gap. He wrote: "When we glance at the new beach which has recently been thrown up west of the point, when we consider the changed character of Scarboro' Cliffs, unprotected as they now are, is it probable that a canal could be maintained? The rapidity with which natural breaks fill up, as shown repeatedly in Ashbridge's Bay and recently near the Peninsula Hotel, furnishes also a safe answer in the negative to this question."

He argued that the integrity of the Peninsula must be preserved, and submitted that no works whatever were required to preserve any portion of the beach from destruction. That the Commissioners, though they awarded the first premium to Mr. Hind, did not follow his advice, was apparent, for the same year they paid Mr. Devlin the sum of $449.64 for work done to strengthen the Island, in 1855, $4,102.95; in 1856, $428.40; and in 1857, $829.04.

The report which obtained the second premium was written by Mr. Sandford Fleming, C. E., who recommended first, a groyne to be constructed near Hanlan's Point, a pier at the south of the Western Channel, and two groynes at the isthmus. In speaking of the proposed canal which he thought quite feasible, though he did not advocate it, he said, "the Eastern pier presenting an obstruction to the motion of the beach westward would, acting as a groyne, retain it permanently at its Eastern side; the Western pier, on the other hand, would be exercised to a similar result in suspending the retrograde motion." In speaking of the progressive advancement of the shoal northward, that is, at the Western Channel, he said: "In 1849 the Channel was 108 yards wide; in 1850, 100 yards wide; 1851, 90 yards; 1853, 77 yards; 1854, 73 yards."

Mr. Kivas Tully was awarded the third premium. He divided his subject into two heads: the first the preservation of the harbour, under which head he recommended the diversion of the Don into Ashbridge's Bay, and the strengthening of the narrows at the Peninsula; the second, the improvement of the harbour, under which he advocated the construction of the Eastern Entrance 200 feet wide, 12 feet in depth, and piers 40 feet wide running into 20 feet of water, all at an estimated cost of $77,500.

A supplementary premium was awarded Captain Richardson, Harbour Master, who said: "Until the important question of a canal at the east end of the Bay is settled, I fear the preservation of the harbour will be of secondary consideration." He proposed to treat the question physically, nautically and commercially. Physically, he said: "The interior effect of a canal 200 feet wide, 12 feet deep, would be to create such a current through the harbour with a strong south-west wind, from east to west, as to bring down the sands of the bar into it, sweep those of the north margin of the peninsula down upon the canal and the east end of the Bay, whilst the evil consequences of some extraordinary gale could not be calculated." Nautically, he said: "The canal if constructed would be useless to sailing vessels in calms, useless for entrance with wind off shore, but useful for exit for all vessels bound down the lake. For steamers bound inward and outward from and to the east it would be useful in moderate weather." Commercially, he was of the opinion that it could not be made self-sustaining by tolls on account of its cost and would therefore be a failure.

In 1854, the first dredging contract in the harbour was awarded to James Cotton for excavating the channel at the Queen's Wharf to a width of 500 feet and to an average depth of 14 feet, at a rate of 1s per cubic yard. Not satisfied with the manner in which Mr. Cotton was carrying out his contract, the Commissioners, in the fall of 1854, purchased a "steamdredge" at a cost of £1,650.

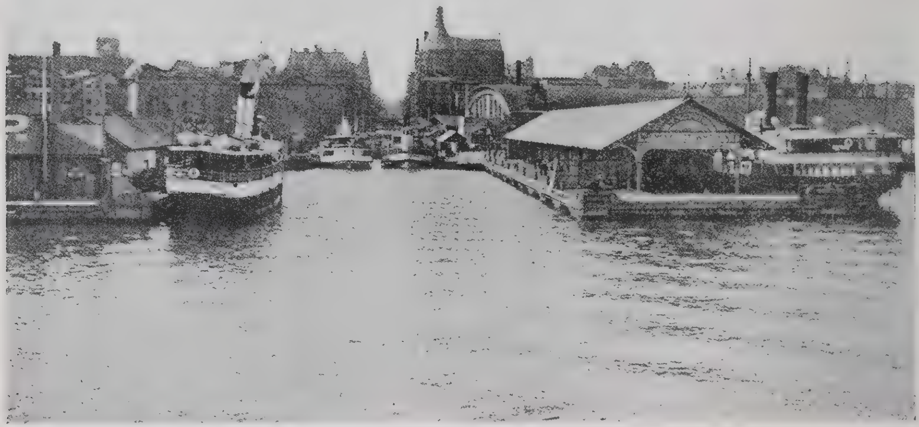
Complaints were made about the export dues charged by the Commissioners; shipping fell off and receipts were affected by the establishment of the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways, which skirted the waterfront of the City as well as that of a large portion of the Province. The City Council, which controlled the waterlots and harbour front of the City, was dissatisfied with the administration of the Harbour Commission and on June 2nd, 1858, petitioned the Government for the passing of an Act granting to them all the powers exercised by the Harbour Commissioners over the Peninsula and Harbour of Toronto. This petition was favourably received, and on July 1st, the Legislative Council passed a Bill entitled: "An Act to vest the Harbour of Toronto in the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of Toronto," to which they asked the concurrence of the Assembly. This Bill received its second reading and was reported without amendment by the Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills. In the meantime a petition against the transfer, had been presented by the Board of Trade, on the grounds of its being alike injudicious and uncalled for. As a result the Bill was defeated.

On June 9th, 1862, an Act was passed entitled "An Act to amend the Act for the management of Toronto Harbour." It did not interfere with the former Act, but increased the powers of the Harbour Commissioners by authorizing them to grant leases of Queen's Wharf to Railway Companies for the purposes of erecting elevators thereon.

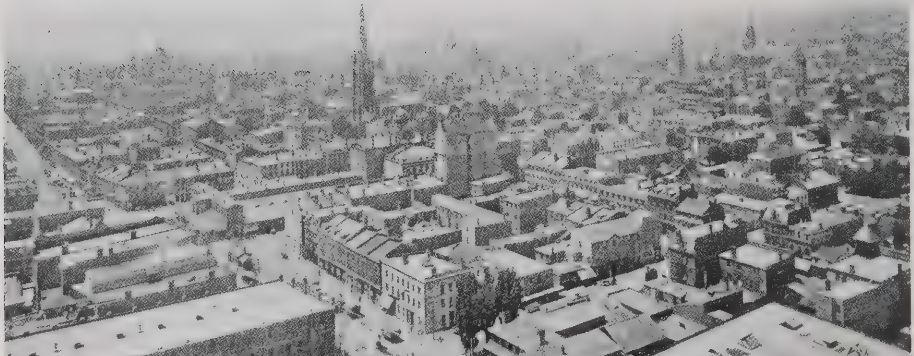
In this year the breach in the Peninsula was nearly half a mile wide and the old line of beach had been so far displaced that the boiler of the steamer *Monarch* (wrecked on the south shore of the Island in 1856), once high and dry on the beach with its top 10 feet above the surface of the lake, was lying about 100 yards out in the lake in deep water.

In 1870 and 1871 severe criticisms were levelled at the Harbour Commissioners for their failure, through incompetence or apathy, to improve and add to the safety of the harbour. Notwithstanding the fact that they had over $10,000 to their credit, and a much larger sum invested in Building Society stock, it was said that they had stood idly by and permitted the harbour to go to rack and ruin. The breach made in the Peninsula in 1858, had been neglected to such an extent that it threatened to destroy the whole harbour; the Western entrance was obstructed with boulders which had been allowed to lie there year after year; sunken obstructions in the harbour were neither removed nor buoyed and surprising as was this neglect of public interests it was more than surpassed in the greater dereliction of duty in expending money for the furtherance of private interests. The state of the harbour was such that captains and vessel owners avoided using it if at all possible, and the city suffered in consequence.

The Government was constantly appealed to for an appropriation to provide some defence against the destruction of the harbour and although small appropriations were made it was not until 1879 that the Government manifested any special interest. Then surveys were made, and in 1881 Mr.



Yonge Street Wharves, 1890



Bird's Eye View of Toronto, 1890

James B. Eads, of St. Louis, Mo., was engaged by the Minister of Public Works to make a report. Mr. Eads submitted his report in March, 1882: It recommended (1) the closing of the Eastern Gap; (2) the opening of a new channel across the north end of the Island to take the place of the Western Channel; (3) the closing of the Western Channel; (4) the closing of all communication between the harbour and Ashbridge's Bay.

In November, 1882, the Government awarded a contract to Messrs. Cooke, Jones and Innes for the construction of harbour improvements estimated to cost $250,000, on the understanding that the City of Toronto would furnish $100,000 of the amount. The work to be carried out was contrary to Mr. Eads's report and consisted of a dyke separating the harbour from Ashbridge's Bay, having an opening for the Don River; a deep, navigable Eastern Channel; improvement of the Western Channel. All this work was eventually completed. In 1907, Mr. J. G. Sing, C.E., recommended that a new Western Channel be constructed south of the then channel; the contract was let to Messrs. Weddell Bros., and completed in 1909.

While all these improvements were being made by the Government, no work of any practical value or of a permanent nature, other than a little dredging here and there, was carried out by the Harbour Commissioners, and the harbour as a whole was in a sadly neglected state. Slips required dredging and the approaches to some of the wharves were so obstructed with silt and the discharge of sewers, which emptied into the harbour at nearly every street, that vessels drawing twelve feet of water could only reach one or two wharves, and those with difficulty. Everywhere was dilapidation and neglect, not only by the Harbour Commissioners, but by wharf owners and wharfingers. The sale, by the City Council in 1909, of the finest manufacturing site on the waterfront for what was alleged at the time to be about one-twentieth of its actual value, brought matters to a head.

Fearful that the whole of Ashbridge's Bay, which had remained in its natural state for over one hundred years waiting development, might be similarly disposed of, and that the decay of the harbour would continue, the Board of Trade inaugurated a campaign to induce the City Council and the Government to place all the City's waterfront properties, and waterlots in Toronto Bay and Lake Ontario, including the whole of Ashbridge's Bay, together with the management of the harbour, into the hands of a permanent Commission for development. While this campaign was in full swing two steamers arrived in Toronto Harbour direct from England loaded with pig iron. One being unable to find a wharf at which it could unload, had to pay forty-five cents a ton for the privilege of discharging its cargo on a vacant lot; while the other, grounding in the mud in the harbour, was compelled to unload its cargo on a scow which had to be towed half a mile to the wharf to which the cargo was consigned. Sixty years of trial had proved beyond a doubt the impossibility of establishing any permanent policy with regard to the development of the waterfront and the improvement of the harbour so long as they remained under different control. The question was submitted to the people on January 1st, 1911, and carried by a majority of 11,070. In May of the same year the Toronto Harbour Commissioners' Act was passed. It provided for the appointment of five Commissioners, three of whom are named by the City, and two by the Dominion Government. Of the latter one is a direct appointee, and the other is named on the recommendation of the Board of Trade.

The Commissioners have authority both by their Act of Incorporation and also through their Harbour Master, whom they appoint, over all shipping within the limits of the Port. They supervise the imposition of Harbour Dues, the Aids to Navigation, the removal of obstructions, the Life Saving Service, and manage the harbour generally. All by-laws of the Commissioners dealing with such matters must be approved by the Governor-in-Council. The Commissioners also have powers of expropriation and are authorized under their Act to develop their properties, to construct and maintain railways, docks, channels, warehouses, and to issue debentures secured upon the real property controlled by them.

In July, 1911, L. H. Clarke, R. Home Smith and T. L. Church were appointed Commissioners by the City Council. The Government appointees were F. S. Spence and R. S. Gourlay, the latter having been nominated by the Board of Trade. In December, 1911, the City Council conveyed in fee to the new Board all the waterlots and waterfront properties (including Ashbridge's Bay) owned by the Corporation, with the exception of street ends, Toronto Island, and those lands then in use for municipal purposes. The properties thus conveyed were valued at $2,500,000, and comprised twenty-six per cent. of the inner harbour and practically all the waterlots on the lake front of the City west of the Western Entrance and east of the Eastern Entrance to the harbour. Since the date of this transfer the Commissioners, by negotiation and purchase, have acquired actual possession of an additional thirty-nine per cent. of the inner waterfront. When the existing agreements covering the construction of the Waterfront Viaduct are carried out by the railways, the Toronto Harbour Commissioners will own and control ninety-nine per cent. of the total harbour and lake front of the city.

In January, 1912, Mr. E. L. Cousins was appointed Chief Engineer. The activities of the Commissioners commenced in February, 1912, and final plans of the proposed harbour improvements and waterfront development were submitted in the September following, and approved by the City Council.

The work contemplated consisted of the reclamation of Ashbridge's Bay, a marsh tract of 1,009 acres, for industrial purposes; the construction of a Ship Channel, Turning Basin and Circulating Channel; Marginal Way Wall and Retaining Walls on each side of the Keating Channel; the construction of a new Harbourhead line across the entire front of the Inner Harbour; a maximum distance of 1,100 feet south of the old pierhead line, or new "Windmill Line," as it was called; and the reclamation, for industrial and commercial purposes, of the area enclosed by it; the deepening of the whole harbour to a navigable depth of thirty feet, and the reclamation of 900 acres of park lands along the lake front at the east and west ends of the city and on Toronto Island.

The cost of these improvements was estimated at $25,000,000. They were divided into three classes: (1) Harbour Protection and Extension; (2) The Æsthetic or Recreational Development; (3) The Commercial Development not included in Harbour Extension and Protection..

By an Order-in-Council dated June 10th, 1913, the Dominion Government approved the general scheme of the Commissioners and undertook the Harbour Extension and Protection as its share of the improvements. This included the excavation of a Ship Channel 6,800 feet long and 400 feet wide, terminating in a Turning Basin 1,100 feet square, having a Circulating Channel 900 feet long and 100 feet wide, connecting it with the open lake; the construction of the retaining walls confining these waterways, a portion of the retaining walls of Keating's Channel, the Marginal Way Wall, and the Polson's Extension; also the construction of a sea wall and breakwater along the eastern and western lake front of the city, and the building of two movable bridges, one over the Western Entrance to the Harbour and the other over the Eastern Entrance.

As its share the City Council agreed to pay the cost of construction of roadways, sidewalks and bridges for the parkway along the lake front, the Exhibition Sea Wall and land damages; they also agreed to pay interest charges and sinking fund on the cost of reclamation for forty years at the rate of six per cent. per annum.

The Commercial Development was undertaken by the Toronto Harbour Commissioners. The objects of this development are to provide adequate harbour facilities and the co-ordination of rail and water transportation, the reclamation of industrial areas with direct access to water and rail transportation, and the reclamation of lands for park and recreational purposes. The objective of the Commissioners is to make ample and adequate provision for the natural industrial and commercial expansion of the city.

The waterfront properties now under development are to be equipped with every modern facility necessary for the economic and efficient handling of raw materials and manufactured products. The advantage of these facilities is assured by an abundant supply of Hydro-Electric power, at low rates, direct from Niagara Falls; perfect co-ordination of rail and water transportation; free switching service from all railroads, present and future, operating into Toronto.

In all their plans the Commissioners have taken into consideration the likelihood of the early construction of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway, and in order that Toronto can benefit to its fullest extent by this improved navigation and be prepared to accommodate the ocean carriers which may in a few years be trading to ports on the Great Lakes, the Commissioners are so designing their wharves that they may be equipped with every modern facility for the economic and rapid unloading and loading of vessel cargoes both in the industrial districts and along the commercial waterfront of the inner harbour, together with adequate accommodation for passengers. All of this is planned to be completed in time to take care of the first ocean vessel to navigate the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway.

Two industrial districts are being created out of areas which in 1914 were covered by water varying from six to sixteen feet in depth; they are called the Eastern Harbour Terminals and the Central Harbour Terminals.

The Eastern Harbour Terminals is being developed for heavy manufacturing. It is located immediately east of and adjoining the inner harbour and is connected with it by the Ship Channel and Keating's Channel. When completed this district will have 644 acres of land for industrial sites, 235 acres of streets and railway reservations, 130 acres of improved waterways 30 feet deep, and six miles of permanent concrete piers and quays. To date a total of 685 acres of land has been reclaimed, thirty-one acres of which has already been dedicated for streets on which reinforced concrete pavements and concrete sidewalks have been laid, together with sewers and water mains. Twenty-seven industries are already in operation in this district. The value of the buildings and plants is estimated at from $8,000,000 to $10,000,000. For the better protection of these plants the City is erecting a $40,000 fire hall in the heart of the district.

The Central Harbour Terminals extend across the entire front of the inner harbour, from Bathurst Street to Parliament Street, a distance of two and one half miles. This district is designed for light loft-type manufacturing, warehousing and cold storage. It comprises the construction of slips 600 feet long by 200 feet wide, with piers of varying width between and the reclamation of the area confined by them aggregating about 305 acres. A street eighty-six feet wide, called Fleet Street, is to be constructed from Bathurst Street to Cherry Street. South of this a strip one hundred and ten feet wide will be available for light manufacturing and warehouse sites, south of this again is an allowance for the Commissioners' own tracks and for an elevated rapid transit railway. South of this is another series of warehouse sites facing on another eighty-six foot street adjoining the bulkhead line, called "The Queen's Quay". Adjoining this street are to be the new piers and transit sheds equipped for the rapid handling of both bulk and package freight from boat to shed and vice versa. As in the Eastern Harbour Terminals special attention is to be given to the proper co-ordination of rail and water traffic.

To date the harbour head walls and slips have been completed from the Western Entrance east to a point between York Street and Bay Street, providing wharf accommodation approximately two miles in length. This work is designed to provide public dockage, as well as passenger and freight terminals, for the steamship lines and Island ferries. Ninety-eight acres of land have already been reclaimed and Fleet Street is extended to John Street. A motor boat harbour equipped with slips and boat houses for the accommodation of small craft has been constructed. A transit shed has also been erected on the new York Street Pier; the *City of Ottawa* being the first vessel to unload at this, the first transit shed erected on the new harbour front.

The separation of grades along the waterfront by means of a viaduct has long been a bone of contention between the City and the Railways. As far back as in 1908 the Dominion Board of Railway Commissioners had issued an order to the railways to construct a viaduct from Cherry Street to York Street, the City paying one third the cost. The Railways appealed from the order of the Railway Board, and carried the case to the Privy Council without success. They then tried to substitute bridges and subways as a means of grade separation. A series of meetings was held and the matter discussed with the Toronto Harbour Commissioners, the City, the Railways and the Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners. As a result the Railways abandoned all thought of bridges, and an agreement, known as the Viaduct Agreement, was finally executed on July 29th. This agreement, which was confirmed by an order of the Dominion Railway Board, defined the route to be taken, and provided that all properties lying between Yonge Street and Cherry Street south of the railway tracks on the Esplanade, were to be acquired by the railways. After all the property had been acquired the Harbour Commissioners would have the option of purchasing from the railways that portion of the land so acquired which was not included in the right of way, two hundred and thirty feet wide, for the Viaduct, at one half the amount paid by the railways for the whole property, or for that portion of the land so acquired lying to the south of the Viaduct right of way for one third the amount paid by the railways as above.

Under the order of the Railway Board work on the Viaduct was to commence immediately. The war with Germany intervened, and once more the construction of the waterfront viaduct was held up, since at the end of 1922, no attempt had been made by the railway companies to acquire the properties required for the Viaduct right of way between Yonge Street and Cherry Street, it was impossible for the Harbour Commissioners to proceed with any development work along the harbour front between the above named streets. The non-fulfilment of this agreement by the railways has seriously delayed the work of the Harbour Commissioners in the Central Harbour Terminals.

The Toronto Harbour Commissioners, in addition to the lands reclaimed for industrial purposes and the improvement of the harbour, are creating park and recreational areas along the whole of Toronto's twelve mile lake front. In this respect, Toronto is the first city on the North American continent that has ever combined in its plan of harbour development park and recreational features with harbour improvements and industrial and commercial development.

The Western Development extends from Bathurst Street on the east to the Humber River on the west, a distance of nearly four miles. When completed it will consist of a continuous series of parks connected by a Promenade and Boulevard Drive. Provision is made at its westerly end for residential hotels, apartment houses, bathing pavilions, restaurants, dancing pavilions, boat houses, wading pools, aquatic clubs, tennis courts, bowling greens and amusement resorts. That portion of the development from the Humber River east to Wilson Avenue, a distance of one and one-half miles, is known as Sunnyside Beach. Here one hundred and thirty acres have already been reclaimed; the Promenade and Boulevard Driveway have been built and the latter extended out as far as the Canadian National Exhibition Park, and will be continued across the entire lake front of the city as far east as Woodbine Avenue, where it will connect with a similar driveway encircling the City, having a total length of forty-three miles. The Sunnyside Pavilion, a restaurant with two large dining rooms, and terraced tea gardens, with accommodation for 780 persons, a Bathing Pavilion capable of accommodating 7,700 persons at one time, a large boathouse and band stand have been erected. Parkways have been seeded and planted with trees, shrubs and flower beds; a large amusement area is also in progress of development and already contains some twenty-five amusement devices and games, together with refreshment booths. The popularity of this resort is shown by the thousands visiting the Promenade, Beach and Amusement Park during the season. Everything is under the control of the Harbour Commissioners, and all buildings are permanent, artistic and in harmony with the surroundings. The Sea Wall paralleling the shore line at a distance of approximately 350 feet has been completed east from the Humber for a distance of 6,000 feet. This not only protects the Beach from erosion by storms but affords a protected waterway for canoes and small craft and adds considerably to the safety and comfort of bathers.

When Governor Simcoe selected Toronto as the site of the Provincial Capital the Peninsula extended westerly from the mainland at the foot of Scarborough Bluffs to Gibraltar Point without any opening.

The first mention of an Eastern entrance dates back to 1833; it was one of the questions considered by the Commissioners appointed by the Government in 1833 to superintend "the construction of such works as by them shall be thought necessary for the improvement and preservation of the said Harbour."

In his report to the Select Committee of the House of Assembly, dated at York, 14th January, 1834, Captain R. H. Bonnycastle says: "We now arrive at the discussion of the 2nd proposal, that of cutting a navigable channel through the narrows of the Peninsula. If this should be done without due consideration, the barrier which nature has interposed for the preservation of a harbour formed probably by the cutting of a section of the Don, when it was a larger river, which requires a look at its banks to convince one's self what it anciently was, will be thrown down and the harbour entirely destroyed. Should a navigable canal, without due restrictions, be cut through the slender belt which divides the waters of the lake from the basin, all the millions of tons of large shingle, small rounded and angular fragments of granite and other hard rocks—which line the beach—will be put in motion; will break down by their erosive powers any barriers opposed to them; will carry before them the whole extent of the Narrows, and perhaps penetrate through the ponds, fill the basin and convert it into a fresh sand bank. There can be no harm in making a small canal at the Narrows shut in by floodgates and protected by piers; it will be very useful for the purpose of trade, and under these restrictions no obstacle will be thrown in the way."

On February 28th, 1835, a notice appeared in *The Courier* announcing a meeting of the "Friends of the Proposed Cut across the Peninsula," to be held at the Old British Coffee House on March 3rd. In its issue of March 5th, *The Courier* reports the meeting and says: "A Select Committee was appointed to request the Government to name an engineer and also request the Mayor and Corporation to name another to meet him for the purpose of reporting on the probable result of the cut. The Committee waited on His Excellency this morning, who very readily named Captain Bonnycastle, at the same time expressing a hope that a measure so adapted to promote the health of the City would be carried into effect. His Excellency also promised to do all in his power to put the entire marsh at the disposal of the Company, with a view of its being reclaimed as far as it is possible to do so."

There is no record of the City having appointed an engineer and it is to be assumed that they were satisfied to leave the matter in the hands of Captain Bonnycastle, who was an officer of the Royal Engineers and well known in Toronto. Upon receipt of the instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor to report on the construction of a canal through the Peninsula at the Narrows, and the drainage of the marsh in Ashbridge's Bay, Captain Bonnycastle added the following Appendix to his former report: "Having had time since the giving or the above Report to examine and consider upon the project of draining the marsh, I have further to report that as the levels of the marsh appear favourable, I should consider that the best possible mode of effecting the drainage of it would be by canalling the Don River through the said marsh, by which that object would be gained and a more favourable site obtained for forming a canal than at the Narrows."

Captain Bonnycastle's Report of January, 1834, with the addition of the above Appendix, was submitted to the City Council early in March, 1835, together with a plan entitled: "Sketch of the Harbour of Toronto, to accompany a Report on it, made by command of His Excellency, the Lt.-Governor, for the information of The Mayor and Corporation, dated 12th March, 1835." On this plan the location of a canal at the Narrows is marked by parallel lines about 500 feet apart accompanied by the words, "Proposed Canal."

The matter rested here and was not revived again until 1851, when letters appeared in the press pointing out the serious hindrance caused to the shipping interests and the commerce of the city by the lack of an Eastern Entrance. In January, 1852, the lake made a breach in the peninsula at the Narrows, and the question of a canal was more than usually talked about, but nothing was done. In the spring of 1854, the action of the storms closed the breach, the water in that year being lower than in previous years. The question of strengthening the Narrows was taken up by the Harbour Commissioners, who awarded a contract to Daniel Devlin in November, 1854, for the construction of an embankment of timber and plank six feet high and twelve feet wide, filled in with material from the beach for a distance of one thousand three hundred feet for the sum of £1,389 18s 6d. Two years later the lake again began to make inroads at the Narrows, the protection works constructed by the Harbour Commissioners were condemned by the public as totally inadequate for the purpose and the Commissioners themselves were described by the newspapers as old women, unfit for the positions they held, and bunglers of the worst kind. At the same time reasons were advanced for the immediate construction of an Eastern Entrance, but notwithstanding the continuous complaints voiced by the press and the public, nothing was done.

The long threatened disaster came on April 13th, 1858, when the waters of the lake completely swept over a large section of the Peninsula, entirely carrying away Quinn's Hotel along with the breakwater built by the Harbour Commissioners, making a permanent Eastern Entrance to the Harbour some five hundred yards in width, and turning what was formerly the Peninsula into Toronto Island. So deep was the channel that the schooners *Eliza* and *Highland Chief*, drawing five feet of water, passed out of the harbour by this entrance on May 31st, 1858, and in 1859 the Royal Mail line and the American boats and all other steamers were using this entrance. Heavily laden schooners and other sailing vessels also passed through it by hundreds.

The Government was approached in 1859 and 1860 to build a breakwater to prevent further encroachment of the lake, but without avail and in July, 1862, the breach had widened to nearly three-quarters of a mile with a depth of water varying from five to eight feet. Year after year this channel was buoyed and used almost exclusively by steamers and other vessels passing in and out of the harbour.

The low water of 1871 caused trouble, several steamers grounded entering the harbour. The Harbour Commissioners instructed their engineer to report on the cost of dredging, but did nothing towards remedying the shallow condition of the channel, and the whole matter remained in abeyance until 1878, when the City Council and Harbour Commission jointly petitioned the Government to provide an entrance which would admit the passage of any vessel which could pass through the new Welland Canal, then under construction. Negotiations were continued until March, 1882, when the Government, in consideration of the City Council paying one third of the cost, agreed to carry out certain improvements. This offer was finally accepted, resulting in the immediate preparation of plans and the awarding of the contract for the proposed improvements which included the construction of a sheet pile breakwater and the necessary parallel works to maintain a channel five hundred feet wide and eighteen feet deep across the northern end of the Peninsula to connect the deep water of the Harbour with the deep water of the lake. The sides of the channel consisted of a double row of piling driven in ten-foot centres properly braced and faced with sheet piling, the space formed by the double row of piles was filled with layers of brush and stone. Work was commenced in the fall of 1882 and completed in 1884, but the channel was only dredged to twelve feet, and was constantly filling up.

In 1888, surveys were made for deepening and protecting the channel and in June, 1890, cribs were placed on each side of the entrance and sunk to a depth of sixteen feet, but apparently the depth of the channel was not maintained for complaints were yearly made of the shallowness of the water and the danger to vessels entering the harbour.

In all these years the trade of the country had increased enormously and with the increase of trade came an increase in the tonnage of vessels. So great was this increase that the new Welland Canal, built to accommodate vessels of twelve feet draught and completed in 1881, was enlarged in 1885 to allow the passage of vessels of fourteen feet draught, but the Eastern Entrance of the Harbour could only accommodate vessels drawing twelve feet, and that only when the lake was high. It was not until 1902 that the Government remedied this trouble and since that date has maintained the channel at a depth sufficient to meet the demands of navigation during all stages of high or low water. It has also constructed new concrete piers on each side of the entrance.

Rumor credits Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe with having declared on his arrival at York in 1793, that a lighthouse would have to be established in the near future at the western extremity of the Peninsula as a guide to mariners, in fact, it goes so far as to say that a lighthouse was begun at the point of York Peninsula before the close of the Eighteenth Century, that the *Mohawk* was employed in bringing over stone for the purpose from Queenston, and that one John Thompson, who died in Toronto in 1873, claimed to have been sent by Governor Simcoe to build the present lighthouse. As Mr. Thompson could only have been fourteen years of age when Governor Simcoe was recalled to England, it is quite evident that he must have referred to a later Governor, probably Sir Francis Gore, as the name of John Thompson, a mason, appears in departmental payrolls in 1810.

The first definite statement in regard to a lighthouse is contained in an Act of Parliament passed on March 5th, 1803, for the purpose of establishing a fund for the erection of Lighthouses. This Act imposed a tonnage tax of three pence per ton on all vessels passing the location of three proposed lighthouses, provided for the collection of the tax and empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to lay out and expend the money so collected in the erection and keeping in repair of the lighthouses, "one to be erected and built upon the south-western-most point of an island called Isle Forrest, situate about three leagues from the Town of Kingston, in the Midland District, another upon Mississauga Point at the entrance to the Niagara River, near to the Town of Niagara, and the other upon Gibraltar Point."

On March 9th, 1808, the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada made these three lighthouses the subject of an Address, which met with the hearty approval of the Lieutenant-Governor. Referring to the Address *The Gazette* of Wednesday, March 8th, 1808, says: "It is with pleasure we inform the public that the dangers to vessels navigating Lake Ontario will in great measure be avoided by the erection of a lighthouse on Gibralter Point, which is to be immediately completed in compliance with an Address of the House of Assembly to the Lieutenant-Governor." We find still further evidence in a letter from W. Halton to the Hon. John McGill, Commissary of Stores and dated Wednesday, April 6th, in which he says: "The Governor is going over to Gibraltar Point to examine where it may be most advisable to build a lighthouse, and he wishes you would direct Hunt to come up here with the keys of the stores there immediately as His Excellency wants to look into them. We expect to be back again about one o'clock when the Governor will thank you to come up to his office should it not be inconvenient to you—as Captain Vigoreux has some enquiries to make which you can best answer."

Captain Thomas Smith, speaking in 1854 of the sand drift at the western sandbar, said: "I have lived in Toronto for over forty years, and been connected with sailing the greater part of the time . . . When the lighthouse was built by my grandfather and uncle, the materials for building it were landed within twenty-five feet of where it stands; but the land extends now over a quarter of a mile to the south and three quarters of a mile to the west of the lighthouse."

In 1811, the Public Accounts passed by the Legislature contain several items of expense on the lighthouse at York in 1809, and in the contingent expenses of 1810 we find a payroll of five stone masons among whose names is that of John Thompson, already mentioned above. Unfortunately there are no records in existence by which any definite date can be fixed for the commencement and completion of the lighthouse. We know that it was commenced after April 6th, 1808, that funds were provided for its construction and that there was a road to the lighthouse in the winter of 1810-1811. An old plan of part of the Town of York, signed "Sam. S. Wilmot, Dy. Surveyor," and dated February 25th, 1811, shows the sand beach which separated Ashbridge's Bay from the Harbour, and on this beach, designated by double lines, a road is laid out above which is printed "Road from York to Lighthouse."

Acts of Parliament were passed from time to time granting small sums of money for repairs and improvements to the lighthouse and the dwelling house of the lighthouse keeper. The lighthouse was fifty four feet to the floor of the lamp room, and the lamp was enclosed in a wooden cage. Around the lamp room on the outside was a balcony on which was erected a flag pole. From this pole it was the custom to fly flags to warn the Harbour Master of the approach of vessels to the Harbour. If the boat was from ports east of Toronto the Union Jack was flown, and if from Niagara the Red Ensign.

In 1833, the height of the lighthouse was increased from fifty-four to sixty-six feet, the old light was replaced by a new and better one; but there was no flag pole and the light keeper instead of flying flags, as had been the custom in former days, used canvas balls or spheres colored red, white and blue, which were suspended from the platform when in use. Red signified a steamer from ports east of Toronto; white indicated sailing vessels from all directions; blue signified a steamer from the south. This method of signalling was clumsy and hard to perform, especially in windy weather, and after a trial of five or six years was abandoned for red flags. A flag pole was erected a short distance northwest of the lighthouse and as vessels passed the lighthouse the red flags were hoisted, one flag representing a sailing vessel and two flags a steamer.

In 1879 the old fixed light was replaced by a flashlight, said to be one of the largest in Canada; it was visible for fourteen miles and revolved once in thirty seconds. In 1907 the Department of Marine and Fisheries issued orders to discontinue the light at Gibraltar Point, but upon the petition of the City Council the order was withdrawn and the light keeper was instructed to keep it in operation.

The land surrounding the lighthouse amounting to about fifteen acres, was owned by the Government, and in 1900 twelve and one-half acres was deeded to the City and the balance, two and one-half acres, retained for lighthouse purposes.

In 1911, orders were again issued to discontinue the light, but as on the previous occasion the Government were persuaded to rescind the order and the light still burns during the season of navigation.

"The first English schooner on Lake Ontario," M. Pouchot tells us in his Memoirs of the Late War in North America, 1775-1760, "was launched in the summer of 1755. She had a forty foot keel, mounted fourteen swivel guns and was made to row when necessary. The fleet fitted out by the English at Oswego in 1755 consisted of a decked sloop of eight four pounders and thirty swivels, an undecked schooner of fourteen swivels and fourteen oars and another of twelve swivels and fourteen oars."

During the years 1758, 1759, 1760, the struggle for the possession of the waterways connecting the Great Lakes with the Gulf of St. Lawrence continued with unabated vigor; Fort Frontenac surrendered in 1758, Fort Niagara in 1759 and Quebec in 1760, and at the close of the Seven Years War the control of Canada's great waterway, of which the Niagara River was the gateway, had passed from the hands of the French into those of the English.

In 1763, the British Government commenced the establishment of a navy on Lake Ontario and in 1787 there were three vssels of war, the *Limevale,* 220 tons, 10 guns; the *Seneca,* 130 tons, 18 guns; the sloop *Caldwell,* 37 tons, 2 guns; and two schooners of 100 tons each in course of building and nearing completion. At this time there was only one merchant vessel on the Lakes, the *Lady Dorchester,* a schooner of 80 tons; there were also a few smaller craft owned by settlers. Transportation of passengers, merchandise and settlers and their effects was carried on by the Government vessels. By the end of the century the fleet on Lake Ontario had increased to twelve vessels, eight of which belonged to the Government and still carried the bulk of passengers and freight. The other four vessels formed the mercantile marine. They were the *Lady Dorchester;* the *York,* built on the Niagara River in 1792; the *Governor Simcoe,* built in 1794; and the *Washington.* The last mentioned vessel was built at Erie, Pa., purchased by Canadians, portaged round the Falls and run on the British Register from Queenston to Kingston as the *Lady Washington.*

In 1799, the Governor of Upper Canada gave Mr. John Dennis the contract for building the *Toronto* yacht; he was to supply all labor and the Government was to furnish the material. The amount paid Mr. Dennis was £305 12s 6d, and the cost of material supplied by the Government £675 9s 4d, making the total cost of the *Toronto* yacht £981 1s 10d. Towards the end of June, Captain Baker was put in charge to superintend her completion and get the necessary stores on board, in relation to which the following letter, dated York, 6th July, 1799, from Hon. Peter Russell, Administrator of the Government, to Hon. John McGill, is of interest: "Capt. Baker represents to me that he wishes to have the stores belonging to the vessel brought down here that they may be on hand to be used when wanted—to obviate the time likely to be lost by sending occasionally to the Garrison for them. It you think therefore that his reasons are satisfactory and that they can be deposited here in safety you will be pleased to apply to the Commandant for Batteaux and Party to remove them.

"Captain Baker having remained behind by my order to superintend the finishing of the Vessel, you will be pleased to enter him upon your Books as Commander of the Government Yacht *Toronto,* from the 25th of June last inclusive, on which day he is to be considered as commencing Wages and Provisions.

"I am sorry to hear from him that the *Toronto's* boat is not yet built. No more money should therefore be given to Mr. Dennis until this part of his contract is completed, and he should be spurred on to the finishing of the Boat lest the Vessel should be detained in harbour for want of one."

The *Toronto* Yacht was built on the Humber River and made her first trip in the latter part of September, 1799. *The Gazette,* in its issue of September 14th, 1799, announces: "The *Toronto* Yacht, Capt. Baker, will in the course of a few days be ready to make her first trip. She is one of the handsomest vessels of her size that ever swam upon Lake Ontario; and if we are permitted to judge from her appearance, and to do her justice, we must say she bids fair to be one of the swiftest sailing vessels. She is admirably calculated for the reception of passengers, and can with propriety boast of the most experienced officers and men." She was wrecked on Gibraltar Point on June 2nd, 1817.

In this year (1799) the *York* ran aground on the Devil's Nose, a point on the American shore about fifty miles east of Niagara, there was a terrific gale blowing at the time and she became a total wreck, but there was no loss of life.

The shipbuilding carried on at York in these early days was principally of small vessels ranging from thirty feet to sixty feet in length, and for the most part these were Government vessels of the schooner class. It was only with the increase in the size of the settlements that a change to larger vessels took place, but it is fairly safe to say that prior to the war of 1812 very few vessels exceeded one hundred tons. The *Bella Gore,* built in 1809, the *Dove* and the *Reindeer* in 1814, the *Jane* in 1815 and the *John Walker,* in 1819, were all small vessels and under one hundred tons. Larger vessels were the *Lady Sarah* in 1819, the *Brothers* and the *Richmond* in 1820, these were all one hundred tons. The latter was quite a famous schooner, and was owned by Captain Edward Oates, and made three round trips a week between York and Niagara.

Trade and passenger routes were being established between York and the various ports on Lake Ontario. Upper Canada was fast becoming settled, settlements were verging into villages and villages into towns, while York, the Capital and Seat of Government, had become a very important place. Hemmed in as it was by immense forests through which roads of the roughest kind were being built, its very existence depended upon water transportation, its only effective means of communication with the markets of the world.

With the growth of York and that of the other settlements came an insistent demand for more regular communication than that afforded by the few merchant and Government vessels. Shipbuilding became more vigorous and larger schooners were built, but the most important and far-reaching changes were brought about by the advent of steam.

The year 1809 marked a new era in the navigation of the inland waters of Canada. In this year John Molson built and launched at Montreal the *Accommodation*, the first steamboat to ply on Canadian waters. She made her trial trip from Montreal to Quebec in sixty-six hours, including thirty hours for stops on the way. In 1810, Molson built the *Malsham*, in 1813 the *Swiftsure*, and in 1815 an association of merchants built the *Car of Commerce* in opposition to Molson.

With steamboats plying successfully on the St. Lawrence, it was not long before they were being built on Lake Ontario, not only on the Canadian side of the lake, but also on the American side. To Canada belongs the credit of having built the first steamboat on Lake Ontario. She was called the *Frontenac*, and was launched at Ernest Town on September 7th, 1816. Describing the launching of this vessel, *The Montreal Herald* said: "The boat moved slowly from her place and descended with majestic sweep into her proper element. The length of her keel is 150 feet, her deck 170 feet. Her proportions strike the eye very agreeably; and good judges have pronounced this the best piece of naval architecture of the kind yet produced in America. It reflects honor upon Messrs. Tiebout and Chapman, the contractors, and their workmen, and also upon the proprietors, the greater part of whom are among the most respectable merchants and other inhabitants of the County of Frontenac, from which the name is derived. The machinery for this valuable boat was imported from England, and is said to be an excellent structure. The *Frontenac* is designed for both freight and passengers. It is expected she will be finished and ready for use in a few weeks. Steam navigation having succeeded to admiration in various rivers, the application of it to the waters of the lake is an interesting experiment." A little later the *Ontario* was launched at Sackett's Harbour.

In 1817, the *Frontenac* made regular trips between Prescott and Burlington, calling at Kingston, Ernest Town, York and Niagara. The fare to York was £4 from Prescott, £3 from Kingston, and £1 from Niagara. She plied on this route until 1827, when she was advertised for sale and purchased by the Hamilton Brothers, Robert and John, of Niagara. A few months later she was maliciously set on fire, loosed from her moorings and allowed to drift out on the lake. She was met by the *Niagara*, Captain Mosier, who took her in tow and succeeded in bringing her to the wharf at Niagara, where, after some difficulty, the flames were extinguished. This was the end of the *Frontenac*, and she was broken up very soon after.

The Government of Upper Canada, recognizing the immense strides made in navigation, and its importance to the prosperity of the Province, soon realized that a navigable water communication between Lake Ontario and

Montreal must be opened with as little delay as possible, for ameliorating the difficulties and accompanying delays in navigating the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence River, and doing away with the heavy charges of the present system of forwarding goods. Accordingly in February, 1817, the Government of Upper Canada advertised for tenders from "such person or persons as may be desirous of contracting to render the *whole* or *any part* of the *water communication* between La Chine and Kingston, by the course of the Rideau River, navigable for Boats drawing two feet of water and ten feet width. Also for Boats drawing three feet water and twelve feet width." In the same year tenders were called for improving the St. Lawrence, and in 1818, a Commission was appointed to report on what measures were necessary for the improvement of the Water Communication in Lower and Upper Canada, but little came of it.

The *Queenston,* a steamer of 350 tons, was launched at Queenston in 1825; she plied between Niagara and Prescott, calling at York.

Between the years 1824 and 1826 the steamer *Toronto* was built at York at the foot of Church Street. She plied between York and Prescott, and made her first trip in June, 1826, and ran aground several times in the St. Lawrence during her first season. She was not a success and in 1827 was placed on the Bay of Quinte route. She was advertised for sale in 1830, after which date she was not heard of.

The steamboat *Niagara,* Captain John Mosier, was built at Prescott in 1826 and plied between Prescott and York.

Possibly the most famous of the early boats was the steamboat *Canada;* she was built by a joint stock company, at the mouth of the Rouge River, during the winter of 1825-1826, and was towed from Rouge River to York Harbour by the steamer *Toronto* about June 1st, 1826, to be fitted out for her intended route from York to Niagara and the Head of the Lake. Her builder's name was Joseph Dennis, her machinery was manufactured by Messrs. Wards, of Montreal. She was commanded by Captain Hugh Richardson, a large stockholder, who afterwards purchased her from the company, and was looked upon as a "fast boat," making the trip from York to Niagara in four hours and some minutes. In 1830 she carried the American mail to Niagara, and was the first regular Canadian mail steamer on Lake Ontario. In 1836 the *Canada* was sold to some Rochester merchants, the price paid being £1,400.

In 1826 there were eight steamboats besides the *Canada* plying on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence from Kingston to Prescott. They were the *Frontenac,* the *Ontario,* the *Martha Ogden,* built at Sackett's Harbour in 1816 and 1822 respectively; the *Charlotte,* built at Ernest Town in 1818; the *Dalhousie,* built at Prescott in 1819; the *Toronto,* the *Queenston* and the *Niagara.*

The steamer *Alciope,* built at Niagara during the winter of 1827-1828, and owned by Robert Hamilton, had the distinction of being the first vessel to operate on Lake Ontario with direct connection *via* stage and steamer with Detroit and intermediate points. For five years she plied on the route between Prescott and Niagara, calling at Brockville, Kingston, Cobourg, Port Hope and York; her name was changed to the *United Kingdom* in 1830.

A line known as the "Lake Ontario and Lake Erie Steamboats" was formed by Robert Hamilton in 1833, comprising the steamers *United Kingdom* and *Adelaide.* The former made direct connection *via* stage from Niagara to Chippawa with the steamer *Adelaide,* which plied between Chippawa and Detroit, calling at Waterloo, Gravelly Bay, Otter Creek, Port Stanley, Rondeau, Point Pelee, Amherstburg and Sandwich. Other steamers built between 1827 and 1833 were the *Sir James Kempt,* in 1828; the *Great Britain,* in 1830; the *John By,* at Kingston, and *William IV.,* at Gananoque, in 1831.

The *Great Britain* was a famous vessel in her time; she was owned by the Hon. John Hamilton, the pioneer steamship owner of Ontario. Her dimensions were: Length 162 feet, beam 60 feet, depth of hold 12 feet; capacity 750 tons; she was propelled by two low pressure engines of 90 horse power each, and was manned by a crew of 35 men; her accommodation consisted of twenty-four ladies' cabins, forty-six men's and twenty-six second class. She was commanded by Capt. J. Whitney and plied between Prescott and Niagara, calling at Brockville, Kingston, Cobourg, Port Hope and York. In 1833 her route was from Prescott to York, where, by special arrangement with Captain Hugh Richardson, passengers and freight for Niagara and the head of the lake were transferred to the steamer *Canada.*

In 1833, no less than seven steamers were built; the *Britannia, Canadian, Kingston,* and *St. George* at Kingston; the *Brockville* at Brockville; the *Cobourg* at Cobourg and the *Constitution* at Oakville. The latter vessel was purchased by Captain Richardson in 1835 and re-named the *Transit.*

From 1829 to 1833, lake traffic was increased to a very marked degree by the opening of the Welland Canal in 1829, the Rideau Canal in 1832 and the projected construction of the Cornwall Canal in 1833. By 1837 three new steamers were added to those already plying on Lake Ontario; the *Commodore Barrie,* 275 tons, built at Kingston in 1834; the *Traveller,* built in Scotland in 1835, both owned by the Hon. John Hamilton, and the *Experiment,* built during the winter of 1836-1837, to ply between Toronto and Hamilton. In this year the Hon. John Hamilton's lake boats, the *Great Britain, Cobourg, Commodore Barrie,* and *St. George,* were formed into a daily line, known as Mr. Hamilton's line, to ply between Kingston and the head of the lakes. This was the first steamship line on Lake Ontario.

In 1840 steamboat interest began to merge into the hands of a few individuals, prominent among whom stood the Hon. John Hamilton of Queenston, and Donald Bethune, of Cobourg. In this year the steamer *Niagara* was added to Mr. Hamilton's fleet, and we also find the Bethune Line, composed of the steamers *Britannia, Burlington,* and *Gore* (all owned by Donald Bethune), running between Rochester, Cobourg, Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara.

The first contract for carrying the mails by steamer from Dickenson's Landing to Toronto was awarded to Donald Bethune in December, 1840. The distance between the two points had to be covered in thirty-six hours, requiring five first class steamers to ensure the punctual delivery of the mails demanded by the Government. Mr. Hamilton's boats, the *Niagara, Princess Royal* and *City of Toronto,* the last two being on the stocks, were chartered by Mr. Bethune and formed what was known as the "Royal Mail

Line"; these three vessels ran from Toronto to Kingston, connecting with the steamers *Brockville, Canada* and *Gilderslieve,* which carried the mail from Kingston to Dickenson's Landing, at which point connection was made with the mail stage to and from Montreal.

Another impetus given to the shipping interests was the opening of the Long Sault Canal in 1842, followed by the opening of the Beauharnois Canal in 1845, the last link in the canal system between Lake Ontario and Montreal.

Each year new vessels were built and in 1853 we find the Royal Mail Line composed of the *Arabian, Magnet, Maple Leaf,* and *Passport,* running from Toronto and Hamilton to Kingston, connecting at that point with the *Banshee, Champion* and *New Era,* all steamers being either owned or chartered by the Hon. John Hamilton.

The *Peerless* and *Chief Justice Robinson* were "two daily boats carrying mail;" they ran from Toronto to Niagara and made connection by stage with the New York Central at Niagara Falls; this route was advertised as "quickest and cheapest route for New York, Boston and other Atlantic cities and the Western States." The through time from Toronto to Rochester was six hours, to Albany seventeen hours, to New York twenty-two hours and Boston twenty-seven hours.

The *Peerless* was first owned by Captain Thomas Dick, of Toronto, who afterwards sold his interest to Mr. Zimmerman, of Niagara. After his death she was purchased by Mr. Andrew Heron, of Niagara, who sold her to the Welland Railway Company, and she subsequently passed into the hands of the Bank of Upper Canada. In May, 1861, Mr. Rutherford of Toronto, acting on behalf of the Bank, sold her to Captain John T. Wright, of Throgg's Neck. On her arrival at Quebec, the Hon. Joshua Giddings, American Consul, owing to the fact that her owner was an American and suspecting she was intended for a blockade runner, refused clearing papers unless she was commanded by Captain McCarthy, a native of Nova Scotia, but a naturalized citizen of the United States. She was taken direct to New York and tied up in the North River.

The *Admiral* and *Princess Royal* formed a daily line to Rochester; the *Mazeppa* to St. Catharines and the *City of Hamilton* to Hamilton.

In addition to the Royal Mail Line steamers and other passenger steamers plying between Toronto and Montreal and other ports on both shores of Lake Ontario, in 1855, there were three lines of freight steamers running from Toronto to Montreal, the H. & S. Jones Line, consisting of the *Dawn, Oshawa, Protector and Ranger;* Hooker and Pridham's freight line, the *Britannia, England, John Gartshore, Lord Elgin, Ottawa* and *St. Lawrence;* Holcomb and Henderson's freight steamers, the *Brantford, George Moffatt, Huron, Scotland* and *Western Miller.* A freight route was also established between Ogdensburg, Toronto and Hamilton by the Ogdensburg Railway Company, with its steamers *Boston* and *Mayflower.*

In 1856, the American Mail Line, consisting of the *Bay State, Cataract, Niagara* and *Northern,* was making daily trips between Niagara, Toronto, Rochester, Oswego and Ogdensburg.

The Canadian Lake and River Line of Passenger Steamers was formed in 1857. It consisted of the *Arabian, Banshee, Champion, Kingston, Magnet,* *New Era* and *Passport,* forming a through line between Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal, and amalgamating with the Royal Mail Line. This line was owned and controlled by the Hon. J. Hamilton and Mr. Andrew Heron.

The Lake Ontario and River St. Lawrence American Steam Line was owned by the American Steamboat Company, and consisted of the *New York, Northern, Bay State, Cataract, Niagara* and *Ontario.* The first two steamers made daily trips between Lewiston, Toronto, Cape Vincent, Brockville and Ogdensburg, while the remaining four ran daily between Toronto, Rochester, Oswego, Kingston and Ogdensburg.

In 1859 the Grand Trunk Railway was handling the major part of the wheat, flour, potash, etc., and as a result two of the freight lines heretofore running between Toronto and Montreal failed and the boats were taken off the route.

In 1863 we find the Canadian Lake and River Line of Passenger Steamers operating under the name of the Canadian Inland Steam Navigation Company, with the Hon. John Hamilton quartered at Kingston as Managing Director, Mr. Alexander Milloy, agent at Montreal, and Mr. T. D. Shipman agent at Toronto.

In 1868 the steamship line formerly operating as the American Express Company was purchased by the Inland Navigation Company. During this year the *Chicora,* formerly a blockade runner, was purchased by Messrs. D. Milloy and Company at Halifax, and brought up through the canals in two parts, put together in Buffalo and taken to Collingwood to run between that port and Fort William. She ran on this route until 1878, when she was brought to Toronto and ran between Toronto, Niagara and Lewiston every season until 1918, when she was condemned as unsafe. In 1920 she was sold to Warren Brothers and Company, wholesale grocers, who, after making extensive repairs, changed her name to *Warrenko*, and she is now used as a tramp steamer.

In 1870 the Canadian Inland Steam Navigation Company owned ten steamers, the *Spartan, Kingston, Passport, Athenian, Corinthian, Champion, Banshee, Union, Abyssinian* and *Magnet.* One of these steamers left the Yonge Street wharf daily, calling at Charlotte, Oswego, Clayton, Alexandria Bay, Kingston, Prescott, Cornwall and Montreal, direct without transhipment and making connection with the Richelieu Company's steamers for Quebec. A few years later an amalgamation took place between the Canadian Inland Steam Navigation Company and the name was changed to the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.

The steamer *Empress of India* was built at Mill Point by Mr. Rathburn in the spring of 1876 for the Toronto Navigation Company, which had been formed to operate a passenger and freight service between Toronto and Port Dalhousie, on which route the *Empress* ran for many years. In 1898 she was lengthened forty-five feet and in the following year was re-named *Argyle.* In 1907 she was sold by auction to Mr. F. T. Hutchinson, of Toronto, and ran between Toronto and Port Hope.

The Niagara Navigation Company, organized in 1878 by Sir Frank Smith, furnished excellent freight as well as passenger service, and was an important factor in the facilities for trade and travel enjoyed by Toronto.

The steamer *Lakeside* was built at Windsor in 1880. She was purchased by the Lakeside Navigation Company to run between St. Catharines and Toronto, and made her first trip on April 15th, 1896. She was purchased by the Niagara, St. Catharines and Toronto Railway Company in 1901, together with the dock privileges and everything in connection with the Lakeside Navigation Company, and operated on the St. Catharines route until superseded by the *Dalhousie City*. She was afterwards purchased by Mr. John E. Russell, of Toronto, and is now used as a tug.

Early in 1913 an important steamship merger took place in the purchase of the Hamilton Steamship Company, the Turbinia Navigation Company, the Niagara Navigation Company and the Inland Lines Limited, by the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company.

In 1914 another merger of the large steamship interests under the name of the Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, absorbed the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company and the Merchants' Mutual.

The first life boat in Toronto Harbour was purchased by the Harbour Master for the use of the Commissioners, to be used in case of shipwreck at or near the Harbour of Toronto, in accordance with a resolution of the Board, dated January 8th, 1857.

This life boat was in use for thirteen years, when it was sold to Captain Fortier for the steamboat *Francis Smith*, and Mr. Thomas Tinning, who had charge of the life boat, was instructed to proceed to New York and purchase one of the "latest, best and most improved boats" to be obtained. The new boat arrived at Toronto on October 15th, 1872; it was of metallic construction with airtight tubes under the seats, and was kept at Mr. Tinning's boat house near the southern end of York Street. The difficulties attending the raising of volunteer crews at the time of disasters rendered this boat all but useless from a life saving point of view, and although many efforts were made to obtain a proper life saving station with a permanent crew, they were without avail.

The first real move came in April, 1880, when a joint meeting of the Harbour Commissioners and a Select Committee of the City Council was held. After much discussion they recommended "(1) The formation of an association to be supported by voluntary contribution and grants to take charge of life boats and means of saving life in the Harbour of Toronto; (2) That in the formation of the association it be a recommendation that the services be of two descriptions, that of life saving in the Harbour proper and the saving of life outside the same." In October of the same year the Harbour Commissioners transferred the life boat in trust to the Corporation of the City of Toronto, and it was shortly after moved to the Island and placed in charge of William Ward.

The question of life saving service in Canada was brought up in the House of Commons in 1883 by Mr. Platt, and as a result the Dominion Government established a station at Toronto consisting of a captain and six men. The crew were as follows: Capt. Ward, J. D. Patry, W. H. Davis, John Gray, George McKay, John Cole and Dennis O'Melia.

In 1886 the Queen City Life Saving Association was organized for the purpose of extending a knowledge of restoring the apparently drowned, the safest and best way to rescue the drowning and for the practice of swimming. It was purely a harbour service, the crew were volunteers and received their instruction from Capt. W. D. Andrews of the Royal Humane Society.

All attempts to establish a permanent volunteer crew were without result until 1892, when the Naval Brigade of the Sons of England Benevolent Society awarded a contract for the construction of a life boat to H. Hodgson; the boat was launched in the month of August and named *Grace Darling.* Under the management of Capt. Tyler, a regular patrol service was instituted and continued daily throughout the season every year until about 1901, when it seemed to drop out of existence.

During all these years William Ward and his life saving crew carried on their operations at the Government Life Saving Station on Toronto Island.

Captain Ward had figured in many daring rescues, notable among these being the schooner *J. G. Beard* on December 4th, 1856; the *Jane Ann Marsh,* December 7th, 1868; the schooner *Olive Branch,* November 14th, 1875; the schooner *Fearless*, November 14th, 1875; (Mr. Thomas Tinning also took a prominent part in the rescue of the crew of this boat); the *Jenny Jones*; *Garibaldi, Annabel, Chambers, W. Y. Emory* and *Reuben Dowd.*

In 1907, a gasoline launch was used on Toronto Bay the first time for police patrol and life saving purposes; in the same year the Government placed $8,000 in the estimates to assist life saving stations. In April, 1909, the Government life boat station and life boat were destroyed by fire. The schooner *St. Louis* ran aground on Gibraltar Point shortly after the fire, and the crew were forced to rescue the people on her in an ordinary fishing boat. A new boat was then immediately ordered to be built and arrived about September 1st.

In December, 1911, the Hon. F. D. Monk, Minister of Public Works, and the Hon. J. D. Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, were escorted on a trip of inspection over the harbour and waterfront by the Commissioners, who drew to the attention of the Ministers the urgent need of the establishment of adequate life saving stations at Toronto.

In February, 1912, the Harbour Commissioners assumed control of the City Life Saving Stations, and were given possession of the appliances in store.

Early in March of the same year, Commander Henry Thompson, R.N., Supt. of Life Saving Service for the Dominion, discussed with the Commissioners the questions of establishing a Life Saving Station along the lines already suggested by the Commissioners, and on April 27th wrote the Commissioners that the Department of Marine and Fisheries would assume the cost of removing the present boat house from the Western Sandbar to Ward's Island, the erection of a fully equipped Life Saving Station and lookout tower at that point, and the furnishing of a fast motor boat for patrol and life saving work in Toronto Harbour, stating that a crew of twelve men would be employed and all life saving appliances on the Bay would be inspected daily. He also proposed that while the control of the station should be in the hands of the Government, the Harbour Commissioners should contribute $3,050 per annum towards the expense of maintaining the service and inspection. This arrangement was agreed to and remained in force until August 15th, 1919.

Captain Frank Ward was appointed Coxswain and placed in charge of the life saving crew. In September of the same year (1912) the life saving appliances at the forty stations along the waterfront and the Island were turned over to him by the Commission, and he took charge of their inspection.

In 1913 the arrangements of 1912 continued in force. The life saving station was moved from the Western Sandbar to a point on Ward's Island immediately west of the Eastern Entrance. Two fast launches were placed in commission by the Government for the purpose of carrying on the patrol work, in addition to the regulation life boat, which was maintained for strictly life saving work.

Towards the close of the year friction arose among the members of the crew; an investigation was held by Commander Thompson, of the Dominion Life Saving Service, resulting in the discharge of the entire crew on December 15th, 1913, including coxswain and mate.

In the spring of 1914 Mr. W. F. Chapman was appointed Coxswain in charge of the crew. Owing to the conditions created by the war it was decided to postpone the erection of the sub-life-saving-station at Hanlan's Point, plans for which were prepared by the Government in the fall of 1913. As a result of this decision the entire work of patrolling the harbour and rendering life saving service across the ten miles of waterfront from Victoria Park on the east to the Humber River on the west, had to be carried on from the station at Ward's Island.

The observation tower, immediately west of the Eastern Channel, commenced in the fall of 1913, was completed early in May, 1914, and constant lookout was immediately maintained from it. During this year and the years 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918 the agreement of 1912 remained in force, the life saving service being carried on under Government control in a similar manner to previous years. On May 9th, 1919, the life saving station at Ward's Island was destroyed by fire. As during the period between 1914 and the above date, no calls had been made for the protection of the mercantile marine, the Government considered that the service had been maintained for the sole benefit of the boating and swimming public, and for police work in the harbour, and offered to transfer to the Harbour Commissioners all life saving apparatus, boats, appliances, etc., in hand, and in addition pay the sum of $3,000 per year towards its maintenance and operation for such work as the Commissioners might be called upon to perform in the way of assistance in case of disaster, fire or shipwreck, to general lake traffic in the vicinity of Toronto Habour, the Harbour Commissioners to have full control of all life saving and patrol service in and for Toronto Harbour.

This offer was accepted and the transfer made on August 15th, 1919. On December 15th the entire life saving crew was disbanded for reorganization.

Following this transfer the number of stations equipped with life saving appliances, along the harbour front, lake front, Toronto Island and the

Eastern Harbour Terminals, was increased to 120 and the necessary appliances purchased.

One high power launch, three small disappearing propeller boats, *John Bull* type, for life saving purposes, one motor launch for life saving and patrol work, and one skiff for dragging purposes were purchased by the Commissioners. Four pulmotors were also added to the life saving equipment.

The first observatory buildings were completed in 1840, the observations previous to that time having been taken in the old barracks on Bathurst Street. The first director was Lieut. Riddell, of the Royal Artillery; he was succeeded by Lieut. Younghusband in 1841, who in turn was followed by Lieut. Lefroy, R.A. The observatory ceased to be an Imperial establishment in 1853, when the Canadian Government assumed control of it. Professor Cherriman was the first director under the Canadian Government and held the position until 1855. He was succeeded by Professor G. T. Kingston. After him came Professor Carpmael, and on his death in 1894 Sir R. F. Stupart, the present director, was appointed to the vacancy.

The system of storm signals was invented by Admiral Robert Fitzroy in 1863, and in 1869 it was taken up in America. The observatory became the hub of the storm signal service, which was inaugurated in Canada in 1872 by Professor G. T. Kingston; the fifth director of the Toronto Magnetic Observatory, and in 1873 storm signals were in operation at Collingwood, Saugeen, Kincardine, Port Stanley, Port Dover, Cobourg, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, Point du Chene, Halifax and Pictou.

In April 1874, the storm signal mast was erected at Toronto, since which date the service has been in operation.

The first railway in Upper Canada was built in 1829 and ran from Queenston to Chippewa; it was operated by horse power and used principally in the forwarding business, but owing to the opening of the Welland Canal, in the same year, the enterprise proved a failure.

The initial steps towards obtaining railway facilities for Toronto were taken in the year 1835, when a few of the citizens, realizing the benefits to be derived by improved land transportation, promoted what was then known as the Toronto and Lake Simcoe Railway, between Toronto and Lake Simcoe. Mr. Thomas Roy was engaged to make the preliminary surveys and on July of the same year he presented his report.

CHAPTER III.

RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION

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ABOUT one hundred and fifty passenger trains pass in and out of Toronto daily. Due to the process of amalgamation, hereafter referred to, all lines now running in and out of the city are operated by the two large systems, the Canadian National (which may now be said to include the Grand Trunk) and the Canadian Pacific. The importance of the city as a railway centre grew with the natural development of the country, trade and commerce finding their natural inlet and outlet for the whole province at this point. Its position as a lake port also has facilitated the interchange of traffic of the two different systems of transportation. The rail and lake traffic centered at Toronto has assisted materially in the growth of the city and the prosperity of the people.

It was in the fifties that the fever struck Canada for the promotion of railways, and the Government granted charters to many companies, organized for the purpose of building through different sections of the country. The people of Toronto at this time fully recognized that the old system of travelling and communication should be improved and the idea was conceived of building a railway that would supersede the old Yonge Street trail or road, and provide a through route from Chicago to the sea. Toronto and other municipalities were generous in voting subsidies which would bring about closer relations between eastern and western neighbors.

The first railway to be built out of Toronto, following the agitation for the improved method of transportation, was constructed northward and known at first as the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway. This line, strictly speaking, grew out of a charter granted in 1849 to the Toronto, Sarnia and Lake Huron Railway Company, capitalized at 500,000 pounds sterling. The proposed road was to run from Toronto to some point on the southerly shore of Lake Huron, touching the town of Barrie on the way. The road was to be completed in ten years and the company was authorized to raise the amount of stock by subscription or by lottery. The lottery scheme was never carried out. By an Act of Parliament the title was changed to the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway Company and in 1858 its name was again changed to that of the Northern Railway of Canada.

The length of this road was to be ninety-four miles and the first section of it, from Toronto to Aurora, a distance of thirty miles, was opened in May, 1853, before the ballasting was completed. The next section, as far as Bradford, was ready for traffic in June, 1853; the third section to Barrie in October, 1853; a branch of a mile and a half to Belle Ewart in May, 1854, and the balance to Collingwood before the end of 1854. The first sod for this railway was turned by Lady Elgin on October 15th, 1852, at a spot nearly opposite the old Parliament Buildings on Front Street, between Simcoe and John Streets.

The name of Mr. F. C. Capreol appears with great frequency in all public documents relating to the promotion and early organization of the Northern Railway, Mr. Capreol was an Englishman who had spent two years in Canada before 1830 in the employ of the Northwest Fur Company. He returned in 1833, coming by New York, and pausing in that city long enough to marry Miss Skyring, whom he had met on shipboard. That very fact may throw some light on the decisiveness and energy which characterized him in all his undertakings. On arriving in Toronto he took up land on the Credit River, but his temperament was not that of the ordinary settler. He preferred to engage in mercantile pursuits. When the "railway fever" began to manifest itself in Parliament and among business men, Mr. Capreol applied his undoubted abilities to the pleasant task of dreaming dreams and making his dreams come true. He had genius in the presentation of a case to any public body, was a publicity agent of parts, and saw the future in roseate tints. Perhaps he was not so well equipped for the humdrum task of making his projects pay, once they were on foot. Certainly in his opinion he was less than fairly used. Morgan says—and there are evidences that Mr. Capreol may have seen the manuscript before its publication—"It is a well-known fact that to Mr. Capreol the Northern Railway owes its existence. It was he who projected it and promoted the design almost unaided, and at his own expense forwarded the preliminary arrangements. When all other men and means had failed to obtain a charter Mr. Capreol stepped forward and successfully overcame all difficulties, got an Act passed in the Legislature, and when the same Act was reserved for the Royal assent at home, he proceeded to England and in the short space of seven weeks returned to Canada having successfully accomplished the object of his voyage. After he had been appointed to the office of Manager of the railway and had been recognized by the directors as the originator of the scheme, the 'father of the undertaking,' these directors, to their shame and dishonor be it said, dismissed him from office on the day previous to the first sod being turned. Great efforts were made to reinstate him; the citizens of Toronto petitioned the directors, as also did the Board of Trade of that city, but all to no purpose. Mr. Capreol had incurred the malice of one of these directors and to this low and petty annoyance alone could his dismissal be ascribed." The article recites the fact that bonds of the railway to an amount of £11,000 were granted to Mr. Capreol for the expenses of flotation, but adds that these expenses were actually more than the par value of the bonds by £1,350. It adds that nothing further was received from the Company. Afterwards Mr. Capreol travelled in Europe, and while in London was presented with a handsome service of seventeen pieces of plate on behalf of the citizens of Toronto. Clearly this is an *ex parte* statement Promotion expenses of $60,000 for a railway such as the old Northern seem rather high. Perhaps that was one cause for the change in management. In the Anglo-American Magazine for September, 1852, the following news-item occurs: "Some new appointments have been lately made on the Northern Railway consequent upon the resignation of the Hon. H. C. Seymour, late engineer-in-chief, whose heavy engagements in the United States induced him to retire from that office. The Company has appointed F. C. Cumberland, Esq., as his successor." Possibly the man who, like Colonel Mulberry Sellars, could dream useful dreams was not suited for the more prosy task of keeping expenditures within the limits set by the revenue.

If Mr. Capreol was harshly treated by the Northern Directors, his name at least is being perpetuated in railway circles, as the Canadian Northern applied it to the divisional point established near Sudbury, where their lines to Toronto and Montreal diverge. The town is already looking forward to the attainment of Metropolitan stature.

The company found after entering into various contracts for operation in conjunction with steamers between Collingwood and Lake Michigan ports, including Chicago, that they were suffering financial losses. Connections with the steamers were finally abandoned and by 1871 the operating costs of the road had dropped from about about eighty per cent. to fifty-eight per cent. of the gross earnings. The railway proved to be of immense value to Toronto in the early days, as it opened up a large lumber trade on the Georgian Bay and decided the supremacy of Toronto as the greatest distributing centre for Ontario.

Nearly seventy years have passed since the first train on this road pulled out of Toronto, piloted by the engine called after the city itself. With wood sparks spouting out of the smoke stack, this engine drew four yellow passenger cars over the first section of the road as far as Machell's Corners, now Aurora. This was in the days when Toronto had a population of 36,000. It was not till 1878 that coal was used to generate steam. The furnace of the engine was fed with four-foot cordwood sticks of either maple, beech, elm or birch, and the fireman was a busy man during his run keeping up steam. The old engines would eat up the wood almost as fast as the stoking could be done. The furnace door could only be opened for a moment when wood was thrown in, as the steam pressure would go down. Once the old *Lady Elgin,* one of the first engines on the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron, named after the big lakes, but jokingly referred to as the "Oats, Straw and Hay Railway," stopped eight times between Collingwood and Toronto as the steam failed. In those days wood cost $1.50 to $2.00 per cord.

A young man, who became ambitious to drive a railway locomotive, did not begin as a wiper as one must do to-day, for all such work was done by special gangs of men at the terminals. No automatic oilers existed on the engines, and it was the fireman's job to creep along the running board while the train was in motion and place tallow in the bearings. There was considerable danger attached to this work, as the man had to crawl all the way around the engine. Especially was this work dangerous in cold or other inclement weather. Fires were often started in the woods and forests along the railway tracks from the flying sparks and wire screens had to be fastened across the top of the smoke stack. The accumulation of cinders in these screens had to be removed frequently by striking the mouth of the stack with a long pole. The average rate of speed of the passenger trains was from 18 to 20 miles an hour. The old O. S. & H. after it became the Northern, owned 18 locomotives, of which 13 had names. No. 1 was the *Lady Elgin;* No. 2, *Toronto;* No. 3, *Josephine;* No. 4, *Huron;* No. 5, *Ontario;* No. 6, *Simcoe;* No. 7, *Seymour;* No. 8, *Collingwood;* No. 9, *Hercules;* No. 10, *Samson;* Nos. 11 and 12 had no names; No. 13, *George Beatty;* Nos. 14, 15 and 18, no names; No. 16, *J. C. Morrison,* and No. 17, *Cumberland.* They were all small engines, as compared with those of the present day, but they shone with brass work and polish. The bands of the boilers, the edge of the running boards, the dome, whistle, bell and other attachments were either brass or copper. The boiler was glossy black and coated with tallow, while the cab and tender were gaily painted. The appearance of the engines was a great source of pride to the engineers and the firemen.

The *Cumberland,* named after Frederick Cumberland, the first general manager of the Northern Railway, pulled the Royal train from Toronto to Collingwood and back on Sept. 10th, 1860, with King Edward, then Prince of Wales, on board. Conductor John Harvie, the pioneer railway conductor, had charge of the train and Levi Williams was the engineer on the northbound trip, while Joshua Metzker went ahead on the pilot engine. They reversed positions on the return trip so both could have the honor of hauling the young Prince, who wore a huge white "plug" hat, a stylish head-gear of that day. James Tillinghast was master mechanic in those days and afterwards rose to be general superintendent of the New York Central Railway.

In 1860 and for years after, there was only one semaphore at the junction of the Northern and the Grand Trunk at the foot of Strachan Avenue, and another at Collingwood, a distance of 95 miles. Telegraph operators did not work at night then, so that freight specials ran over a dark track. The early engines could make 35 and 40 miles an hour with a light load, but as the rails were made of Lowmoor iron they soon wore out and engineers had to be careful. The hand brakes were of a crude type. It was in the early 'eighties before the Westinghouse air brake was used in Canada. Opposite a certain sign post before stations were reached, or sometimes half a mile before the engineer wanted to stop, the whistle would blow "down brakes," and there would be a rush by the brakemen over freight cars or through passenger coaches to twist around the old "Armstrongs."

Minor accidents were not uncommon in the old days of railroading out of Toronto. One of the first caused the death of a soldier who fell under a freight train in 1854 and had both legs cut off.

The *Toronto,* the second engine of the O. S. & H., was built at Goode's foundry and engine shops, but the *Lady Elgin* was constructed at Portland, Maine, and was brought to Toronto on a vessel from Oswego. She was an engine of the hook motion type of action and her throttle had to be handled very gingerly to prevent the pistons from taking a full stroke, which made it difficult to move her about in the yards. Later engines had the improved action, whereby the stroke could be regulated. The old *Samson* was one of the best of the early engines, but she blew up at Barrie in 1868. Both the fireman, Robert Gibson, and the engineer, John Bracken, were off at dinner hour. The former, however, had a narrow escape as he was on his way back to stoke up.

The road bed ran through a solid forest almost all the way from Toronto to Barrie, but since then all the magnificent white pine and hardwood have disappeared. The forest fairly walled the track in when a fair distance out of Toronto, while the train ran through clumps of bush within measurable distance of the city. The forest close to the tracks protected the right of way in winter time, but when the bush was cut away near the tracks snow plows had to be used.

A good deal of grain and timber was shipped from Collingwood. Freight specials would run between Toronto and Collingwood at night, only ten minutes apart, and with no telegraph operator along the line. Grain from Chicago came by way of Collingwood instead of Sarnia, as it does to-day. The big trade, however, was in lumber, immense quantities of logs reaching Collingwood from all over Georgian Bay. Much of it was sawn and shipped, but a good deal of squared timber was carried, some of the logs being so long that two flat cars with an extension coupler between them would be required to convey them to Toronto. Crawling over such gaps in icy weather was risky work for the brakemen. Train loads of this timber were dumped in Toronto Bay and rafted to Quebec for shipment to England. In those days it looked as if Ontario's timber wealth would last forever, but all these forests have practically disappeared.

Wages were low in the early days, although the dollar was three times as valuable as it is to-day. Engineers got from $60 to $65 a month, conductors from $40 to $45 a month; firemen received $1.15 a day and brakemen a dollar a day. Hours were long and sometimes as the result of snow storms and blockades men would be on duty for three and four days without relief. Fathers and grandfathers of railroad men to-day had rough times on the icy tops of freight cars, and running risks with the old draw-bar couplers.

About the same time that the O. S. & H. was being projected a railway charter was taken out for a line westerly to connect with Hamilton, which place was favored as being one of the stations on the main line of the Great Western Railway from Niagara to Detroit, opened for traffic in 1854. In 1852 an Act was passed incorporating the Hamilton and Toronto Railway Company with power to build a line 38 miles long connecting the cities. The contract was let to George Wythes. A year later this road was leased to the Great Western Railway Company at a rental of six per cent. on its capital cost, together with an equal participation in any dividends earned by the Great Western beyond that amount. The rolling stock and station buildings were supplied by the Great Western at a cost of $400,000, and the line was opened for traffic December 3rd, 1856. An arrangement for amalgamation with the Great Western, made in 1855, went into effect the year it was opened. In the Great Western accounts for July, 1856, this branch was debited with an expenditure of $1,860,556, the cost of the line and equipment.

The other branch lines, which came under the control of the Great Western about this time were the Erie and Niagara, from Fort Erie to Niagara, thirty-one miles; Galt to Guelph and Harrisburg to Guelph, twenty-seven miles; the Sarnia branch from Komoka, west of London, to Sarnia, fifty-one miles, and a line from the Sarnia branch at Wyoming to the oil region of Petrolia, five-and-a-half miles. These various amalgamations with the Great Western brought about connections between Toronto and the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers by way of the line to Hamilton. The main line of the Great Western was from Niagara to Hamilton and thence through Brantford, Woodstock and London to Windsor and Detroit.

By 1860 Toronto had railways entering her borders from the west, north and east, the Grand Trunk having arrived in the year 1856, when the main line had been completed between Montreal and Toronto. There was a small station on the east side of the Don River. About the same time the construction of the line from Toronto to Guelph was under way, the charter of this road having been taken over by the Grand Trunk. The Buffalo and Goderich line was also absorbed about this time. The Toronto and Guelph had powers to extend to Sarnia, which were later taken advantage of by the big system of that day. An Act of Parliament of December 18th, 1854, brought about the amalgamation of the lines from Montreal to Kingston, Kingston to Toronto and Toronto to Sarnia. The original gauge of the track was five feet six inches, but this was changed to four feet eight and a half inches. The gauge of the Great Western was also changed late in 1870 to the same gauge as the Grand Trunk so as to facilitate interchange in traffic.

The fever for railways continued for a number of years after this, and the 'seventies saw the construction of more independent railways out of Toronto. These were the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, the Toronto and Nipissing, and the Credit Valley. The two former were practically the promotions of Toronto merchants, who conceived the idea of putting railroading on a paying basis by narrow-gauge construction and the use of light engines and cars. This gauge was three feet six inches and the old box cars were so light that it was possible to shove one along by hand. Such business firms as A. R. McMaster Co., Rice Lewis & Son and Gordon, Mackay & Co. were behind the T. G. & B., Gooderham and Worts and the John Shedden firm supported the Toronto and Nipissing. The Toronto, Grey and Bruce was eventually built as far as Teeswater, with a branch to Owen Sound from Orangeville Junction. The Toronto and Nipissing was constructed as far as Uxbridge and eventually to Coboconk, but was later taken over by a railway already built from Midland to Port Hope and what is now known as the Midland division of the Grand Trunk. The Toronto, Grey and Bruce had a makeshift station on the south side of Front Street at Simcoe Street, and the Toronto and Nipissing had its station at the southern end of Berkeley Street. In those early days the Toronto, Grey and Bruce used to run over the Grand Trunk tracks to Weston by having an extra inside rail to suit the narrow gauge rolling stock and the Toronto and Nipissing in a similar manner ran over Grand Trunk tracks to Scarboro' Junction.

The Credit Valley Railway started as an independent company with a number of bonuses from various cities and municipalities, including Toronto, about the year 1873. The construction of this road, however, did not become an accomplished fact until 1881. It ran from Toronto to St. Thomas, with a branch to Fergus and Elora and Orangeville, the line to Fergus and Elora striking off the one to Orangeville at Cataract Junction. Later a branch of this railway was built from Woodstock to London and eventually to Windsor.

The two chief railway systems up to the late 'seventies were the Grand Trunk and the Great Western.

The Great Western Railway at first had connections with the Michigan Central at Detroit and with the New York Central at Suspension Bridge. While these lines were under separate management the position of the Great Western as a necessary link between New York and Chicago was most fortunate. But the Vanderbilts secured control of the New York Central, the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern, and in order to be free of their dependence acquired the ownership of the Canada Southern. Moreover, the competition between the Grand Trunk and the Great Western was too keen to be profitable to either. Accordingly the two lines were amalgamated in August, 1882.

Other lines, which also were absorbed by the large system, were the Northern, the Midland and the Hamilton and Northwestern, which ran from Hamilton to Barrie.

The next stage in railway transportation in Toronto came with the birth of the Canadian Pacific. A charter for a railway from Toronto to Ottawa had been taken out in the name of the Ontario and Quebec Railway Company. This was taken over by the Canadian Pacific, which carried out the construction of the road and about the same time took over the Credit Valley system and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce. The line built from Toronto to Ottawa also had an extension from Smith's Falls to Montreal. In the meantime the old Northern on the Grand Trunk System had been extended from Barrie to Orillia, later to Gravenhurst and in the late 'eighties to North Bay, making an important connection for Toronto with Western Canada, for at that time the Canadian Pacific Railway main line was in operation east and west. The Canadian Pacific later built its own connection between Toronto and its main line from Sudbury to Bolton, where it joins the old Toronto, Grey and Bruce line, which the Company years before had taken over. By the time the Canadian Pacific was constructing its line south from Sudbury, the Ontario Government had built a railway from North Bay to Englehart to open the Cobalt mining district. This line was later extended to Cochrane to connect with the Grant Trunk Pacific transcontinental line. As the result of running-rights privileges arranged between the Ontario Government and the Grand Trunk another connection for Toronto with Western Canada was created. About the year 1910 or 1911 the Canadian Pacific constructed its southern road along the north shore of Lake Ontario almost parallel with the main line of the Grand Trunk. The line turns northeast just east of Belleville and joins the Toronto and Ottawa line at Glen Tay, west of Smith's Falls.

The last independent railway to enter Toronto was the Canadian Northern, which established its head offices in Toronto. Its entry is of comparatively recent rate, and brought about another direct line from Toronto to Ottawa, with a line running northward through the mining districts of Sudbury, connecting at Capreol with the System's Transcontinental line. In the first decade of this century the Canadian Northern, seeking business in the east, began constructing and acquiring local lines into various eastern cities in order that tonnage would be ready for the main line when it should be connected east and west across Canada. Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, railway builders and owners, lived in Toronto and Mr. D. B. Hanna, previously in charge at Winnipeg, came to the headquarters of the road in 1902 as third vice-president and operating head of all the Canadian Northern lines. The line from Toronto to Parry Sound was opened in 1906, to Sudbury in 1908 and later extended north and west to the mine fields at Sellwood, Gowganda and Ruel. The line from Toronto to Ottawa was opened as far as Deseronto in 1911, and to Ottawa in 1914. As a line had been built before this between Ottawa and Hawkesbury, this gave the Canadian Northern connection with its Quebec lines and thus a through service between Toronto, Ottawa and Quebec, with a connection to Montreal from Joliette. The Transcontinental line was opened from Toronto to Vancouver in November of 1915. As a result of the Great War, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk, together with the Grand Trunk Pacific, (for which the Minister of Railways had been acting as Receiver) were taken over by the Government owing to their financial difficulties. They are now practically one system. Since the acquisition of the Canadian Northern and the establishment in 1918 of the Canadian National Railways, a term which also includes the Canadian Government's Railways (Intercolonial National Trans., etc.,) and the Grand Trunk Pacific, Toronto has been the headquarters of the system.

The growth or development of Toronto as a railway centre is shown by the increase in the passenger traffic from the year 1853, when two passenger trains were about the limit of service provided each day, to the present day, when 150 or more pass in and out of Toronto daily. Likewise the freight traffic has increased from a few thousand tons a year to about 2,000,000 tons. Such traffic increase of course demanded increased accommodation. The Grand Trunk built its city station between York and Simcoe Streets in 1873. At that time the Great Western had its Toronto offices and main station at Queen's Wharf, with a downtown terminal at the southern end of Yonge Street, now utilized as the fruit market. The Northern had its main station located at Spadina Avenue and Front Street, with a City Hall depot at what is now known as St. Lawrence Market. The Toronto and Nipissing station as mentioned before, was at Berkeley Street and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce on Front Street nearly opposite the old Parliament Buildings.

When the Grand Trunk took over the Great Western, the Northern and the Toronto and Nipissing, the passenger depots of the minor roads were abandoned and the Canadian Pacific, when it made its entry into Toronto, was granted running rights into the Grand Trunk Station. Business having increased switching and station extensions had to be made on a large scale to provide the proper accommodation. These extensions reached out from the old station to Front Street, and took four years to build under the supervision of Edmund Wragge. They were completed in 1896, having been constructed by the Grand Trunk. When completed, however, the two railways had equal rights and management through the incorporation of a holding company called the Toronto Terminal Co., which was composed of representatives of both companies. This same Terminal Company to-day

New Union Station
Façade, Royal Bank, cor. King and Yonge Streets
Part of Toronto's Skyline, viewed from the Island

has control of the new Union Depot, which has been built, but stands as a monument to future accommodation until an agreement is reached between the railways and the city with regard to the elevated approach of the tracks along the Esplanade. The old Union Station must be utilized until the question of viaduct or no viaduct is settled. The accommodation for some years past has been insufficient to meet the public demand and on special holidays the present facilities are not only insufficient, but are dangerous for thousands of people, who cross tracks on the level. This depot, including the original station built in 1873, cost about $3,000,000. In the meantime Toronto had other stations within her limits by reason of the annexations which had taken place. Parkdale and West Toronto had each a Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific depot, and Riverdale in the east had a Grand Trunk station. Sunnyside is a small union depot since the Canadian Pacific has running rights over the Grand Trunk to Hamilton. Davenport station on the old Northern line, is now within the present limits of the city.

The Canadian Pacific having control of the old Credit Valley through Toronto Junction (now West Toronto) and the old Ontario and Quebec line leaving Toronto by way of the Don Valley, it was natural to connect the two roads by a direct line across the north of the city, so as to avoid many miles of freight haulage by way of the Union Depot, and the water front. The station of North Toronto, ultimately became so important that the Company decided to erect a new building, which was completed in the year 1913 and cost, including the trackage, about $1,000,000.

When Toronto's new Union Depot is to be opened is still unknown. Some criticism has been heard because the building is not constructed as a terminal, but it will nevertheless prove to be elaborate, modern and convenient.

As the construction of the viaduct had not been definitely settled, it was necessary to design the new depot so that accommodation could be provided for trains running in on the ground level or else on elevated tracks. Should the viaduct scheme be finally adopted more space will be available underneath for use by the public. From the public standpoint the terminal track system would be preferable, but from a railway standpoint it is not so practicable, since it would mean considerable delay for through trains from Montreal to Chicago. The terminal system would also mean the unnecessary use of much valuable switching space on the waterfront.

The largest and most imposing part of the interior of the building is the concourse. It is 250 feet long, 80 feet wide and 87 feet high, and no megaphone will be required by gatemen to call out the departure of trains as the acoustic properties are excellent. That information regarding the arrival and departure of trains is recognized by the Toronto Terminals Co. as one of the most important requirements of the travelling public is shown by the installation of an information booth, which stands alone in the centre of the main department of the depot. It is circular in shape and the kiosk, which rises from the centre of the booth, has mechanical blackboards showing the time each train is due and the expected arrival of each. On the top of the kiosk is a large quadrangular clock.

There are twenty-three wickets available for selling tickets, ten for the Canadian Pacific and ten for the Canadian National. Three centre wickets are in reserve. At the eastern end are concessions for cigar, news and confectionary stands. One of the most striking features is the harmony of coloring produced by the selection of Tennessee marble for the flooring, creamy stone for the walls and the tile vaults of Gustavino construction for the dome shaped ceiling.

This concourse has no seating accommodation, but on passing through either one of the two doors in the west end, a spacious general waiting room is to be found, floored in Tennessee marble with its walls panelled in fumed oak. Rows of large quarter-cut oak seats in the open spaces under a section of the glass roof and similar semi-circular seats arranged in alcoves along the sides, give this room the most modern appearance. Behind the glass portion of the roof are arranged electric lights, which shed an even glow throughout. Every imaginable accommodation for the comfort and convenience of travellers is found in this noble building.

Its erection was first conceived as the result of the big fire in Toronto in the year 1904. Buildings covering many acres of ground along Front Street had been destroyed and thus was made possible the acquisition of a sufficiently large enough site between Bay Street and York Street, the block east of the old Union Depot. It was not until ten years later that actual construction began and, although operations were delayed during one year of the war, the building was practically completed in 1919. It is seven hundred and fifty feet long, two hundred feet wide, is seven storeys high in the middle and four storeys on the wings. The cost of construction was about $6,000,000, or nearly $10,000,000, including the trackage facilities, signals, etc.

In conjunction with the erection of depots of the past both the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific have provided freight sheds to take care of the loading and unloading of the large shipments in and out of Toronto. The largest of these are west of the Union Depot at present in use, both of which are four or five hundred feet long. The Canadian Pacific sheds recently erected at the corner of Simcoe and King Streets occupy most of the grounds used by the old Government House. The long shed along the north side of Wellington Street stretches from Simcoe Street to John Street . The Grand Trunk sheds are located on the site of the old Parliament Buildings along Front Street from Simcoe Street west. Yard accommodation for taking care of the rolling stock had to be provided as the result of Toronto's remarkable growth. Although the railways are somewhat short of delivery yard space they have acquired ample operating yards. The Grand Trunk yards are at Mimico in the west, at the foot of Bathurst Street and along the Don River in the central part of the city, and at York to the east of the city, while the Canadian Pacific operating yards are at John Street, in the Central part of the city, Lambton to the west of the municipality, and Leaside to the east. The Canadian Northern yards are along the Don river and at Leaside. All told, these yards contain about 2,000 acres.

The development of railway accommodation in Toronto has not been without its problems. The citizens have always been appreciative of the importance of railways into the city, and anxious also to provide rights of way and facilities for entry wherever possible. At the same time the privileges which have been granted in the past have proved somewhat of a detriment to the city's own development in the last twenty years. The remarkable growth of the city has created problems which have entailed a great deal of negotiation between the city and the railways, and even sessions of the Dominion Railway Board to adjust or settle the differences of opinion that have arisen. During all the years that steam engines have puffed their way in and out of the city they have nearly always run over tracks along the water front. This right of way entailed a great number of level crossings, which eventually proved to be a menace. For years the possibility of a viaduct had been a subject of discussion in Council. Consequently when the opportunity for the construction of a new Union Station arose the question of eliminating the level crossing dangers also arose. A bridge over the tracks at the foot of Yonge Street to remove the chief danger had been previously discussed, but when the new Union Station plans were submitted to the Dominion Railway Board the question of grade separation was introduced by George Mountain, engineer for the Railway Board.

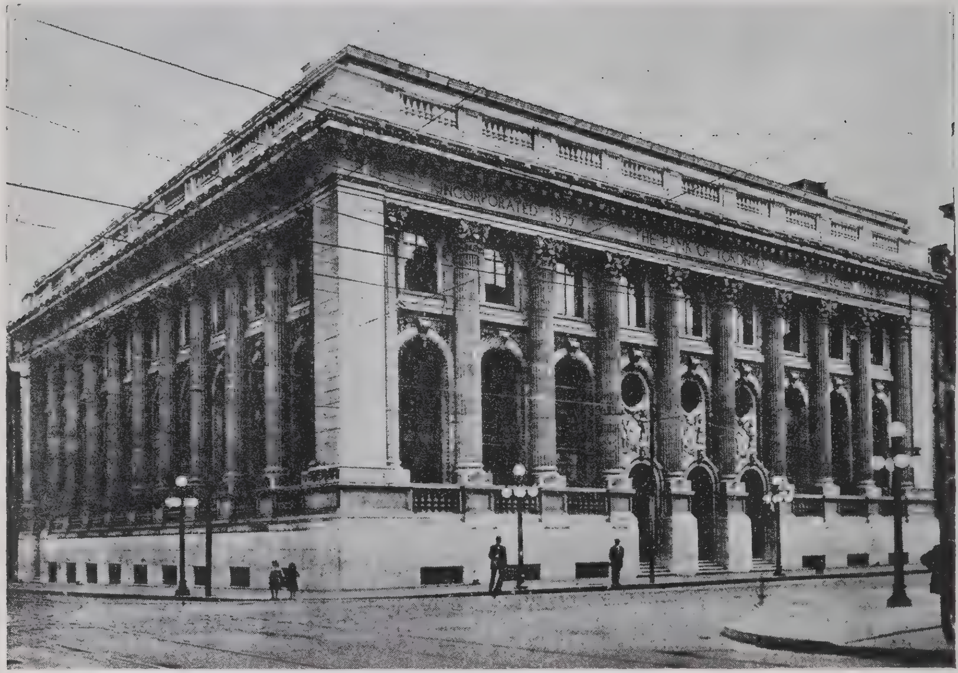
The construction of a viaduct is looked upon as the most necessary feature in connection with railway transportation development in Toronto. Under the order given by the Dominion Railway Board of June 9th, 1909, the viaduct is to start at Bathurst Street and end at Logan Avenue, a distance of nearly three miles. Delays in constructing this work occurred until the outbreak of the war, when no thought was given to its construction until the war was over. Since the war, however, the Dominion Government has come into possession of the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern. Despite the fact that the Government assumed all obligations of the Grand Trunk Railway, Toronto civic authorities have failed so far to have the viaduct order carried out. The railways are to be paid one third of the cost of the viaduct by the city, which in the last estimate made since the war, is around $34,000,000, including the new Union Station.

Another problem which Toronto has yet to solve before she is free of all her railway entanglements, is what is known as the northwest grade separation. The present existence of level crossings on Bloor Street West, Royce Avenue and St. Clair Avenue West, has held up for years the street railway transportation in the city, which naturally mars the development of the city along its natural lines. Before the whole problem is solved it will require a good deal of study and planning on the part of both the city and the railways. There is at present a very strong agitation for the elimination of the level crossing on Bloor Street West, as it causes a gap of half a mile long in the street railway line.

CHAPTER IV.

BANKING AND FINANCE

By A. R. R. JONES



Bank of Toronto

CHAPTER IV.

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By A. R. R. JONES

EVERY conceivable department of finance is fully represented in Toronto, from the small foreign money exchange bureau to the head offices of banking, insurance and trust companies. Every important street corner has at least one branch bank, serving the retail traders in the community, financing manufacturing and business establishments and providing a safe place of deposit for the savings of the people. Toronto is the second most important banking city in Canada, yielding precedence only to Montreal. It is the headquarters city for eight out of the seventeen chartered banks of Canada, and these eight institutions represent about fifty millions of paid up capital, out of a total of about one hundred and thirty millions for all seventeen banks combined. Fourteen banks in all have either their head offices or branches here. The total resources of all banks having representation and transacting business in Toronto exceed $2,600,000,000, guaranteeing stability and ample credit facilities to every sound and legitimate business enterprise.

That Toronto is a wealthy and generous community is proved by the enormous sums of money subscribed to the various war loans and donated to patriotic and Red Cross purposes. Although containing only about seven per cent. of the population of the Dominion, Toronto recorded approximately twenty per cent. of the two billions three hundred millions of subscriptions to Government loans issued for war purposes since 1915.

Banking and public finance in Upper Canada had its beginning in the Army Bills of the War of 1812. Originally issued as a convenient means of paying the troops, these bills became current among all the people. The total amount of bills outstanding on March 27th, 1815, was £1,249,996. By December 4th, 1820, practically the whole issue had been redeemed. The confidence of the people in the promise of a British Government to pay had been fully justified.

There was real need in Upper Canada for the establishment of Banks, and the people had been educated to the convenience of paper money. Probably if the British authorities had been less careful the Legislature of the Province would have followed the unwise example of certain American States and permitted the issue of a variety of unsecured paper. In Lower Canada the Bank of Montreal had been founded on June 23rd, 1817, as a private institution, and the Quebec Bank, organized on a similar basis, dated its establishment from June 7th, 1818. In the same year the Bank of Canada was founded—also as a private association. Incorporation had been sought for all three, but while the Legislature passed the Bills, they were reserved for the Royal assent, which was not immediately forthcoming. Similarly in this Province the House of Assembly was ready as early as in 1817 to incorporate the Bank of Upper Canada, promoted by some merchants of Kingston, but the Royal assent was not given until April, 1821.

Then conditions were that the Head Office should be not in Kingston, but in York, as the Capital of the Province, and that the Government should subscribe for one-quarter of the stock (2,000 shares) and name 4 of the 15 Directors. Thus the first bank in Toronto began business as a practical annex to the "Family Compact" and therefore as a political as well as a business institution. In 1830 a Bill for the creation of another Bank was rejected by the Legislative Council. By 1835 a private banking association called the Farmers' Joint Stock Banking Company began business with a capital of only £50,000, and proved useful to the newly incorporated City of Toronto—as has been already related. Two years later an Act was passed prohibiting the issue of notes without legislative authority, but exceptions were made in the case of private banks already established.

There was a financial panic in 1837 and some people had the notion that it was due to a physical scarcity of money or its representative equivalent. In consequence there were 25 applications for the incorporation of new banks. Nine bills were passed, but the Colonial Office had given clear warning against incautious multiplication of banks, and the bills were held for the Royal assent—an action which did not tend to increase the popularity of the Government. Meanwhile in the United States several banks had suspended specie payments and undoubtedly the Canadian institutions would have been wise to have followed suit. Sir Francis Bond Head—whose statesmanship and economic knowledge were on a parity—urged the banks to pay in specie until forced to stop. The Farmers' Bank suspended payments for two months, but the Bank of Upper Canada "carried on" until March, 1838. Then it stopped paying in specie until November, 1839. In 1838 the Bank of Montreal bought out a private association called The Bank of the People and began business in Upper Canada.

The Railway fever of 1851 had a serious effect upon the Bank of Upper Canada. Speculation in lands and railway building went to extremes and the Bank acquired many securities which were less secure than might have been hoped. By 1861 the Bank's capital had been reduced from about $3,000,000 to $1,900,000. Five years later the institution failed. The Government paid off the creditors on a basis of 75c. on the dollar, and itself lost all of its own claim which exceeded $1,000,000.

The Bank Act of 1870 was drafted in the light of the Bank of Upper Canada's unfortunate experience, and it has served to build up a banking system of undoubted flexibility which has served the country well. Decimal currency was adopted in Canada in the year 1857.

Under the Canadian system prevention of a too heavy note circulation is automatic. In the words of Sir Edmund Walker:

> "The presentation for actual redemption of every note not required for purposes of trade is assured by the fact that every Bank seeks by the activity of its own business to keep out its own notes, and therefore sends back daily for redemption the notes of all other banks."

Incorporation for the Bank of Canada was granted by Parliament in 1858 at the request of Hon. Mr. Cayley and others, but the proposed institution did not come into being until 1866. Then it was established by authority under the new name of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. William McMaster, the Baptist philanthropist, was elected President, Mr. H. S. Howland, vice-president, and Mr. Archibald Greer, cashier, the old-fashioned name for General Manager. The first branches were opened at London, St. Catharines and Barrie on May 14th, 1867, and the head office in Toronto began business on the following day. Mr. Greer was followed by Mr. R. J. Dallas, and he by Mr. H. S. Strathy, all within the space of two years. On October 12th, 1886 Mr. B. E. Walker (now Sir Edmund) became General Manager.

The Presidency fell to Mr. Henry W. Darling when Mr. McMaster resigned in 1886, and four years later Mr. George A. Cox assumed the office. In 1907 Sir Edmund Walker became President. His standing is international as a great banker, and a distinguished citizen.

The Canadian Bank of Commerce has absorbed five other institutions—the Gore Bank in 1869, which had been in existence since 1836, and had three branches, the Bank of British Columbia in 1900, with eleven branches, the Halifax Banking Company in 1902, with seventeen branches, the Merchants' Bank of Prince Edward Island, in 1905, with six branches, and the Eastern Townships Bank, in 1911, with sixty-three branches. The "Commerce" of to-day has over 500 branches and agencies. Twenty-seven of these are in Toronto. In 1921 the Bank reported deposits of $353,155,200. It had $23,477,574 of its notes in circulation and its coin, bullion and Dominion notes on hand were $65,162,871.

In 1872 Mr. J. C. Fitch and others were granted a charter for the St. Lawrence Bank of Canada which within two years had changed its name to the Standard Bank of Canada. The first general meeting of shareholders was held in January, 1873, when the following Directors were elected, J. C. Fitch, Toronto; W. F. Allen, Bowmanville; A. T. Todd, Toronto; John Cowan, Oshawa; Captain Thos. Dick, Toronto; R. C. Jamieson, Montreal. Mr. Fitch was elected President and Mr. Cowan as vice-president. Mr. K. F. Lockhart was appointed Cashier and business began on March 23rd, 1873, in the Hughes Brothers Building, at the corner of Jordan and Melinda streets. The paid-up capital was $100,927. Fifteen months later it was $426,130. The notes in circulation amounted to $368,252, and the deposits were $507,687. The dividend was 6 per cent. For the institution 1875 was a hard year. The dividend was passed, and the President resigned. The capitalization was reduced by 25 per cent. and Hon. T. N. Gibbs assumed the Presidency. Mr. John L. Brodie became Cashier with Mr. John S. Loudon as his assistant and by adopting a conservative policy soon brought the Bank to a sound position. Mr. Brodie died in 1894 and was succeeded by Mr. George P. Reid. Ten years later Mr. Reid was succeeded by Mr. G. P. Schofield who held office until his death in 1917. Mr. Charles H. Easson was then chosen as Manager. Through all these changes Mr. Loudon continued as assistant General Manager.

The Presidency after the death of Hon. Mr. Gibbs in 1883, was held successively by Mr. W. F. Cowan and by Mr. Wellington Francis, K.C. The Standard Bank's branches in 1875 were at London, Strathroy, Colborne, Bradford, Markham, Picton, Wingham, Harriston, Cannington and Oshawa. At present it has 175 branches. Twenty-seven of these were acquired when the Standard absorbed the Western Bank of Oshawa in 1909. The dividends have ranged from 6% to 14%, and shareholders have received in fifty years over $8,000,000. The total assets have grown from $1,335,164 to $83,293,000.

Mr. James Austin and Mr. Frank Smith were among the founders of the Dominion Bank which began business on February 1st, 1871, on the north side of King Street near Toronto Street. The first Board of Directors consisted of Mr. Austin as President, Mr. Peleg Howland, as vice-president, Mr. Frank Smith, Mr. James Crowther, Mr. James Holden, Mr. J. H. Mead and Mr. John Worthington. The first branches were at Whitby, Oshawa, Orillia and Uxbridge, with a City branch on Queen Street west. The paid-up capital in 1872 was $834,544. In 1883 Mr. Frank Smith succeeded Mr. Howland as Vice-President and became President in 1897. Mr. E. B. Osler was elected to the Presidency in 1901. The Dominion Bank's prosperity has been the natural result of a well-defined policy of caution which has never hardened into toryism. The present noble building which serves as a Head Office is the second erected by the Bank at the corner of King and Yonge Streets. The first which was utterly Victorian in design was first occupied in 1879 and did duty for forty years. The Dominion Bank is represented throughout Canada by 129 branches. The capital stock is now $6,000,000; the rest $7,000,000. The deposits are $98,804,300; the total assets $131,335,942.58.

The story of the Bank of Toronto goes back to 1854 when The Millers' Association of Canada West sought a charter for the establishment of a flour, grain and produce agency, an insurance association and a banking company. Parliament did not see fit to grant the wide powers asked for, but in the following year a banking charter was granted to the applicants. The Bank of Toronto opened for business on July 8th, 1855. The Directors were J. G. Chewett, President, Thos. Clarkson, Vice-President, R. Armour, J. B. Warren, John Brunskill, George Michie and William Cantley. Mr. Angus Cameron was the first general manager. Despite the depression of 1857 which strained the resources of many financial institutions, the paid-up capital by 1863 was $800,000 and the total assets approximately $2,000,000.

On the death of Mr. Chewett in 1863 Mr. Cameron was promoted to the Presidency and Mr. George Hague became Cashier. Mr. William Gooderham was President from 1864 to 1882, most of the time being served ably by his business partner, Mr. James G. Worts as Vice-President, Mr. Worts, Mr. George Gooderham, and Mr. William H. Beatty were succeeded in the Presidency by Mr. Duncan Coulson, whose eminence as a banker has international recognition. The Vice-President is Mr. W. G. Gooderham, and Mr. John R. Lamb is general manager.

The Bank started business on Church Street opposite St. James's Cathedral, and then in 1863 built handsome offices at the corner of Church and Wellington Streets which were occupied for fifty years. The present head-office at the corner of Bay and King Streets, is one of the noblest bank buildings in Canada, a veritable temple of finance. In 1921 the total assets were $99,307,835, the deposits were $78,966,977, the paid-up capital was $5,000,000 and the rest account showed $6,000,000. The Bank has 12 branches in Toronto and 145 throughout the Dominion.

The Imperial Bank of Canada (originally The Imperial Bank) was incorporated in 1873 but the financial depression was so sharply felt that sufficient capital to warrant the commencement of business was not available until 1875. On March 16th of that year the Bank was opened in the old Masonic Hall building on Toronto Street. It had first taken over the Niagara District Bank of which Mr. Thos. R. Merritt of St. Catharines was President. Mr. Merritt became Vice-President of the Imperial. The first President was Mr. H. S. Howland. Others on the Directorate were John Smith, the Hon. James R. Benson of St. Catharines, Patrick Hughes, William Ramsay, Robert Cairn, Thos. R. Wadsworth and John Fisken. The Cashier was Mr. D. R. Wilkie. For twenty-five years the same President, Vice-President and Cashier (or general manager) were in office. Then, on the death of Mr. Howland, Mr. Merritt succeeded, and Mr. Wilkie became Vice-President. He was President from 1906 to 1914, was followed for one month by Hon. Robert Jaffray, and then by Mr. Peleg Howland.

The first report in 1876 showed assets of $3,129,735, deposits of $1,576,713 and a circulation of $310,902. In 1921 these respective items were $128,376,612, $99,125,011, and $12,470,991. The Imperial has 24 branches in Toronto and 218 in all. Its dividend has never been lower than 7% and last year it stood at 12% with 1% bonus.

While the early banks were privileged to accept deposits, they did not encourage the custom of the small depositor. As the country was settled, the need became apparent for the establishment of banks for small savings; to afford a secure repository, with the allowance of an equitable rate of interest, for the convenience of the people. Accordingly, in 1841, at the first Parliamentary session after the Union, an Act was passed, authorizing the establishment of savings banks to be managed by responsible trustees, subject to Government supervision. It was under the Act that the "Toronto Savings Bank," the original of the present Home Bank of Canada, was established on June 3rd, 1854. The two men who were active in promoting the Toronto Savings Bank were totally dissimilar types of character—these were William John Macdonell, and D. K. Feehan; the one a student with a bent towards literary work, and the other an agent for a firm dealing in type and printers' supplies. Mr. Macdonell was a Scotch Canadian who had been educated in Quebec. Prior to the organization of the Toronto Savings Bank, his business was that of local agent for an Atlantic steamship line. A man of superior education, he possessed a remarkably fine private library. He was a proficient French scholar, and therefore a valued and helpful friend of the Catholic Bishop of the time, Right Reverend Armand Francis, Comte de Charbonnel.

D. K. Feehan was a thorough man about town with a wide circle of friends. He was active in military circles—the Captain of the Volunteer Rifle Company composed of Irish-Canadians; Captain A. M. Smith commanded the Highland Rifle Company, and Captains George Brook and John Nicholson, Companies Nos. 2 and 3, composed of English and native-born Canadians. Captain Feehan carried the patronage of his volunteer company en bloc to the new bank, together with that of their friends and associates. As his activities in the interests of the new bank were second to those of Mr. Macdonell, Captain Feehan was made Manager; and so the Toronto Savings Bank was launched.

The building at 78 Church Street was an admirable location for the Toronto Savings Bank in 1854. The Mechanics' Institute, now the Public Library, erected the same year at the corner of Church and Adelaide Streets, was a popular institution, and the Court House also gave prominence to the locality. It was a convenient distance from the market and the retail shopping district.

Among the early names associated with the Toronto Savings Bank is that of the late Eugene O'Keefe. He was ensign in Captain Feehan's Company, and entered the services of the bank as a junior, rising to the position of Accountant before resigning and going into business independently. In later years Mr. O'Keefe amassed great wealth, and was President of the Home Bank at the time of his death in 1913. The firm of O'Donohoe & Fitzgerald were solicitors for the Toronto Savings Bank. Mr. O'Donohoe, afterwards Senator, was a Lieutenant in Captain Feehan's Company when the Bank was organized. William J. Fitzgerald was in later years appointed Superintendent of Insurance for the Dominion.

Other names are those of Frank Smith, John Shea, a wealthy contractor and his son-in-law, James Stock. Patrick Foy, of the firm Foy & Austin, was also a trustee. He was the father of the late Hon. J. J. Foy, Attorney-General for the Province of Ontario, and for many years solicitor for the Home Savings and Loan Company.

Although Mr. Macdonell and Captain Feehan nominally continued as President and Manager of the Toronto Savings Bank until 1872, the more responsible duties of banking in making loans and investments were discharged by the trustees. The bank had rapidly drawn to itself an extensive savings account business, enjoying the confidence of all classes of the community. A quarter of a century ago there were scores of wealthy self-made men in Toronto who referred to the Toronto Savings as the bank where they had deposited their first dollar, and the appreciation for the institution was general. During many years it was the one bank where the depositor felt his dollar's worth of patronage was welcome, and although other institutions extended the same inducements in later years, the Toronto Savings Bank suffered no diminution of its popularity. On June 30, 1858, its deposits were £19,361 16s 4d.

Brigadier-General James Mason, Senator and Honorary President of the Home Bank of Canada, entered the services of the Toronto Savings Bank in 1866, in which year he was a private in the Queen's Own Rifles. He was officially made Assistant Manager in 1872, and Manager the following year. There was only one day of flurry in the history of the Toronto Savings Bank, and that was on Saturday, June 2nd, 1866, when news of the Fenian Raid caused a heavy demand from depositors for gold at all the banks. By Monday confidence had been restored and the funds withdrawn were eagerly returned for deposit.

Confederation brought a change in banking regulations throughout Canada. The Banking Act of 1871, the first general banking measure passed by the Federal Parliament, revoked the privileges extended by the Act of 1841, and required savings banks that had organized under the control of trustees to reorganize as joint stock companies, or transfer their business to the Government, or one of the banks operating under the general form of charter that had been evolved during the preceding thirty years. Although the Act of 1871 was to take prompt effect the management of the Toronto Savings Bank was granted the unusual privilege of a ten years' extension to their old charter. In 1878 a joint stock company was formed, and the institution became "The Home Savings & Loan Company, Limited," with Frank Smith as President, Eugene O'Keefe as Vice-President and James Mason as General Manager.

In 1905 the institution became the Home Bank of Canada. In 1922 it had assets of $30,021,490, and deposits of approximately $22,000,000. Mr. H. J. Daly is the President, and Mr. J. Cooper Mason, General Manager.

The youngest of the Banks doing business in Toronto is the Sterling, which was organized in 1906, and has its head office in the Cawthra mansion at the corner of King and Bay Streets. Among the early Directors were G. T. Somers, W. K. George, H. Wilberforce Aikins, M.D., William Dineen, R. Y. Eaton, J. T. Gordon, of Winnipeg, Sidney Jones, Noel Marshall and John H. Tilden, of Hamilton. The assets on April 30th, 1907, were $3,428,956.13. By April 30th, 1922, they had reached $23,444,226.69. Since 1912 the deposits have grown from $5,322,721 to $17,353,097. There are over 60 branches, 8 being in Toronto.

The Bank of Nova Scotia has its head office in Halifax, but the General Manager is stationed in Toronto, and its financial policy is established in this city.

Each month Canadians add $50,000,000 to their savings deposits. By a process of amalgamation Canadian banks have been trimmed down to the very strongest. Canada has adopted the Scottish system of having large banking organizations with many branches, thus eliminating reckless competition and ensuring safety and solidarity.

The strongly knit fabric of Canada's banking system commands attention. Far from concentrating large financial power in the large cities as some critics had anticipated, it has given every section of the country—the remote hamlet in the Peace River district and the rural community in Ontario—a reliable banking service that could not have been given in any other way. Each branch supplies its share of the total banking business and derives in turn its share of the benefits—namely further confidence and security.

Canadian banks have shown a steady growth and this growth has been remarkable during the past few years. At the outbreak of the war savings deposits were less than $700,000,000. They are now about twice that amount.

From a few institutions with a few widely scattered branches the banks have grown to gigantic enterprises, covering the entire western hemisphere.

Three of the Toronto banks have between them 65 branches in other countries. They are found in Great Britain, France, Spain, Mexico, South America, Cuba, British West Indies and Newfoundland. In addition the banks have formed agency connections with many foreign banking institutions.

One striking feature of Toronto's bank buildings is their architectural beauty. The Royal Bank, the Standard Bank, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Dominion Bank, the Bank of Toronto and a few others each have buildings worthy of their extensive interests in this city. Several other banks have plans that bid fair to eclipse even these in the appearance and design of their business homes, and others have enlargements of their present premises either under way or in prospect.

The origin of clearing houses is rather interesting although the time at which they were started is very indefinite. The first was in London. The original banks in London were private institutions and no records or information about them were made public. In an old cash book of 1760 reference was found regarding the expenses of the clearing house. In clearing cheques on each other's banks, boys were engaged as runners. These boys or young men would often meet at the Blue Pigeon or some other public eating house for a beefsteak and kidney pie. At one of these festivals one boy hit upon the plan of exchanging parcels and thus saving shoe leather. This experiment suggested the clearing house idea to the heads of the private banks.

Joint stock banks were at first refused admission to the clearing house, and it was not until the private banks desired to establish new and larger quarters that the joint stock banks were admitted—even then for a time they were only able to rent seats in the clearing house. It was not until the year 1864 that the Bank of England was allowed in, but it, being really the national bank, only cleared its cheques the one way, those known as the out cheques. This is the practice even to-day. It deposits cheques on other banks through the clearing house, but cheques which other banks have drawn on it are cleared at its own counter, the settlements being made on the Bank of England.

The first clearing house on the American continent was established in New York in the year 1854. The first in Canada was established at Halifax in 1886. Montreal followed suit in 1889, and Toronto was just a month behind Hamilton in starting one—on July 21, 1891.

Thirteen out of the fourteen chartered banks doing business in Toronto started the local clearing house, and although several of the banks of that day have either failed or have been absorbed by others, new banks have since been organized and to-day thirteen banks in Toronto are making use of the clearing house at the north-east corner of Yonge and Wellington Streets. The amount of clearings in Toronto for the first full year, that of 1892, was $326,000,000 as compared with $5,104,893,766 in 1921. The largest year's returns were in 1920 when they reached $5,410,214,802.

The following shows the total of Bank clearings in Toronto over a number of years:

Year	
1892	$ 326,000,000
1900	510,696,401
1907	1,228,905,517
1908	1,166,902,436
1909	1,437,700,477
1910	1,593,954,254
1911	1,852,397,605
1912	2,170,230,376
1913	2,181,281,507
1914	2,012,955,006
1915	1,855,956,257
1916	2,571,535,613
1917	3,004,785,565
1918	3,379,864,506
1919	4,251,644,303
1920	5,410,214,802
1921	5,104,893,766

In addition to the chartered banks, Toronto is the headquarters city for the Provincial Savings Banks, instituted in 1921 by the Ontario Government.

More important in the field of savings institutions, however, are the numerous trust, loan and savings corporations. Of these institutions, there are eighteen with headquarters in Toronto. Corporations such as the Toronto General Trust Co., or the National Trust Co., handle the investment and administration of funds making a total of over $100,000,000.

The following extract from the annual report for 1921 of the Toronto General Trusts Corporation gives some idea of the manner in which such large capital is allocated:—

Guaranteed Trusts Account

Mortgages:		
Principal	$ 6,603,239.25	
Interest due and accrued	365,185.56	
		$6,968,424.81
Canadian Municipal Debentures		700,192.36
Cash in Chartered Banks		72,722.03
		$7,741,339.20
Estates, Trusts and Agencies Account		
Mortgages on Real Estate	$14,147,837.61	
Govt. and Municipal Debentures	15,212,552.75	
Stocks and bonds	1,352,645.38	
Loans on debentures, Stocks and Bonds	1,321,264.68	
Sundry Assets	5,682.79	
Cash on hand and in Chartered Banks	1,561,388.15	
	$33,601,371.36	
Original assets, including real estate, mortgages Debentures, Stocks and bonds at inventory value	$73,995,374.70	
		$107,596,746.06

The Toronto General Trusts Corporation was the first trust company to be established in Canada. Organized in 1882, it began to do business in Toronto in the spring of that year. Others sprang up later. That there was a need for such institutions has been amply demonstrated by the extent of their business and the volume of assets under their care. The growth of some of these institutions during the last decade has been little short of phenomenal. For instance, in 1912, when the Toronto General Trusts had been in business for 30 years, the total assets under its supervision amounted to $50,000,000; while at the end of 1920, eight years later, another $60,000,000 of assets had been added. Again, the assets of the National Trust Co. have increased by over $90,000,000 during the last fifteen years as the following figures will show:

1906 assets under administration	$ 12,289,057
1911 " " "	28,244,611
1916 " " "	69,197,054
1921 " " "	102,812,549

Twenty-one trust companies registered in Ontario, of which ten have headquarters in Toronto, showed an aggregate of assets under the heading of "company funds" of $32,989,410 at the close of 1921, representing an increase of over a million and a half dollars over the previous year. The increase in mortgages on real estate (the principal investment) was about equal to the growth in assets, the total amount of mortgages held being $10,883,544. The total assets under the heading of "guaranteed funds" were reduced from $37,915,302 to $36,154,518, with a slight decrease in mortgages on real estate, the total of the latter being $22,192,672.

While the business of the trust companies is mainly the investment of funds entrusted to them by private individuals or the administration of estates and investment of large assets, the loan and savings corporations fulfil a somewhat different function. They raise money either through the sale of their own debentures or through taking in public deposits which are loaned out on real estate mortgages. All these institutions draw heavily on the public wealth and take in savings or investment funds on which they grant a rate of interest somewhat higher than that of the chartered banks.

Toronto's relations with the foreign money market are carried on more through the bond houses than through any other channel. When a Canadian province or city desires to borrow a large sum of money, the Canadian bond houses frequently arrange through their American associates to float the loan in the United States.

In 1920, of the total bond sales of about $325,000,000, more than two-thirds were sold in the United States. In 1921, however, Canada was less dependent upon foreign help than in the previous year, for of the total bond sales of more than $400,000,000, considerably less than half went to the United States, while a small amount was disposed of in the United Kingdom. Before the war most of Canada's foreign borrowing was done in England, but with the outbreak of hostilities and Britain's own need for capital for war purposes, the English money market was practically closed.

The following summary of bond sales in all markets from 1908 to 1921 furnishes its own commentary:

Year	Sold in Canada	Sold in United Kingdom	Sold in United States	Total
1908	$24,585,140	$165,455,031	$ 6,316,350	$196,356,521
1909	60,433,964	194,356,788	10,367,500	265,158,252
1910	39,296,462	188,070,128	3,634,000	231,000,590
1911	44,989,878	204,269,143	17,553,967	266,812,988
1912	37,735,182	204,236,394	30,966,406	272,937,982
1913	45,603,753	277,470,780	50,720,762	373,795,295
1914	32,999,860	185,990,659	53,944,548	272,935,067
1915	114,275,214	41,175,000	178,606,114	335,106,328
1916	102,938,778	5,000,000	206,943,764	*356,882,542
1917	546,330,714	5,000,000	174,708,365	726,039,079
1918	727,446,361	14,600,000	33,310,000	775,356,361
1919	705,385,419	5,105,133	199,446,670	909,937,222
1920	101,830,667		223,084,000	324,914,667
1921	213,326,543	12,151,000	178,113,613	403,591,156

It was not expected that the expansion in the foreign banking organization of Canada which took place during 1919 and 1920 should have continued in full force during 1921. That year was one of retrenchment for all business, but the retention of existing foreign branches of Canadian institutions, coupled with the establishment by the Canadian Bank of Commerce of offices in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Port of Spain, Trinidad, forms a striking contrast with the retirement of various United States banks from the foreign field, and the closing of many of their foreign branches. Schooled as is the Canadian banking organization in the business of branch banking by long experience in this country, the establishment and maintenance of offices abroad does not present the same difficulty as to others less favorably situated.

Foreign branches of Canadian banks are not, as is sometimes thought, limited in their activities to business emanating from this country. On the contrary, they make collections and establish credits on behalf of correspondent banks in many countries. Naturally, the greatest volume of such business comes from the United States. There is strong competition for all this business and a large portion goes to Canadian institutions simply because the general services they render are equal to those provided by the overseas connections of banks of other countries.

All the larger Canadian banks now have their own establishments in New York and London, and some have offices in Paris. Therefore, through their own offices, or through correspondents, Canadian banks are in a position to conduct their foreign exchange business efficiently. Canadian foreign trade amounted to $182 per capita for the year 1921, which is well in advance of the per capita foreign trade done either by the United Kingdom or the United States.

Provincial and municipal bodies from British Columbia to Newfoundland look to the investment bankers of Toronto to provide funds for their

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* Included in this sum is $8,000,000 of a total of $50,000,000 Canadian bonds repurchased in the United Kingdom between the war years 1914 and 1916. The inclusion of the $42,000,000 of unclassified repurchases brings the total of Canadian bond sales in 1916 to $356,000,000.

public works and other capital requirements. With scarcely half a dozen exceptions every provincial bond issue in 1919 was negotiated through Toronto bond houses or through the Toronto offices of New York banking institutions. Owing to the high premium on New York funds most of these issues found their way ultimately to the United States.

In the 1919 Victory loan following upon the world's record for public bond buying established in 1918 Toronto subscribed $146,329,600. In view of the absence of the war fervor and the fact that this loan was subject to Dominion income tax as opposed to the previous loans which were tax-exempt, this figure compares remarkably well with the total of $147,943,000 subscribed by Toronto in the 1918 campaign. Of the 1917 Victory loan, Toronto subscribed $76,256,315.

How Toronto's subscriptions in 1919 compared with subscriptions of other cities in Canada can be seen from the following table:—

Toronto	$ 146,329,600
Montreal	126,000,000
Winnipeg	23,787,250
Hamilton	20,466,600
Vancouver	13,813,210
Ottawa	12,419,200
London	10,251,000
Halifax	7,000,000
Victoria	6,744,800
Calgary	5,116,900

The following table shows how Ontario's subscriptions to the three Victory loans compared with other Provincial subscriptions:

Province	1917	1918	1919
Ontario	204,185,400	329,682,950	354,000,000
British Columbia	18,814,700	35,396,667	35,000,000
Alberta	16,515,150	18,189,600	16,000,000
Saskatchewan	21,777,050	23,889,000	20,000,000
Manitoba	32,326,600	43,639,900	40,000,000
Quebec	94,287,250	175,757,250	161,000,000
New Brunswick	10,463,350	16,500,000	14,000,000
Nova Scotia	18,588,150	30,102,500	28,000,000
Prince Edward Island	2,331,350	2,900,000	3,000,000

An interesting romance could be written about the marvellous organization which has been built up by some of the more progressive Toronto bond firms. One case could be cited where 15 years ago a small office was occupied by two energetic young partners, assisted by a clerk, stenographer and office boy. The same firm now employs a staff of nearly 70 persons and has offices in London, New York and several Canadian cities.

Life Insurance, that most fascinating branch of finance and higher mathematics, is a modern science. In the middle 'forties Mr. Hugh C. Baker of Hamilton applied for insurance to a British Company. Before his application was accepted he had to go to New York for medical examination. On his return he and some associates organized the Canada Life Assurance Company and set out upon the considerable task of educating the public mind. Mr. Baker was the first President. The first policy was issued on October 29th, 1847. The total receipts for the first year on 144 policies were £2,153, and the total assurance written was £59,650. The story of the early struggles and triumphs of the Company belongs rather to the City of Hamilton, but in 1899 the Head Office was removed to Toronto and Mr. George A. Cox became the President. From that day the progress of the Company and the general development of the Insurance Idea have been phenomenal.

Toronto is now the centre of the life insurance business in Canada. Eleven of the large "life" companies have their head offices here. Their activities extend into all parts of the world, as besides writing insurance in every province of the Dominion many of Toronto's life insurance companies issue policies in Newfoundland, British West Indies, the United States, Mexico and Central America, South America, Denmark, Norway, India and the East Indies, Japan and a number of other countries. The people of Canada carry close upon $3,000,000,000 of life insurance, a truly impressive object lesson of Canadian thrift and foresight.

The following table shows the amount of new business written in Canada during a number of years since 1875, with the total of life insurance in force.

Year	New Life Insurance	Life Insurance in Force
1875	$ 15,074,258	$ 85,009,264
1885	27,164,988	149,962,146
1895	44,341,198	319,257,581
1905	105,907,336	630,334,240
1915	221,119,558	1,311,616,677
1916	231,101,625	1,422,179,632
1917	282,120,430	1,585,042,563
1918	313,060,106	1,765,376,691
1919	517,863,639	2,187,833,396
1920	630,110,900	2,657,037,219
1921	x 600,000,000	x 3,000,000,000

There are about one hundred and twenty-five companies writing fire insurance in Canada, and most of these have head offices, branch offices, agencies or representatives in Toronto. Twenty-five of them are strictly Canadian companies, another thirty or forty are companies having their head offices in the British Isles and the remainder are largely of American origin.

Toronto has always had small fire losses, compared with Dominion or Provincial averages, and for that reason the city has been regarded as a good field of operation for fire insurance men. In fact, there has been only one serious conflagration in the city's history. This was on April, 19, 1904, when the property loss amounted to about $12,000,000. Since that time fire protection facilities have increased so that a serious fire is practically impossible.

In addition to Life and Fire Insurance, Toronto is the headquarters of numerous Accident, Burglary and other Companies.

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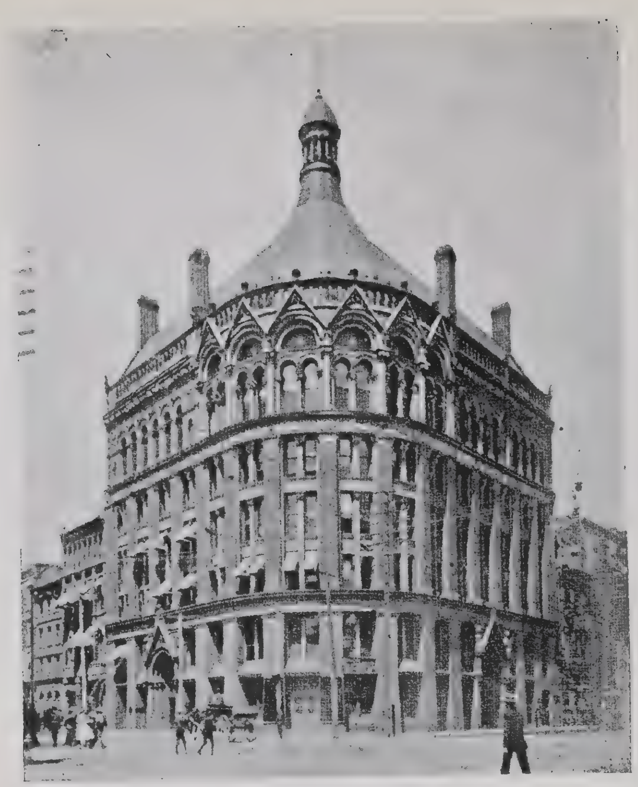
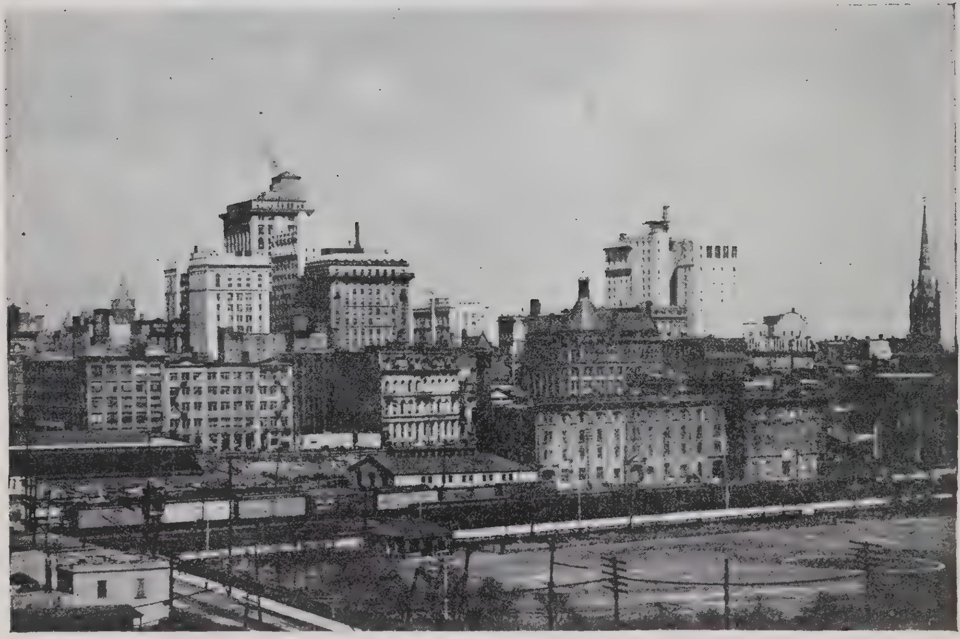
x Approximate.

CHAPTER V.

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN TORONTO



Board of Trade Building



A Toronto Skyline
Showing Royal Bank, C.P.R. Building, Bank of Hamilton, Bank of Toronto, the recent addition to the King Edward Hotel, and St. James's Cathedral—from the Esplanade.

CHAPTER V.

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN TORONTO

DURING the first years of settlement beside Toronto Bay at least two retail establishments were in being. Thomas Barry had a general store but was forced by declining health to retire from business as early as February, 1799. He died on August 3rd, and the body was taken to Ancaster for burial. John Clark was the other shop-keeper. He announced on March 2nd, 1799, that he was "leaving off his present business" and gave notice to his debtors and creditors. The first private business advertisement printed in York appeared on May 25th, 1799, when Evean Eveans, "taylor and habit maker from London," announced that he had taken a room in a small building belonging to William Willcocks and was ready to meet customers. This same Willcocks himself announced in display type on June 22nd that he had Kingston Ale for sale in barrels. Two weeks later O. Pierce and Co. printed in the *Upper Canada Gazette* a price-list which may be of professional interest to economists, as it surely is to householders:

The best Spirits were 22s. by the single gallon, and 20s. a gallon by the barrel. Rum was 18s. a gallon, Brandy by the barrel, 20s. a gallon, Port Wine in similar quantities, 18s.; by the single gallon, 20s. Gin was 18s. a gallon. Hyson tea was 19s. per pound, Souchong, 14s., Bohea, 8s. Sugar was from 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d. a pound, raisins, 3s., figs, 3s. Salt was $6 a bushel. The advertisement ended as follows: "A few dry goods, shoes, leather, hats, tobacco, snuff, etc., etc."

Edward Hayward was a painter and glazier. There is a bill of his for £28 16s. rendered to Hon. Peter Russell in 1798, but it is unlikely that he was other than a tradesman, buying supplies from the existing merchants. Richard Roberts made for Mr. Russell, in April, 1802, "a drab-colored superfine cloth Great Coat with shalloon pockets" at a cost of £3 18s. 6d.

Before 1803 there came to live and do business in York a remarkable man named Quetton St. George. Originally he had borne the name of Laurent Quetton. He was a Frenchman of aristocratic descent and the order of the chevaliers of St. Louis had been conferred upon him. Then came the tempest of 1789 and following years. Quetton escaped from his native land and landed in England on April 23rd, St. George's Day. Despising the republicans in control of France, he determined to renounce his nationality so far as it could be done, and become an Englishman. He would even change his name! What better one could he choose than St. George, the name of the patron saint of England, and whose festival was the *émigrés'* day of deliverance?

When De Puisaye brought his party of dispossessed nobles, officers and gentlemen to Upper Canada, one of them was Quetton St. George, by this time as English as a Frenchman could become. Like the rest of the company he received a grant of land, but he was wise enough to perceive that he was not suited to the life of the pioneer settler. He soon established himself at Orillia as a trader with the Indians and by 1802 was keeping a store "at the house of the French General" between Niagara and Queenston. He seemed to have the genius for commercial success. He had a wide acquaintanceship, and a high reputation, not only in Upper Canada from Kingston to the Detroit River, but in Montreal, Quebec, New York and London. When St. George determined to make his headquarters in York he still maintained his Niagara business, and before long he was directly represented at Kingston and at Amherstburg. Among the Baldwin Papers in the Ontario Archives is a receipted bill of goods delivered to Dr. W. W. Baldwin by Quetton St. George in 1806. A few extracts from the account follow:

		£	s	d
Jan. 18	1 bottle castor oil		3	
Jan. 22	1 quart Madeira		7	
	1 empty barrel		8	
Jan. 24	1 pair strong shoes		16	
Feb. 3	1½ yards white cotton @ 5/6		8	3
	1 paper pins 2/-, 1 toothbrush 1/6		3	6
Feb. 6	3 yards fine linen 10/-	1	10	
	1 quart Port Wine		6	
Mar.27	¾ yard brown holland @ 4/-		3	
Apr. 24	1 silver thimble		5	
	6 yards narrow white ribbon @ 6d		3	
	3 yards cambrick 21/-, 3 yds. fine linen 27/-	2	8	

Every conceivable article was "stocked" by St. George. His was assuredly a departmental store, quite as astonishing in its variety as the stores of to-day; particularly as one considers the appalling difficulty of getting goods delivered. In Dec., 1803, the merchant advertised to express regret that a shipment of goods was detained at Oswego and could not reach York until the Spring.

At York furs and potash were taken in barter. St. George shipped the furs to a correspondent in Schenectady—until the War of 1812 loomed on the horizon. The potash was sent out in barrels to Montreal or Quebec and shipped to his London correspondents, Messrs. Ingles, Ellice and Co. He bought anything and everything. Here is a letter from William Davis of Barton Township, dated June 26th, 1808: "According to your request, I laid in with a man about 12 miles from my house to get some rattlesnake skins, as there is none of these reptiles about here. A pair of which has come to hand, therefore I forward them to you."

Hoyle, Henderson and Gibb of Montreal wrote on April 21st, 1808 to announce that "your neighbor Mr. Henry Drean sent us a bill with an order to purchase a few goods (liquors) to the amount of £80. We do not refuse cash from any quarter, and as such, sent him the goods. We have not as yet concluded whether or not we should give him goods on credit should he again order any. . . . if you have the least objection we will not do it." Apparently Mr. Drean was St. George's competitor, and the Montreal firm knew on which side its bread was buttered!

It is not surprising that this merchant of energy, courage and resource grew rich. He became an important figure not only in York but throughout the Province. His York store at King and Frederick Streets was a fine building of brick with a tin roof and a neat porch, and as a proof of his thoroughness as an "Englishman," he was one of the first pew-holders in St. James's.

In the war he had some losses, but not of a serious nature, for an inventory of his store at Dundas taken in 1815 showed goods on hand valued at £9,707 16s. At his Lundy's Lane store the merchandise was worth £4,270 16s. 6d. After Waterloo when the Bourbons returned to the Throne of France, Quetton St. George returned to his native land, leaving Dr. Baldwin as his representative to look after his interests. Ultimately the business was sold to Dr. Baldwin's son. After some years the general "lines" were closed out and the firm dealt only in wines and liquors. Even in the later years of the Nineteenth Century the establishment of Quetton St. George was to be found in King Street, on the site now occupied by *The Toronto Daily Star*. The manager was the son of the eminent authority on Parliamentary Law, Alphæus Todd.

In the Ontario Archives one may see the original liquor shop licenses issued to Quetton St. George in 1813 and 1814 for his stores in York and in the Township of Flamboro' (Dundas). They are signed by Roger Hale Sheaffe and Francis de Rottenburg, Administrators of the Province, and by W. Allan, Inspector. The fee for each was £1 16s, with 20s. additional duty imposed by the Legislature.

After the War as before it, settlers handled but little cash. In October, 1826, Archibald McMillin announced in the *Gazette* the opening of his new hat shop next door to Jordan Post's watch-maker's shop, King Street. He offered his general assortment of hats and bonnets, "either for cash, or for the following articles of country produce—whiskey, flour, pork, beef, pot and pearl ashes." Doubtless also Miss Lewis who sold millinery, dresses, pelisses and other fancy goods at the house of Thomas Wallis, Cabinet maker in Church Street would also receive such articles from the country folk who did their shopping in York. The residents of the Town of course were expected to pay in money, but terms of credit were long for the wealthy, while the poor who had to pay cash suffered from a scale of prices based on credit transactions.

The town was growing rapidly and the general store began to give place to the shop handling special lines. James F. Smith in 1830 had a store on the corner of Church and Front Streets for groceries only. His advertisement in the *Gazette* ended: "He daily expects oysters in the shell, lobsters, mackerel, North Shore herring, and salmon, pickled and smoked." A few years after the Rebellion some of the firms on the gas-lighted streets of Toronto were Riddell and McLean, Clothiers; Bryce, McMurrich and Co., fancy and staple dry-goods, wholesale and retail; Shaw, Turnbull and Co., also in dry-goods, and B. Torrance selling such a hodge-podge as tea, buffalo robes, leather, salt, codfish, curled hair and sheet glass.

Traders in grain appeared as the country began to fill with settlers. Before the railway era every little lake port that could boast a wharf was a grain-shipping port. Schooners innumerable traded with the south shore ports and the wheat of Upper Canada had a ready sale. It is said that before 1852 the American millers of the Genesee Valley were eager to secure the hard Canadian fall wheat to mix with the New York and Middle States product, which generally was of lower grading. Millers of Minneapolis today have a similar ambition—to secure No. 1 hard from the plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan to improve the quality of their flour. Just as Winnipeg is the grain capital of Canada in our day, Toronto held that position in the 'forties and 'fifties, and the creation of a Corn Exchange was a natural outcome of the circumstances. The Board of Trade was organized in 1845. Considering how important this organization has become in expressing the views and aspirations of the business community, a list of the charter members is worth reproducing: George Percival Ridout, Thomas Clarkson, Peter Paterson, John Mulholland, William Leadley Perrin, Duncan Macdonell, J. McGlashan, Timothy J. Farr, Henry Rowsell, Thomas Rigney, Thomas D. Harris, John Thomson, William Wakefield, Joseph Workman, R. C. McMullen, Joseph D. Ridout, K. M. Sutherland, J. B. Sutherland, John Harrington, William Rowsell, Robert Wightman, A. Badenach, John Shaw, Walter Macfarlane, William Henderson, James Beaty, M. J. O'Beirne, George Michie, John Robertson, Peter Freeland, Alexander Murray, L. Moffatt, George Denholm, J. R. Armstrong, Alexander Ogilvie, Frederick Perkins, Robert Mackay, Angus McIntosh, Charles Robertson, George H. Cheney, Thomas Brunskill, John Sproule, Samuel Phillips, J. McMurrich, E. F. Whittemore, Samuel Workman—46.

The first officers were: President, George Percival Ridout; Vice-president, Joseph Workman; Treasurer, Henry Rowsell; Council, John Mulholland, William Leadley Perrin, Peter Paterson, Duncan Macdonell, John Thomson, Peter Freeland, Thos. D. Harris, James Beaty, William Henderson, J. Shaw, R. H. Brett, E. F. Whittemore. Because practically the whole of Toronto export business was with the American people, the first Board was ardent in its advocacy of free trade, and heartily supported every effort to secure reciprocity in natural products between Canada and the United States. Yet there was no sentiment in favor of annexation. The minutes of 1851 show that there was some uneasiness because the price of wheat in the United States was higher than in Canada: "The high price of wheat in the United States was evidently temporary, caused by the partial failure of the harvest in the Western and Middle States, and by the action of speculators who have paid the penalty of their folly; and the low price in this Province caused by the abundant harvest with which we have been favored." The resolution continues: "That which should have been a cause of thankfulness to all classes of the community was tortured by some into a cause of dissatisfaction with our own condition and of complaint against the Government of the country." Some, it was said, carried their dissatisfaction so far as to agitate for the annexation of the Colony to the United States, "a movement which cannot but be deplored and condemned when viewed in connection with the capabilities of this Province and its unbounded resources, superadded to which may be the Anglo-Saxon spirit which is rapidly turning to account all advantages."

The Board being thankful for small mercies approved the decline in the rate of duty on some articles from 12½ to 2½ per cent., and did not cease to agitate for reciprocity. It is interesting to notice, when in course of time the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was abrogated, that the Board officially noted with no little content that the change had not materially damaged business in Canada. As manufacturing grew with the years, the Board's official approval of free trade was gradually abated, and after the National Policy was established in 1878, it was instant with suggestions to the Government for the drafting of the new tariff. In our own times almost, the Toronto Board of Trade took an attitude favorable to the establishment of an Inter-Imperial *zollverein* according to the plan of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. In the last campaign for a modified reciprocity with the United States there was no particular enthusiasm in the Council chamber of the Board of Trade for the proposed Treaty.

In a real sense the successive opinions of the Board on the Tariff question reflect the changing views of the City of Toronto and of the Province. Improved transportation created a home market, and the apparent desire of the Republic for non-intercourse—judged by an eagerness to penalize Canadian trade—had a reflex action on Canadian sentiment.

On questions of specific interest to the City the Board seldom failed to express an opinion—sometimes hostile to that of the City Council. It was opposed in 1849 and 1850 to a tax on personal property, and objected to the proposal to grant £100,000 to the Toronto Simcoe, and Huron Railway in the following terms: "The information afforded the public does not justify the public support, and especially as that scheme had its origin in a lottery which the Board condemns as injurious to the best interests of society." A direct subsidy of £25,000 was approved, and later the grant of double the amount was favored.

In 1866 the Board, which up to this time had met in the Mechanics' Institute, secured rooms in the Merchants' Exchange and the fees were increased from $4 to $8 per annum. In 1884 the Board was amalgamated with the Toronto Corn Exchange; two years later it purchased the old American Hotel property on the corner of Front and Yonge Streets, and undertook the considerable task of erecting its own building. The entrance fees were increased to $100, but by 1886 the membership numbered 822. The new building was first occupied in 1891, and served as a suitable home for the organization for more than 20 years. Its rotunda was one of the really distinguished rooms of the City. Since 1914 the Board has occupied the 19th and 20th floors of the Royal Bank building.

The Board was in hearty co-operation with the City Council in the advocacy of the separation of grades on the waterfront, and in the support of the plans of the present Harbor Commission. It rightly claimed some of the credit for the appointment in 1903 by the Federal Government of the Railway Commission, a rate-regulating body which has been of the utmost value to shippers and consignees.

Not a little of the recent success of the organization has been due to its chief official, Mr. F. G. Morley, who became Secretary in 1903, and now holds the office of adviser to the Council. Under his administration a policy of expansion was undertaken; a wider sweep was given to the institution, and it gained much in public estimation. It is no secret that for some years the Board was merely going through the motions of living. That era was passed long ago. At present the Toronto Board of Trade has over 2,000 members. It maintains a considerable secretarial staff under the supervision of Mr. F. D. Tolchard and Mr. L. R. Crawshaw, and a traffic expert in the person of Mr. T. Marshall, whose department has been of inestimable value to the business men of the city.

By the activity of the Canada Company settlements began to be established in the midlands of the Province, and these served as the centres of rural communities which soon developed a considerable purchasing power. Toronto naturally became a distributing centre and long before the railway became a factor in business wholesale houses were established for the advantage of the country merchants. Stories are told of commercial travellers from Montreal who used to drive through to Windsor on their selling tours, but the distance was too great to encourage competition, especially since the store keepers were wary about buying from samples. Many of them preferred to come personally to Toronto or Montreal on a combined business and pleasure trip, and select their goods in the warehouses. The John Macdonald Company was doing business in 1849. Frank Smith and Perkins-Ince were the chief contemporary grocery houses. Some other and less dependable institutions had a brief career during which their travellers rather increased the distaste of the country merchants for sample-buying. An anonymous traveller, writing in 1868 under the name of "A Canadian Guerilla," averred that in the back country during 1859 he had found "tough customers and tougher grub." In the towns touched by the new railway lines conditions were more pleasant, but to sell on the long driving tours was no easy task. Mr. E. Fielding, the veteran treasurer of the Commercial Travellers' Association, was a manufacturers' representative in 1862 and his territory consisted of all the towns and villages between Toronto and Montreal. He used to set out with his horse and buggy in September and complete his trip in March.

Because of the competition of Toronto and Montreal for the wholesale trade the City Council of Toronto passed a by-law respecting "petty chapmen" forbidding travellers to sell from samples within the city limits without first paying $100 for a licence. The law was not observed. Travellers came as usual, but the natural position of Toronto gave the advantage to the city which unwise legislation had failed to give. In those days goods were sold usually on four months' credit. After some years of dealing with the better-class wholesale houses which were particular to ship goods fully up to sample, country merchants began to look more favorably upon the travelling salesmen. In 1868 it was estimated that they were expending daily on railway, livery and hotel outlay, about $4,600. Allowing each six months on the road, this was the tidy sum of $837,200 annually and the time was ripe to claim special rates from the railways. The Toronto branch of the Commercial Travellers' Association was organized in 1873 with 500 members. To-day, after fifty years, the travellers of Toronto number 16,000. Their outlay cannot be less than $6 a day each—or $96,000. The business of selling has been systematized and practically all invoices are on a thirty-day basis, with 1 per cent. discount for spot cash.

The railway solved problems which had vexed business men for years. Easy access from Montreal made it possible for the leading merchants to secure regular deliveries, in quantity, of goods from foreign ports. Thus the way was cleared to send buyers regularly to Europe. The retail house of Robert Walker and Co., "The Golden Lion," sent a buyer to England twice a year, as early as in 1862. The wholesalers, of course, had been doing so long before that period. Because of the Grand Trunk Railway Toronto was no longer an outpost of civilization, blocked from tidewater for months every year. It was on the way to become a great city with a distributing trade of vast proportions.

A young man from the north of Ireland who had established a general retail business in St. Mary's in 1857 sold out his holdings in 1869 and came to Toronto with a New Idea. He believed that variable prices and long credit worked injury to the merchant and the buyer as well. He resolved to test his theory of retailing—one price and spot cash—and on December 8th, 1869, he personally unlocked the front door of a well-stocked dry goods shop at 178 Yonge Street, between Richmond and Queen Streets. Fifty years later his widow, in celebrating the Jubilee of the institution, opened with a golden key the front door of the T. Eaton Company's great departmental store at 190 Yonge Street, and entered on the arm of her son, the late Sir John C. Eaton, merchant prince and philanthropist. While the progress of this business seems like a fairy story, success was achieved by prosy diligence and honest dealing. Timothy Eaton's principle of action was "a square deal to everybody, the people from whom we buy, the people to whom we sell, and the people who work for us."

A rigid cash rule was regarded in 1869 by competitors and the public alike as sheer folly and the principle as lofty, but futile. In patronizing pity they spoke of the young Irishman as a dreamer, and predicted brief life for his new dry goods store. The dreamer disappointed the prophets, and to-day the T. Eaton Co. is considered one of the most remarkable organizations in the business world.

Beginning as an ordinary dry goods store of modest size, the Eaton business has developed into a vast retail, mail order and manufacturing enterprise, with over 23,000 employes, with stores, warehouses and factories in seven Canadian cities and offices in nine cities in other parts of the globe.

From 1869 onward Toronto grew apace in population and prosperity, and Eaton's grew with it. In 1876 the store at 178 Yonge Street was extended 40 feet in the rear, and floor coverings and beddings were added to the stock. In 1877 Mr. Eaton opened the second floor as a mantle and millinery showroom. The sales staff was increased to 20, a pony delivery wagon was purchased and the working hours were reduced by closing at 6 p.m. instead of 10 p.m. daily, except Saturday. Mr. Eaton had begun to do his own buying in Europe.

In August, 1883, the business was removed to the present site the new store being erected on the site of three stores in the old Page Block, just above Queen on the west side of Yonge Street. The following year was notable for the printing of the first Eaton catalogue—a booklet six by nine inches, compiled for distribution to visitors at the Exhibition. Its sole illustration was a picture of the store on the cover. The last catalogue had 588 pages with 8,811 illustrations.

The mail order business began when orders started to come in for goods listed in the first catalogue. The staff to handle these orders consisted of a woman and a boy, the former selected the goods and the latter parcelled them. In 1885 the first Eaton telephone was installed.

In 1886 Saturday afternoon closing in July and August was inaugurated, the Queen Street section was added, and the first passenger elevator was installed. The appointment of a regular Bargain Day was another noteworthy change in 1886. The total number of employes at that time was 150.

Largely as a result of sinister rumors about the firm's financial standing which were spread by unscrupulous competitors, Mr. Eaton established cash payment for all purchases in 1886. Buying for cash gives the purchaser a tremendous advantage in any of the world's markets, and its adoption was a great factor in the T. Eaton Co.'s success. Nowadays the firm's buying organization has offices in London, Paris, Zurich, Manchester, Belfast, Leicester, New York, Yokohama and Kobe.

The nucleus of the James Street section was added in 1889, and before the close of that year electricity, generated on the premises, was introduced, also the pneumatic cash-carrier system.

Manufacturing was not attempted by the firm until 1890, when one room was set apart for the making of whitewear, with eight sewing machines.

The firm became a joint stock company in 1891, adopting the name so familiar all over the mercantile world—the T. Eaton Co., Ltd.,—and in the same year the 6 o'clock closing was extended to Saturdays.

The Albert Street section was added in 1893. In December, 1895, the store closed at 6 p.m. during Christmas week, and the following year saw the abolition of the old custom of remaining open during the evenings of Easter and Exhibition weeks.

Edward Y. Eaton, eldest son of the founder, and vice-president of the company, died suddenly in 1900. From the time when, as a boy of 17, he became his father's right hand aide in the store, to the time of his death, he was a potent factor in the phenomenal development of the business. He was succeeded as vice-president by his brother, John C. Eaton.

Five p.m. was made the daily closing hour in 1904, and in 1905 the Winnipeg store was opened. The ceremony was performed by the two Timothys, grandfather and grandson, the four-year old youngster sitting on the founder's knee when they pulled the opening bell together.

Mr. Timothy Eaton died on January 31, 1907, and was succeeded as president by his second son, the late Sir John C. Eaton. Later in the year the Toronto store was extended north on Yonge Street to Albert Street.

The mail order section, still expanding at an unprecedented rate, was organized with its own stock of merchandise in 1909, and divided into departments. Incidentally it may be noted that in conjunction with the Winnipeg mail order, for distribution of heavy merchandise, there are now Eaton warehouses in Regina and Saskatoon; also an Eaton mail order building for the Maritime Provinces at Moncton, N.B.

For 54 years the Eaton company has given a square deal to the public, and has justified itself in the swift growth of its business to vast proportions. It is one of Toronto's greatest commercial assets.

This success was won in the face of the sharpest competition, and despite a steady hostility. The long-established retail houses continued in their old ways until their older customers began to go the way of all flesh. Then they discovered that business conditions were changing and that they must change with them in order to continue operations. In many cases cash-and-one-price became an accepted principle. While there were distinguished exceptions, it may be said that the whole retail trade of Toronto was forced to follow the lead of the young man from St. Mary's, at least in this particular. In 1882 Mr. Robert Simpson began business at the corner of Yonge and Queen Streets. After many vicissitudes the institution he founded developed into a limited liability company operating a first-rate departmental store, and being in direct and incessant competition with the Eaton Company. It is a magnificent store, one of the finest in America. These two retail establishments, with the Murray-Kay Company—formed by the amalgamation of the dry goods house of W. A. Murray and the furniture establishment of John Kay—and the Catto Company's store, give Toronto a metropolitan aspect, and assure the public of the finest and most varied goods of the world's production at prices which are just and reasonable.

It is interesting to notice that the alleged "evil" of concentration charged by theorists against the Departmental Store has not been apparent in Toronto. The success of these institutions has not prevented the growth and expansion of such notable shops as Ryrie Brothers, jewellers, Holt, Renfrew and Company, furriers; Michie and Co., grocers; Blachford, shoes; the chain stores of the Martin Company, meats; the Adams and other furniture houses. It may be invidious to mention these businesses particularly, but they may be considered as representative of hundreds of specialty shops, dealing only in goods of the highest quality. Besides these there are literally thousands of small stores in Toronto—for the most part doing a cash business and serving instant needs of their own community with uncommon efficiency. Much of the enterprise and public service for which Toronto merchants are noted is due to the activities of the Ontario branch of the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada. This organization, while established primarily for the protection of its members against oppressive legislation and the schemes of adventurers, has also been successful in eliminating certain evil practices in trade; and by carrying out to the full the functions required of retail distributors has elevated the standard of the trade and has enabled it to hold the respect and support of the general public.

One of the remarkable changes of the last fifty years has been the growth of newspaper advertising as a selling agency. Elsewhere in this work the loftiness of Mr. Thomas Thompson with respect to advertising has been mentioned. He publicly announced his contempt for what he was pleased to call "puffery," but intimated that such persons as cared to come to his store would find a fine assortment of goods. Untrue or exaggerated advertising was perhaps the rule in his time. But here again the example of the Eaton Company in Toronto—and of similar institutions in Philadelphia and New York—had the utmost influence. The publication in purchased newspaper space of the exact truth both as to the quality of the goods offered and the relation of the price quoted to the "regular" price, ultimately won the confidence of the public. Immense sums are expended in newspaper advertising to-day, and in this fact may be found the basis of business prosperity.

Without prejudice to other institutions, a few facts with respect to the T. Eaton Company's organization may be admitted, in view of its undeniable primacy amongst the retail merchandising plants of Canada. An important feature of the organization which is unique with respect to departmental stores is the Research Bureau. This is more than a laboratory for chemical experiments to ascertain the component parts of the merchandise. It is the investigating organ of the store; examines all merchandise coming into the receiving rooms to see that it reaches the standard, and to ascertain that ingredients, sizes and weights are as ordered, invoiced and advertised.

Another feature is the customer's Deposit Account Department, which makes it possible to have purchases delivered as paid parcels. A monthly itemized statement is rendered. Interest is allowed on the daily credit balance.

Four hundred Bell telephones are connected with the departments, by which customers may 'phone their orders at their convenience. Four hundred and twenty-five local telephones are used for facilitating the internal business of the organization.

To carry passengers to the floors on which they wish to make their purchases, 30 passenger elevators, with a carrying capacity of 540 persons at one time, are in operation. Eight moving stairways, commodiously carry thousands of people daily.

Forty-six freight elevators, with a total capacity of 182,000 lbs., carry the huge bales and crates of merchandise that daily arrive at the store, to the receiving rooms, whence it is distributed to the various departments.

Parcels for city and suburban delivery are conveyed by a belt under the street to a depot where men, whose exact knowledge of the city rivals that of a map maker, distribute them among three other belts. These represent the three delivery stations—Coxwell Avenue, for the east; Hayter Street for the centre and north, and Geary Avenue for the west. On removal from these belts parcels are "routed" and placed in trucks, and the trucks, loaded under cover, are taken in huge motor vans to their respective delivery stations, whence the parcels are distributed in the well-known delivery wagons to the purchasers. An average of 45,000 and often as many as 96,000 parcels, are thus handled daily. Furniture and heavy crated goods are conveyed direct from the store. For the distribution of parcels there are in use 75 motor vans, 275 horses and 211 wagons.

The Welfare Department, having welfare secretaries and visiting nurses, promotes the physical well-being of employes. During business hours two hospitals are under the care of trained nurses, for the benefit of customers and employes, where rest and quiet may be obtained and where first aid is rendered where necessary.

At the Eaton Boys' Camp, two-weeks periods are permitted the different groups of boys who go to camp from business. Instruction is available in athletics, art, music, etc., and talent in any form is encouraged. The Eaton Girls' Club has a clubhouse equipped with gymnasium, swimming tank, class rooms, rest rooms, etc.

The personal element has been a vital force in the Eaton business from the first. Timothy Eaton wished his employes to regard him as a friend, and he was always planning for their welfare. His son and successor, Sir John Craig Eaton, (whose death in the spring of 1922 was universally regretted, and whose funeral was the largest in Toronto's history) carried on the best traditions of his father's régime, and when in 1919 he inaugurated the system of all-day closing on Saturdays in July and August and half-holidays on all other Saturdays throughout the year, the vast army of Eaton workers showed their appreciation of this master stroke of welfare work by subscribing some $22,000 for the erection of an additional X-ray wing for the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children, and the endowment of a special cot in the same institution. Both bear the name of Sir John Eaton, and at a mass meeting in the Armories the presentation was made to Sir John, who in turn formally handed the gift to one of the Hospital officials.

Sir John Craig Eaton was always found in the vanguard of every philanthropic and patriotic movement. When the new General Hospital was being financed, he erected and equipped the surgical wing at a cost of more than $500,000. Another act which admirably illustrates the strength of his generosity was his promptness in giving relief to the people of Halifax when that city was devastated by explosion and fire in 1917. He shipped immediately by special train at his own expense a large quantity of necessary supplies, and on this train were sent doctors and nurses as well.

When the war broke out he subscribed a large sum of money for equipping the Eaton Machine Gun Battery with quick-firing Vickers-Maxim guns, mounted on armoured trucks.

On Sir John's personal account every married man in the employ of the T. Eaton Co., while on active war service, was paid his full wages, and every single man was paid half wages. More than $2,500,000 was paid out for this military service allowance.

The Eaton employes did notable service in the Great War; 3,327 joined the colors, and of this number 238 were killed in action or died of wounds. Four hundred and seventy were wounded and 41 taken prisoners of war. Every man who returned from the war and applied for his position was given employment, and every returned man who deposited any part of his wages with the T. Eaton Co. in a savings' account received ten per cent. interest for two years after his return.

CHAPTER VI.

MANUFACTURING IN TORONTO

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THE first manufacturing in Upper Canada was the production of breadstuffs in mills situated along the rivers and driven by waterpower. Both the Humber and the Don afforded sites for such mills, which served the needs of near-by settlers, but did not meet the requirements of the entire community. Flour was brought in from Kingston for many years after the establishment of the Town of York. The manufacture of potash was also an early industry which grew out of the clearing of the forests and the burning of the logs. Quetton St. George, one of the earliest merchants, established in York as early as 1803, imported and sold potash-kettles and also the materials for the making of stills. The distillation of strong waters was a necessity of the times, but it was not confined to a few large establishments. The First Legislature of Upper Canada provided for the licensing of the many small stills scattered throughout the settlements.

The coming of the blacksmiths led also to the establishment of small waggon factories in the various villages and rural settlements. As the needs of the people were made manifest means for satisfying them appeared, but the making-of-things was always on a small scale and there was no such thing as "an exportable surplus" of manufactured goods. An iron foundry and an axe factory (Armstrong's) were established in Toronto long before the Rebellion; Jesse Ketchum tanned leather, John Doel had a brewery, and brick was being burned in the Don Valley before 1815. The settlers themselves were manufacturers in a small way. While Adam delved, Eve span and wove, making the garments and blankets for the whole family. Evean Eveans, the first "taylor," from London, served the needs of townfolk rather than of settlers on the land.

A review of the condition of manufacturing in the Province was made by *The Examiner* about the time of the first Provincial Exhibition, held on the Caer Howell property, south of the present Hydro-Electric Power Commission's head office, on October 21st, 1846. The Editor, being a Free Trader of English variety, was in doubt concerning the value of local industry. It is interesting to contrast his views before and after the Exhibition. He wrote on September 16th, commenting on the occasion of the publication of the prize-list by the Provincial Agricultural Association: "It appears that the Association will take the infant and embryo manufactures of the country under its protecting wing. Very good; but we hope it will not encourage the absurd idea that it would be at this time advantageous to the country to attempt to manufacture our own broadcloths and the finer fabrics: that we can manufacture a coarser description of cloth which may serve the use of the country to a great extent there can be little question. There are several other things that we might manufacture, but the supposition that we might jump all at once from an agricultural people just emerging from the forest to the perfection of European manufactures is preposterous in the extreme, and can only find a place in the wildest imagination. Let us make all possible improvements in cultivating the soil, extend the growth of hemp and flax if it be found—as there is no doubt it will—eminently profitable, but it will hardly be advisable to enter into the mouslin (sic) de laine business as manufacturers all at once."

On October 28th, after seeing the Exhibition, the same Editor wrote: "There were some very good tweeds and fulled cloth, the former fully equal in quality to any imported from Scotland, and the selling price of which is 3s 9d cheaper, we believe, than those imported. The satinets, an article not manufactured in England at all, were of middling quality, not as good as can be manufactured in the United States, but equal to those generally imported from there. There were some very good samples of cadet-mixed and gold-mixed cloths and some fulled cloths dyed black of very good appearance. In the article of blankets Upper Canada can, as regards price, outstrip the English manufacturers altogether, and in quality can fully equal the best importations. There were some exhibited of very superior quality; the selling price of which is $5, while English blankets of equal quality cannot be sold here for less than $5 3-4. There were some beautiful red flannels, remarkably fine and fully equal to the best English."

A record of the prizes awarded shows that the goods so highly praised by *The Examiner* were manufactured by J. W. Gamble, of the Township of Vaughan, William Gamble of the Township of York, and T. B. Gracy, also of the Township of York. In all parts of Upper Canada, often in remote situations, woollen mills were established which could easily compete against American and English goods. The problem of transportation which was instant and pressing, compelled the rise of these small industries. Consider the problem of bringing goods by river and lake and waggon trail from New York and Philadelphia. Consider also the fact that the ice barrier sealed the St. Lawrence from November till April, and that a trail of nearly 350 miles from Montreal to Toronto was too long and toilsome, even in "sleighing" to stock the warehouses of Upper Canada.

The Examiner found special interest in the exhibit of Agricultural Implements: "There was a machine for extracting the stumps of trees which, though heard of in some places before now, is not in general use. Its construction is simple and of power sufficient to extract any stump, however large." It made use of the mechanical principle of the screw, turned by a horse travelling in a circle. "There were three kinds of horse-rakes," continued the article. "The revolving horse-rake would appear to possess great advantages over that generally in use in England . . . There was also one with curved teeth of iron or spring-steel, having advantages over the wooden-toothed rake." Mention was made also of ten different sorts of plough, one equipped with a sowing device, depositing the seed in the furrow. There were two Barrow drills, with rollers front and rear, one to prepare the soil, and one to close the furrow after the seed had been dropped from the box. The showing of waggons was exceptionally good.

The Examiner continues: "If we are to believe the manufacturers of stoves in Canada, they make use of a better kind of pig-iron than their American competitors, and as a general rule make the stoves of greater substance. In 1834 Mr. Towers, of St. Catharines, manufactured 1,000 stoves, being more than were manufactured by him during the seven years previous. The price in that period was cut by one half."

The article declared that in 1835 iron furnaces were put into operation in Hamilton, Brantford and Dundas. In the following year there were three in the Niagara district, which by 1846 had increased to seven. "Though we have mentioned these localities," the article added, "the increase in this branch of manufacture is not local, but extends throughout Upper Canada."

The prize list of the Exhibition and contemporary advertisements, show that Eastwood and Co. were manufacturing paper, C. Elliot had an iron foundry at 58 Yonge Street, where also millstones were manufactured; John Bell was making agricultural implements, and Jonathan Dunn, sole leather and calfskin. J. W. Bevan manufactured woodenware. Samuel Shaw secured prizes for coopers' tools, claw-hammers, narrow axes and mortising chisels. Storm and Burrows were brickmakers on a considerable scale, turning out red and white brick and tile. John Harrington made cooking stoves. P. Bishop manufactured bank-vault doors. Two firms won premiums for bookbinding, Thomas Brown, and Rowsell and Thompson. Good lithographic work was being done by Scobie and Balfour and John Johnson.

Another Provincial Exhibition was held in the autumn of 1852. Fairly elaborate records of the display exist, notably, the report in *The Canadian Journal.* It is said that all the agricultural implements shown were of a high type of excellence and were not surpassed by either American or English products. *The Journal* made one complaint—with reference to the attempts at elaborate ornamentation on threshing machines and waggon boxes. "Daubing" was the term used. One of the most interesting features of the Fair was the display of furniture by Jacques and Hay, of Toronto, a firm which won a very high reputation for the quality of its goods. The firm at first was on King Street, west of the present Bank of Toronto. Then it moved farther to the eastward and for many years was near the corner of King and Yonge Streets. Ultimately the business came into the hands of Mr. W. B. Rogers, who in our own time was Postmaster of Toronto.

At the Exhibition of 1852, which was held on the Caer Howell property, Jacques and Hay's furniture was arranged in a small, single-room cottage 21 by 17 feet. On the right hand was a three-door ladies' walnut wardrobe, made for C. H. Turner of Rook's Nest, Surrey, England, and valued at £35. The door panels were veneered with a rich curl and the moulding was broken in the centre of the circle by a carved ornament. The inside was finished in birdseye maple finely polished.

The principal attraction, says *The Journal,* was a very magnificent French bed with an elaborately carved footboard and pediment. In the centre of the footboard was a Madonna and Child boldly carved, surrounded by a graceful wreath of convolvulus, combined with a wreath of flowers copied from nature, including the dahlia, German aster, rose and convolvulus, carved in relief. On the top of the pediment was a Cupid with a bird on its finger, and at each end suspended from a scroll was a group of fruit also taken from nature. The pillars were closely in keeping, being surrounded with groups of convolvulus on the upper part and hung with wheat and wild flowers on the under part. The rails were also decorated with raised panelling. The bed was valued at £60; was built specially for the Fair by Jacques and Hay, and was designed, and mainly executed, by Mr. Charles Roger, designer and carver of the establishment.

The description surely shows Victorian art at its climax of over-ornamentation—that art which departed from simplicity in order to achieve mere prettiness.

Besides the bed there was an antique Confessional Chair, made for Mr. Fred Widder, of the Canada Company. The back and seat were covered with "very elegant sewed work," executed by one of Mr. Widder's daughters. The carving was a combination of the pink and tiger lily, and the chair without the embroidery was worth £10. Other articles shown were a French card table with folding leaves, an ornamental table with a sample dining room chair done in Morocco leather, and a drawing-room table with truss legs and an oval top of Italian marble. The rails were carved in relief and partly fretted. This table was bought by Chancellor Blake for £14 10s.

In 1862 Jacques and Hay again secured first prize at the Provincial Exhibition for bedroom and drawing room furniture in walnut. P. T. Ware and Co. were manufacturing sewing-machine cases worthy of first prize. Others whose products won high awards on this occasion were Harris Brothers, corn brooms; Samuel Creighton, spinning wheels; C. F. Hall, buggies and carriages; Robert Pomeroy, oils, etc.; A. C. Walkinshaw, inks of all sorts; Joseph Robinson and Co., goldsmith's work; W. H. Sheppard, mantlepieces in marble; John McGee and Co., stoves; William Haines, grand piano cases; McCausland and Horwood, stained glass; J. and J. Taylor, safes; R. S. Williams, harmoniums and melodeons; J. Thomas and Co., grand and cottage pianos; Edward Lye, pipe organs.

An editorial article in *The Globe* of this period said: "We are now large producers of tweeds, flannels, hosiery, leather, boots and shoes, cotton yarn and batting, bags, furniture, oils, soap, candles, liquors, agricultural implements of all kinds, stones, castings, machinery, tobacco, etc." Three reasons were given in this article for the rapid growth of manufacturing in the Province; the war-tax which the American Government had imposed on American goods, the coming of additional capital to the country and the increasing population, and the existence of a tariff favorable to industrial enterprises. The case of J. D. King and Co., pioneer manufacturers of tobacco, was cited. A few years before 1862 they had started in business with only six employes. Soon they had found it necessary to acquire a large building on Adelaide Street, formerly occupied by Parkes Brothers, ironfounders, and their pay roll contained the names of 150 persons. Other firms had been almost as successful: S. S. Preston and Co., formerly of Louisville, Kentucky; Withers and Wright, Rossin and Brother, and Lewis and Thompson.

While the foregoing evidences of industrial activity are only fragmentary, they are ample to show that manufacturing in Upper Canada was a natural and even inevitable development, based on the pressing needs of the people and their isolation from other considerable settlements. In a measure the early communities of this Province represented the theoretical social organization postulated by most of the writers on the Elements of Economics. The coming of the railway wrought a change of almost revolutionary nature. All the barriers to a free-flowing commerce were removed. Winter became even as summer. Montreal, New York and Philadelphia came into easy touch with Toronto and manufactured goods from abroad came into sharp competition with local products. The little woollen mills by the country creeks found the pressure too great. Only such plants as were producing goods of the highest merit were able to survive.

Chief among these plants was one founded in 1847 by Daniel Massey at Newcastle, on the north shore of Lake Ontario. The story of the rise and progress of the most remarkable manufacturing enterprise in Canada is surely worth telling in some detail.

The original factory at Newcastle was a little combination plant, machine shop and foundry, at first only one storey in height. In 1851, Daniel Massey's eldest son, Hart Almerrin Massey, became superintendent of the works. A year later, at the age of 29, Hart became a partner and manager of the business which was given the name of H. A. Massey & Co. In 1855 he became the sole proprietor of the business, and remained at its head until his death in 1896.

Important inventions, the outcome of Hart Massey's efforts, gave the little company a great impetus in its early years. In 1852, the Massey firm produced the "Ketchum" mower, the first mowing machine made on Canadian soil. This was followed by the "Burrell" reaper, designed to be drawn behind the fore wheels of a waggon. In 1855 the "Manny" combined hand-rake, reaper and mower, was placed on the market. In 1861 the firm brought out the famous "Woods" self-rake reaper, the first self-rake harvesting implement made in the Dominion.

The Harris side of the present firm originated in 1857, when Alanson Harris moved into a little shop in Beamsville, in the Niagara Peninsula. With a company of five men, he began to manufacture revolving hay rakes, invented and tested a few years before by Elder John Harris, Alanson's father, who lived in the village of Mount Pleasant, in Brant county.

Here again, early in the history of a business, there appeared the inventive, organizing son. It was John Harris, son of Alanson, grandson and namesake of the original inventor and a natural mechanic and inventor himself, who, at the age of 21, in 1862, gave the necessary momentum to the Beamsville business. He extended the "line" of the Harris firm to include mowers, hand-rake reapers, root-cutters, clover threshers, corn-shellers and ploughs.

The plough of those days was a crude implement made entirely of cast iron with the exception of the handles. No polish was given the iron in the factory, and before the share and mould-board could receive a good finish the farmer himself had to find a convenient sand pile and draw the plough through it.

Ten years after the appearance on the scene of John Harris, the firm of A. Harris & Son moved to Brantford, then a thriving town of about 8,000 people. The Harris works soon became the biggest industry in a city which has since become famous as a manufacturing centre. The Harris hand-rake reaper was the "Kirby," first made at Beamsville and improved at Brantford. In its day it is doubtful if a better machine were made anywhere in America.

The demand for self-rake reapers came at first wholly from Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. But even before the first transcontinental railway had traversed the new west, A. Harris, Son & Co., had found their way to the prairies despite the competition of American firms with a geographical advantage. In 1879 the firm opened a distributing branch in Winnipeg, then in its first "boom." The late Lyman Jones and the late J. H. Housser were respectively manager and secretary of the Western branch of the Harris company in 1882. In 1883 the firm opened up business in Prince Albert when the only communication was by boat from Selkirk. In 1884 the Canadian Pacific reached Qu'Appelle—and Harris machines were then shipped from there to Prince Albert, 300 miles, in Red River carts. In that year the first self-binder in the Canadian West—a Harris machine—was tested on a farm near Edmonton.

Mr. Alanson Harris remained at the head of the Harris Company until 1881, when he was succeeded by his son, John Harris. After the death of the latter, in 1887, his father again became president, which office he occupied until the amalgamation with the Massey firm.

In 1864 the Massey works in Newcastle were entirely destroyed by fire and with them the year's supply of finished machines, together with materials, patterns and records. The recovery from the disaster, was rapid, and three years later the company won the highest gold medal award at the Paris Exposition for their reaper and mower. In 1869 the "Ithaca" steel rake was produced at the Massey works, the first automatic dump horse-rake to be built in North America.

In 1874 the firm placed on the market "Sharp's" horse-rake—one of the successes of the time, and two years later took out the first Canadian patent for a self-binder. In 1878 the company introduced the Massey harvester.

During the year in which the Harris firm made a successful invasion of the west, 1879, the Massey Company transferred its entire plant to Toronto. This removal was a result of the need for more central transportation facilities.

The Massey Manufacturing Company employed about 150 men at this time in all departments. It secured for its new premises a large part of what was then the Exhibition grounds, to the south of the Provincial Asylum for the Insane. Two years later the firm absorbed the plant of the old Toronto Reaper and Mower Co., an acquisition which practically doubled its output.

By 1889 three sons of Mr. Hart Massey had been engaged in the business, which employed not fewer than 500 men. Mr. C. A. Massey, the eldest son, who had become general manager in 1871, owing to the ill-health of his father, died in 1884, when the active management reverted to Mr. Hart Massey. Messrs. Chester D. and Walter E. H. Massey were also members of the firm. Thus, in the Massey family, as in the Harris family, there was developing a personnel which kept strong the identity of the business.

Each company by 1890 had a record of progress in inventions, tested in actual use at field trials and exhibitions in various parts of the world. For example, in 1880, the Massey Company took more than 60 prizes in Fall Fairs. In 1879 and 1880, at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, they secured the highest awards for their harvester. In 1885 they won the gold medal at the Antwerp Exhibition. In 1886 they were awarded the Indian and Colonial Exhibition medal in London. At an agricultural exhibition in Melbourne in 1889 the Massey exhibit was the largest of any from Canada, and included the most extensive display of binders and mowers in the grounds. In the same year, in connection with the Paris Exhibition, a remarkable field trial was held, lasting four days, on varying crops, much of them badly lodged and very heavy. The Massey binder won at all points against world-wide competition, harvesting some crops regarded as impossible to cut. It was the only machine which did not fail to tie a sheaf, and was also by far the lightest in draft.

In 1880 the Harris Company won a special medal from the Council of Agriculture and Arts Association of Ontario, for an exhibition near Hamilton. In the six years ending 1882, they won 85 medals and diplomas at field trials in Canada, and in 1886, a medal and diploma at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, London.

Each company, preserving its own methods, and with its own organization, had extended its field to a great radius from the parent towns of Newcastle and Beamsville. In all directions but south, and limited only on the north by the frost-line and the bounds of population, the two firms had marched side by side in a strenuous competition, each bearing the "Made-in-Canada" motto on its banners. It was now considered the best policy for these two firms, each in some respects the complement of the other, to join forces, in order to reduce the cost of production, distribution and sale, and therefore, in 1891, the Massey-Harris Company came into being.

The advantages of the amalgamation were many. It was found possible, in time, to combine the best points of a Massey and a Harris binder in a Massey-Harris machine; the union made possible a policy of factory specialization because of the larger number of shops available for the production of machines, and moreover, in 1892 the concrete result of the merger was the announcement of a substantial reduction in the prices of some of the machines.

Soon after the new company's headquarters were established in Toronto, it began to attract to itself smaller, but co-related concerns, which gave the united firm strength but not monopoly, for it has never been without healthy competition. It first absorbed the Patterson-Wisner amalgamation (a combination of Patterson Bros., of Woodstock, and J. O. Wisner, Son & Co., of Brantford), and next took in the Verity Plough Co., of Exeter.

In 1895 the Massey-Harris Company extended its activities to include the manufacture of farm waggons, through affiliation with the Bain Waggon Co., which for many years in Brantford had produced, in addition to waggons, bobsleighs, log-trucks and dump carts. In 1910 the Massey-Harris Company acquired control of the Johnston Harvester Co., at Batavia, New York. In 1913 the company acquired as a going concern, and transferred to Canada, the Deyo-Macey gasoline engine plant, of Binghampton, N.Y. In 1918 the firm commenced the manufacture of agricultural tractors in a newly equipped plant at Weston. Two other acquisitions may be mentioned. In 1893 the firm, by acquiring the Corbin Disc Harrow business of Prescott, Ont., commenced the manufacture of this implement, and in 1904, mechanical manure spreaders were added to the Massey-Harris "line" through the purchase of the Kemp Manure Spreader Co., of Stratford, Ont.

In Brantford the Harris Co. had attracted to their branch of the industry a number of men who afterwards pooled their ability in the united firm. Messrs. J. K. Osborne, Lyman Jones, J. H. Housser and J. N. Shenstone were all Harris men who later became pillars of the Massey-Harris company.

One of the most striking episodes in the history of the Massey business dates back to the 'sixties, when Massey machines, made in Newcastle, Ont., were shipped to and sold in Germany. Thus, a Canadian product in export, antedated even the German Empire and the Franco-Prussian war. Massey implements were shipped to Asia Minor in 1885, and in 1887 the company's machines were at work in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Belgium, Russia, Asia Minor, South Africa, South America, West Indies and Australia.

Grain drills were subsequently added to the foreign trade, and it was almost entirely due to investigations based upon a soil analysis by a Massey representative, that fertilizer drills came into general use in the Antipodes. The Australasian branch has grown into an organization with large premises in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane and Christchurch, and effectively covering Australia and New Zealand as well as the Fiji and other South Pacific Islands with a network of more than 700 country agencies.

The foreign trade of the Harris company began in 1883. In 1885 Harris binders to the number of 50 were sold in South America, while in 1886 Harris machines were sold extensively in Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Turkey and Australia.

The first world's fair at Chicago, celebrating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, very aptly found the largest farm implement business under the British flag engaged in helping to re-discover that continent. The dispatch of a train load of Massey-Harris exhibits to Chicago in 1893 was a conspicuous event, and it was openly acknowledged that the company's showing of implements was the largest and finest in the building.

In 1897 the Massey-Harris binder won first prize at Ratzburg, Germany. At Cremona, Italy, in 1899, the judges in an open field trial lasting two days, with 13 entries from England, Canada, Germany and the United States, awarded the first diploma to the Massey-Harris firm. In the same year, with the same number of entries, the Massey-Harris again won first award at Cobourg, Germany.

The Grand Prize of the Paris Exhibition was won by the Verity Ploughs in 1900. Subsequent honors abroad may be summarized as follows:

1900—Verona, Italy; field trial, Grand Gold Medal.
1902—Ischigri, Russia; field trial, open to world, highest award for binders, reapers and mowers.

1906—Reaping competition at Darling, South Africa; 11 machines, first and third prizes.

1910—Ekaterinoslav, Russia: International Exhibition; first prize for binders, reapers, and mowers against machines from Russia, Sweden and United States.

1911—South Africa; six principal first prizes.

In 1920 the Massey-Harris Company were awarded the King's Warrant entitling the firm to use the Royal Arms. This honor has been granted to only three other Canadian firms, none of which makes farm implements. Massey-Harris machines have been used for a generation on the Royal Estates at Balmoral and Windsor.

The yearly output of the Massey-Harris Company to capacity is 275,000 complete machines. These products travel to 53 national markets. The firm manufactures over 1,000 types of machinery and implements. They have 3,500 Canadian agencies.

The total floor space of their six factories is 83 acres, and in all, the work of manufacturing covers 161 acres. The space covered by the Toronto lumber yard alone is 12 acres, and in it 20,000,000 board feet of lumber in 135 different varieties are stored. Eight miles of railway siding are required.

The workers aggregate 7,800, of whom 2,500 are in Toronto, 1,800 in Batavia, 2,000 in Brantford (600 in the plough factory), 300 in the Bain Waggon works, 200 in the Weston factory, and 1,000 in the company's branch houses.

The company has a total capitalization of about $40,000,000, completely represented by tangible assets at home and abroad.

With the adaptation of the business to foreign markets, many machines have had to be devised to meet local conditions. Reaper-threshers, which cut and thresh grain in one act, are sent to South America, and Australia. Trussers for tying straw into bundles as it comes from the thresher are supplied to the European trade. Special ploughs are made for several countries, according to the soil, a peculiar "stump-jump plough" going to Australia. Various types of seed drills are supplied to countries where local conditions of soil, climate and custom, demand them. A peculiar type of disc-harrow is furnished for use on rubber plantations in the Straits Settlements. Some implements for Russia and South Africa must be equipped with a hitch for oxen.

Each Massey-Harris factory has its Industrial Council, half the members of which are elected by secret ballot among the workers, and half appointed by the management from the office or factory staff. The representation of employes in the Councils in no way conflicts with their right to membership in any labor organizations.

The shorter day was perhaps the first achievement of the new industrial relations department, having been instituted about a year before the Councils were formed. From the old 59 hour week the company changed at first to 50 hours in 1918, and afterwards to 48 hours a week. The change was granted in the belief that factory output should not be diminished by reason of the shorter day. That belief has been justified.

Another reform which helps community of interest among all groups of workers in the Massey-Harris organization is the arrangement by which workers may purchase company stock. The shares of the company have never been on the market, but, by the 1919 arrangement, all workers in any of the associated companies who earn less than $2,000 a year, may, after two years of service, purchase shares at par on easy terms of payment.

The large cafeteria at Toronto is a most successful experiment and has more than justified the expenditure necessary to convert part of the ground floor of a new warehouse building into an ample lunch and assembly room, equipped in modern cafeteria style, and with a capacity of about 1000. The meals are supplied at cost. The cafeteria is open to all workers from both factory and office, and 1,200 meals per day are served. Breakfast is served to all those who wish it, and after the works close at 5 p.m., men are able to have supper before leaving the premises. The room also serves as a banquet hall and place for social gatherings. The cafeteria is managed by a joint shop and office committee of six men.

The First Aid Service, begun in 1885, has been extended. At each of the larger factories a trained nurse is constantly in charge. The men are encouraged to see the nurse upon the slightest casualty, in order to avoid infection. At the Toronto works a nurse is in charge of all outside cases, which she visits daily at the workers' homes. A physician devotes his full time to the medical service of the company.

Representing a different sphere of activity are the various athletic organizations in the factories formed and operated by the employes. Baseball, "soccer," rugby football, bowling, hockey and track athletics provide a field of recreation for a large number of the workers who, in recent years, have captured many trophies in inter-company contests. Indoor entertainments, dances and concerts are organized by the employes during the winter.

Though the Massey Harris business has been developed in spite of Tariff conditions, the relation of the manufacturing interest to the political history of Canada was for many years too intimate. The Parties were divided after the later 'fifties on the question of the Tariff and the conflict grew ever keener until the Great Election of 1878, when the principle of Protection was approved by the people. Men who found American competition damaging to their investments in various manufacturing plants were found for the most part on the Conservative side, and exerted what influence they could bring to bear in Parliament and throughout the country. The result was to invite the hostility of Liberal public men who resented the activity of a specific group in public affairs for what seemed to be private advantage.

Thus for many years Liberal leaders publicly belittled the importance of manufacturing, denied the advantage of a Home Market for agriculture and poured ridicule on the "self-seekers." Consultations between manufacturers and Conservative leaders in "the Red Parlor" of the Queen's Hotel were the subject of much withering denunciation on the hustings, and Liberals charged that Sir John Macdonald and his associates were not above requiring *quid pro quo* in subscriptions to campaign funds. Chief among those who flailed the Tories with a will was Sir Richard Cartwright. His speeches are priceless examples of sustained irony and vituperation. At Fergus, on July 7th, 1877, he made a calculation from census figures showing that of the 213,000 people of the "industrial class" in Canada, at least nine-tenths were blacksmiths, carpenters, waggon-makers, and other artisans who served the farming community. He was of the opinion that only from 20,000 to 25,000 were directly interested in the movement for Protection. "Do the manufacturers expect," he inquired, "that we are to relieve them from the results of unavoidable misfortune or from their own mistakes?" If so, Sir Richard saw no reason why Government aid should not be extended to lawyers who lost their cases, physicians whose patients died, "or even distressed politicians like Tupper and Sir John."

Even as Sir Richard was speaking the Canadian tariff averaged about 17½ per cent., for Liberals, like Conservatives, had discovered that Free Trade for the Dominion, situated next door to a Protected nation, was an impractical theory. All the discussion on Tariff questions which has filled acres of newspapers and clogged the pages of Hansard during more than fifty years, simmers down to this: Must we collect Customs revenue *avowedly* to sustain productive industry, or merely to secure enough money to carry on the Government? A Tariff is necessary in Canada. Not a single public men of any business experience, whatever his political affiliations may be, will deny that statement. For the most part politicians have argued over a question of ten per cent.

The prosperity of the Dominion during the long reign of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Party gave proof that deliberate wrecking of Industry was no more a Liberal principle than a Conservative. To-day manufacturers no longer tremble for the safety of their investments; the Canadian Tariff, avowedly or not, has been a sufficient protection to induce hundreds of American Companies to establish branch factories in this country.

Among the long-established industrial firms of Toronto are Brown Brothers, bookbinders and stationers, who began business in 1846; Taylor Brothers, who were making paper on the Don in 1845; Rolph, Smith & Co., lithographers, who took over the business of John Ellis, who started operations in 1849; E. and C. Gurney, stove manufacturers, who began in Hamilton in 1843 and moved to Toronto in 1870; Heintzman and Co., successors to John Thomas, who made the first piano in Toronto in 1847; A. and S. Nordheimer, whose business began in 1847; Mason and Risch, 1871; Octavius Newcombe and Co., 1871; the Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1829.

To-day no less than 2,849 industries are in operation in Toronto. Of these more than 200—and some of them among the largest—are branch plants of great American industries. The persons employed in these 2,849 industries number 110,000, with a yearly wage bill of $106,000,000. The capital invested amounts to over $400,000,000, and the value of manufactured products is nearly $507,000,000 annually. The value of raw material used each year is approximately $267,000,000. Toronto's output of manufactured goods is one-seventh of the total of the total output of the Dominion of Canada.

Among the many reasons for Toronto's progress in manufacturing are: (1) abundance of electric power at low rates; (2) ideal factory sites in various parts of the city, and particularly the sites especially developed on the waterfront by the Toronto Harbour Commissioners; (3) the large number of buildings erected by private enterprise to accommodate light manufacturing industries; (4) splendid transportation facilities by rail and water; (5) plenty of labor always available, much of which is composed of heads of families, who, owning their own homes and having a real interest in the city's prosperity are unusually steady and reliable; (6) unexcelled banking facilities; (7) plentiful supply of brokers and dealers in the raw materials of various industries, and a constant and growing market within the city itself for manufactured products; (8) a splendid "home" city for executives of industry.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association was incorporated in 1902. Through this body the manufacturers of Canada are enabled to preserve their common rights, to advance their interests and to build up the industries of the country.

There are approximately 4,300 members throughout the Dominion, and branches of the Association are established in every important city in Canada. Toronto is the head office of the Association, and out of the total membership Toronto has about 1,000 members.

The work of the Association is carried on by specialized departments, such as the insurance, transportation, legislation, tariff, legal and commercial intelligence departments.

An interesting development about three years ago was the formation of separate divisions for the Maritimes, British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces, Quebec and Ontario. It is worthy of comment that Ontario and Quebec, the two largest and most important industrial provinces in the Dominion, were the last two to organize their own branches of the larger organization.

While the Association has consistently adhered to its objects of promoting Canadian industries and of furthering the interests of Canadian manufacturers and exporters, it has not confined its energies entirely to their pursuit. The Association, through its presidents, its councils, its committees and its members, and by reason of its general activity as a corporate body, has wielded a large and beneficent influence on all departments of public and private life in Canada. It has striven not only to promote and safeguard its own interests, but also to encourage in every possible way the welfare of the country. To this end it has co-operated with governments, municipalities, boards of trade and many legitimate public associations in addition to commercial, financial and agricultural organizations.

Based on the theory of responsible government, the government of the Association is thoroughly democratic. The franchise is open to all members. All members of the various governing bodies are elective. Any member is eligible for the position of president and any member can nominate whom he pleases for any office. The vote of members employing five hands has the same value as that of members employing 50,000.

Although the history of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association goes back as far as 1872, for many years it consisted of local organizations in a few of the principal industrial centres, and its activities were necessarily provincial, with the result that, in 1899, when it was launched as a national organization, its membership was only about 300. By 1905 its membership had grown to 1604; by 1910 to 2,450; by 1915 to 3,098. From a few isolated groups with no common policy, the Association has developed into a truly national organization, with branches stretching from coast to coast. It has kept pace with, and is partly responsible for, the extraordinary growth of manufacturing in Canada since 1900.

Membership in the Association is itself a kind of insurance. It insures against class legislation, discriminatng freight rates, unjust taxation and other conditions which tend to unsettle business or to handicap the manufacturer.

The Association, however, maintains a department which concerns itself exclusively with fire insurance. The service it affords is comprehensive and practical. Policies are examined by experts to see that they accord the assured the protection for which he is paying. Risks are inspected and improvements suggested that will carry commensurate reductions in rates. Whole lines of insurance are rearranged to effect savings in premiums. Valuable advice is given in building construction. Plans are prepared and contracts let for the installation of sprinkler equipments in a manner that will secure the minimum rates of insurance for the least outlay. Fire losses are adjusted by men who know the business and who can secure for the assured the last cent to which he is entitled under his policies.

The Association makes it its business to promote good legislation and to oppose bad legislation with all its might. The passing of the Bulk Sales Act (to prevent fraudulent sale of stock in bulk) was sponsored by the Association, also acts to confer the franchise on incorporated companies, to exempt machinery from taxation, to prevent the giving or accepting of secret commissions, to bring express and telegraph companies under the jurisdiction of the Board of Railway Commissioners, etc.

Freight bills pile up against the manufacturer, both going and coming, on his raw material, and on his finished product. They aggregate in Canada over $100,000,000 and are a greater charge upon industry than the Customs tariff. They are based upon a complicated arrangement of classifications, tariffs and regulations, which few people understand and which only an expert can adjust without throwing the whole mechanism out of gear. Changes of any kind, to be effective, must have the approval of the Board of Railway Commissioners. Applications for changes are being made almost daily, and it is the business of the Association's transportation department to examine all such applications, to determine their effect, and to take such steps as will protect the interests of the individual manufacturer.

There was a time when the tariff was said to be "the be all and the end all" of the Association's existence. That time has gone. Customs matters constitute the work of a very important department at Head

Office, but that department is only one of four or five that are of equal rank and importance.

The Commercial Intelligence Department furnishes reports on commercial houses, in any part of the world (outside of Canada and the United States), it translates correspondence, catalogues and reports from or into any foreign language, it distributes among firms interested specific enquiries for Canadian-made goods; it issues warnings regarding fraudulent or doubtful "propositions," in behalf of which manufacturers are being canvassed; it arranges for the representation of its members at leading international exhibitions, and when they are travelling abroad it supplies them with letters of introduction.

The furnishing of a good commercial intelligence service is greatly facilitated by the fact that the Association owns and edits two first-class publications. One, the "Canadian Trade Index," shows by headings the various makers of every article manufactured in the Dominion; the other, "Industrial Canada," is a monthly survey of events and problems reflecting or bearing upon the country's industrial activity.

Accessibility to the source of raw materials is of vital importance to any industry. It is true that it assumes greater importance to some industries than to others. A food canning factory, for instance, cannot be expected to flourish if located any great distance from the truck and garden lands which constitute its sole source of supply. In like manner a reduction plant for extracting potash from feldspar rock must necessarily locate in the feldspar rock region or its dividends would be entirely absorbed by freight charges on its raw material. On the other hand the value of an industry's product may be largely the result of the labor that is used in its manufacture, so that the carrying cost of raw material to places of manufacture is in some cases of lesser importance in selecting a suitable location. Greater attention can then be given to the other factors which enter more extensively into the cost of production.

Ontario is particularly fortunate in the variety and quality of natural raw materials contained within its boundaries. It is a veritable storehouse of treasure for the manufacture of goods of utility and art, as the following list of raw materials and natural resources will show.

Metallic.—Gold, silver, platinum metals, copper, copper in matte, nickel in matte, iron ore, pig lead, pig iron, metallic cobalt, oxide cobalt, metallic nickel, oxide nickel, other nickel and cobalt compounds, molybdenite concentrates.

Non-metallic.—Actinolite, arsenic (crude and white), asbestos, baryte, fancy and pressed brick, common brick, pottery, sewer pipe, drain and hollow building tile, Portland cement, corundum, feldspar, fluorspar, crude and refined graphite, crushed, ground and calcined gypsum, iron pyrites, lime, mica, mineral water, natural gas, peat, crude petroleum, quartz, salt, sand and gravel, building stone, granite, sandlime brick, talc.

The geographical situation of Toronto is such that her manufacturers are enabled to take full advantage of these resources in their natural state. With reference to all other resources, manufacturers in many lines of industry will find that the producers of the raw material used by them in the manufacture of their goods have their headquarters in Toronto; many lines of factory machinery and equipment are also made here, enabling the manufacturer to fit up and operate his plant at the lowest possible cost, free from transportation charges and the intolerable delays which inevitably occur when machinery or repair parts must be purchased in cities hundreds of miles away.

Toronto also affords a ready market for the absorption of waste and by-products of manufacture. Many small plants are engaged in salvage and reclamation work. While this phase of the raw material market may be considered of very little importance, in the case of some factories, in others the profits are obtained largely from the waste materials which thus become of primary value.

With millions of feet of lumber within easy access of Toronto, it is not surprising that the lumber industry in the city has assumed gigantic proportions, involving the turnover of many millions of dollars a year. Altogether 45 manufacturing plants are in operation with extensive yards and warehouses, and sawing, planing and finishing mills. Here all branches of the industry are carried on, and everything in rough and dressed lumber is turned out, including railroad ties, logs, frames, doors, sash, lath, hardwood flooring, columns, box shooks, casing, sheeting, beaver board, shelving, mouldings, shingles, posts—in fact all requirements in this particular line for public works, large buildings, the office, the mansion, or the cottage. Among the leading lumber companies are: R. Laidlaw Lumber Co., Ltd., Seaman Kent Co., Ltd., Canadian General Lumber Co., F. A. Bowden & Sons, Mickle, Dyment & Son, R. G. Dryden, Irwin Lumber Co. Ltd., J. T. Gilchrist Lumber Co., Riverdale Lumber Co., Irvin Lumber Co., Ltd., Buyers' Door and Manufacturing Co. Ltd.

Closely allied to the lumber trade is the manufacture of furniture. The T. Eaton Co. have extensive factories which supply their huge departmental store. Spread over the city are numerous cabinet makers and upholsterers. The Office Specialty Manufacturing Co., Ltd., whose factories are at Newmarket, have an uptown service store in the King Edward Hotel, and showrooms at 97 Wellington Street west. Firstbrook Bros. Ltd., manufacture wooden boxes.

An event of great importance to Toronto was the establishment in 1920, on a stretch of the reclaimed land of the Toronto Harbor Commissioners on Ashbridge's Bay, of a great branch of Baldwin's Limited, of Swansea, Wales —the largest tinplate manufacturers in the world. The Canadian plant is known as Baldwin's Canadian Steel Corporation Ltd., and when completed will employ upwards of 5,000 hands, and have an annual output of 200,000 tons of tinplate. The establishment of this company means that Toronto has secured a great basic industry fed by the raw materials of half a continent, which will act as a magnet for a series of kindred industries. The company, which is capitalized at $10,000,000, purchased in 1919 the plant of the British Forgings Ltd., (Imperial Government), and immediately began the erection of new buildings and the re-modelling of the old plant. When completed and in full operation this plant will be the leading industry of the city.

To secure an idea of the magnitude of this corporation which has chosen Toronto as the site of its Canadian operations, it may be stated that the company, which is entirely British, operates fourteen steel plants. The corporation is not only interested in the manufacture of steel and iron, but owns and operates its own deposits of the material necessary for the various steel processes which are carried out.

Other large steel concerns are The Canadian Steel Foundries Limited, The Consolidated Steel Corporation, The Dominion Foundries & Steel Limited, The Steel Co. of Canada, Ltd., Reid and Brown Structural Steel and Ironworks, Limited.

Among the principal ironworks are those of the Canadian Allis-Chalmers Limited, John T. Hepburn Limited, Pease Foundry Co., Ltd., McGregor & McIntyre Limited, Metallic Roofing Co., Shipway Iron, Bell and Wire Manufacturing Co.

The second largest industry in Toronto is the metal industry, under which heading are included all those plants making engines, boilers, machinery, implements, tools and metal goods of all sorts. About 200 establishments are in operation in these lines, with a varied and extensive production.

Prominent among machinery manufacturers are the Brown Engineering Corporation, Canadian Fairbanks-Morse Co. Ltd., Canadian Link Belt Co. Ltd., Garlock-Walker Machinery Co., Linde-Canadian Refrigeration Co., H. W. Petrie Limited, Wettlaufer Bros., Limited, John Whitefield Limited.

Half a century's activity in manufacturing has gained for the John Inglis Co., Ltd., a leading place among the firmly-established industrial concerns of the Dominion. Always prominent in its identification with Canadian shipping, the company made a name for itself during the war through such contracts as the installation of engines and boilers for seven steamers of the Imperial Munitions Board. Most of the engine and boiler work on the ships constructed by the Dominion Shipbuilding and other companies was done by the John Inglis Co. When working at capacity the company employs about 1,200 men. Pumps, pumping machinery, tanks and heavy plate work are also manufactured by this firm.

The paint and varnish industry is represented by over 40 manufacturers and wholesale dealers. Prominent among the manufacturers are such well-known firms as the Sherwin-Williams Co., Martin Senour Co., Ltd., Canada Paint Co. Ltd., Imperial Varnish & Color Co. Ltd., Brandram-Henderson Limited, Dominion Paint Works Limited, International Varnish Co., Ltd., Lowe Bros., Limited, Benjamin Moore & Co., and Percy Sanderson & Co., Ltd.

There are 26 plants engaged in the harness and leather goods industry, and 11 in the rubber industry.

Overlooking the Hamilton-Toronto highway and the blue waters of Lake Ontario just beyond, the huge plant of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. at New Toronto, may be seen for miles around. The building is by far the commanding feature of the landscape. At night, the light from its hundreds of windows is visible from points far out into the lake. This factory is one of the largest of its kind in Canada, and few plants in the United States surpass it in scientific efficiency of design. Built on property covering about 26 acres, the main structure has a frontage of 460 feet and a depth of 100 feet. In the construction of this building 2,200 tons of steel were used and approximately 2,225,000 bricks. There are 45,000 square feet of windows in this structure, including the skylight on the roof. The factory is, in fact, one of the best lighted in Canada. The total floor space in the three buildings amounts to 220,000 square feet. Equipment providing for the welfare of employes is evident on every hand. A first-class cafeteria occupies the top floor, where four meals a day are served at cost price. The plant has a capacity of 3,000 tires a day and gives employment to 1,000 men and women.

Other well-known rubber goods manufacturers are the Dunlop Tire and Rubber Goods Co., Ltd., and Gutta Percha & Rubber Limited, who specialize in tires, belting, packings, valves, tubing, hose, pneumatic goods, footwear, mats, etc.

There are several factories where leather belting is made, and numerous other plants making sample cases, club bags, suitcases, music rolls, film cases, purses, billfolds, letter books, wallets, desk pads, handbags, medicine cases, brief bags, belts, tobacco pouches, drug boxes, jewellery boxes, vanity boxes, card cases, etc.

Toronto stands unsurpassed for the quality of bread, ice cream and chocolate made within its borders. Not only are the machinery and equipment employed of the most modern type, but all the operations are conducted on the most hygienic principles. The baking establishments number 10, of which the Canada Bread Co., the Ideal Bread Co., the Federal System of Bakeries Limited, the Nut Krust Bakeries Limited, and Geo. Lawrence are the largest and most important. The principal manufacturers of ice cream are the William Neilson Co., Limited, and Willards' Limited. Both these firms and the Cowan Co., Limited, have acquired a wide reputation for chocolate.

One of Toronto's largest industries is that devoted to the manufacture of clothing, including hats, gloves and furs. There are over 200 factories in the city engaged in this work, and their product is sold all over the Dominion. The chemical industry, which is one of steadily increasing importance, is carried on in about 50 plants. As for the printing and allied trades, there are approximately eighty plants in operation, not including numerous small plants. The book publishing business centres in Toronto, and it is also the home of many publications, circulating all over the Dominion. The manufacture of stationery and paper goods of all sorts is cared for in some 60 establishments.

The jewellery industry, including the manufacture of watch cases, gold and silverware, is quite extensive, there being no fewer than 40 plants engaged in it. Likewise the musical instrument industry, which embraces the manufacture of pianos, phonographs, band instruments, etc., is important, with 26 factories in the list. There are 32 plants engaged in the brick and building material industry, 16 in the boot and shoe industry, and over 30 plants making electrical goods of various sorts. There are 11 in the flour and cereal industry.

Perhaps it is as a distributor of food products that Toronto leads from a wholesale standpoint. The city is the logical centre of the great food producing area that includes the fertile fruit belt of Niagara, the rich creamery district along the north shore of Lake Ontario, the productive potato, corn and vegetable producing district in the western half of the province, and the grain areas towards the north.

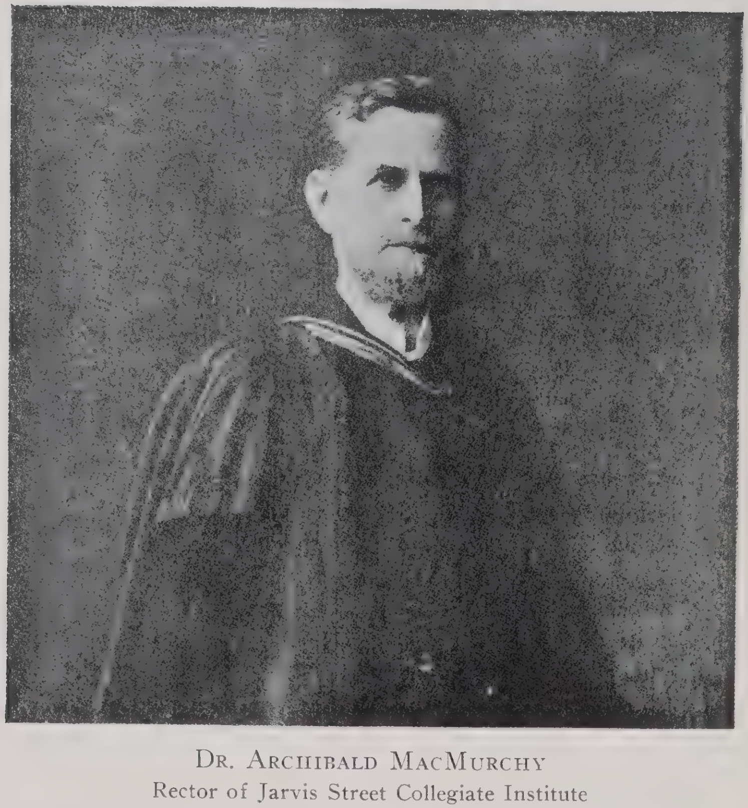
Toronto is the centre of the packing house industry in Canada, headed by the Wm. Davies Co. Ltd., which has a record of 63 years and operates throughout the Dominion and all over the British Isles. Others in the same business here are the Canadian Packing Co., Ltd., Gunn's Limited, Harris Abattoir Co., Ltd., Swift Canadian Co., Ltd., and Whyte Packing Co., Ltd.

Any reference to Toronto's industries would be incomplete without mention of the Canadian General Electric Co.'s branch plant, of the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Co. Ltd., of the jewellery factories of P. W. Ellis & Co. and Ryrie Bros. Limited., and the Russell Motor Car Co. Ltd.

CHAPTER VII.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

REV. DR. EGERTON RYERSON
Founder of the Ontario School System



DR. ARCHIBALD MACMURCHY
Rector of Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute

CHAPTER VII.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

SETTLERS in Upper Canada before the year 1832 had no Government aid in providing elementary education for their children. They had to build a school, if the sentiment of the district was favorable to learning, provide what rude equipment was necessary and pay the teacher. Frequently the schoolmaster was incompetent. Sometimes he was a mere sot avoiding the hard labor of the forest. But the law of averages held good. Some teachers had genius. Some schools were celebrated and admired. According to the testimony of M. Smith, a traveller from Richmond, Va., who spent the period between 1808 and 1812 in Upper Canada, the common price given for the tuition of each pupil by a good teacher was $10 a year. Books were scarce. Almost invariably the Bible was the textbook of every class.

Soon after the establishment of York teachers were available, but the first recorded school was on Duke Street (now King), opened in 1798 and conducted by William Cooper. Other early schools have been mentioned in the course of the general history of the City. They were all private, commercial institutions, serving only the children of parents who could afford to pay.

For many years the whole interest of Government was in the establishment of Grammar Schools and the foundation of a University. Not until 1816 was a Common School Fund appropriated by Parliament for the benefit of the townships, and four years later the original appropriation of $20,000 was cut to $10,000—the best proof that the system was improperly devised and inefficient. A hint as to the cause may be found in a statement in 1832 by Dr. Thomas Rolph: "It is really melancholy to traverse the Province and go into any of the Common Schools; you find a herd of children instructed by some anti-British adventurer instilling into the young and tender mind sentiments hostile to the parent State; false accounts of the late war—geography setting forth New York, Philadelphia and Boston as the largest and finest cities in the world; historical reading-books describing the American population as the most free and enlightened under heaven; insisting on the superiority of their laws and institutions to those of all the world; American spelling books, dictionary and grammar, teaching them an anti-British idiom and dialect." In view of the difficulty of ascertaining whether teachers in the townships were British citizens or garrulous Republicans, the Government was justified in hesitating to contribute public money for their support. Provision was made in 1824 for the examination of teachers by County Boards, but that was a counsel of perfection, rather than a practical defence. In many a case only one man would be available to teach the children. Failing him, the only alternative was no school at all.

After 1832 a beginning was made towards the establishment of a general system of schools. The expenditures by the Government were as follows: 1832, $9,600; 1833, $32,200; 1834, $31,400; 1835, $33,800; 1836, $35,800. Then the Rebellion intervened, and the Union of the Provinces in 1841. After the Union $100,000 was granted for Upper Canada education and a start was made in the organization of a proper Common School System by the appointment in 1844 of Dr. Egerton Ryerson as Superintendent of Education. The work of Dr. Ryerson has been already described. The effect of it in turning the minds of the people towards education is found in the following figures: In 1842 the ratepayers of the Province raised for school purposes aside from the Government grant, $100,000; in 1850, $334,400; in 1861, $1,215,000.

The Public School System of Upper Canada was planned after a thorough study of existing systems in other parts of the world. The machinery of organization was copied from New York State, the method of financial support from Massachusetts. The school books first used, in a graded series, came from Ireland, and were the best of their kind. · The system of Normal School training was devised after a Prussian model. There are men in our day who wonder if there was not too much Prussian organization in the whole system, but that is for the discussion of scientific educationists—if such persons exist. Probably a centralized authority making regulations of the force of law was a necessity of 1844. Voluntarism had failed. Some measure of coercion was necessary to serve the best interests of the Province, to give every boy and girl a fair chance in life, to remove the stigma of illiteracy, and to make sure of a reasonably informed electorate as the reserve-force of democratic and responsible government. For many years the people of this Province were convinced that they had the best school system in the civilized world. Against such a conviction criticism beat in vain. To-day there is less of self-sufficiency in the minds of educational officials—a fact which is full of hope for the future. It is admitted that the Public School System fills the minds of the pupils with varied stores of knowledge, that it gives a fair understanding of the position of Ontario with respect to the rest of the world. Does it teach children to think? Is there any system of mass-formation that will teach thinking as a science and an art? Do the schools give any glimmering of the meaning and the uses of the Fine Arts? Do they establish moral and ethical foundations of conduct? Is there a tendency to train the young in making money rather than in living? "What is the English Hell," asks Carlyle. "With hesitation, with astonishment, I pronounce it to be, the terror of not-succeeding; of not making money, fame, or some other figure in the world—chiefly of not making money! Is not that a somewhat singular Hell?" Is the Ontario System of Education devised for the avoidance of that particular Hell? These are questions of the day. Upon the nature of the answers much will depend.

The Common Schools of Toronto were not officially recognized until 1843, when a committee of the City Council sought to co-ordinate them—imperfectly enough—into a system, and public money was granted towards their support. Under the Act of July 28th, 1847, the Municipal Council was authorized to appoint a Board of Trustees to administer the schools. The Toronto Board consisted of Frederick W. Barron, M.A., Principal of Upper

Canada College, John Cameron, Hon. John Elmsley, John McMurrich, John G. Bowes and William Cawthra, with the Mayor as Chairman *ex-officio.* The first meeting was held on November 20th, 1847, when G. A. Barber was named as City Superintendent of Common Schools. Mr. Barber, in reporting on existing educational conditions, said that in former times each school had been managed by a local board of trustees chosen from among themselves by the resident householders of the section. In consequence there had been a want of unity. There were 15 sections in the city, each with a single-room school. The number of pupils in 1846 had been 1,221. The expenditure had been £1,750—£950 being the total of the City assessment and the Provincial grant, and £800 having been collected in school fees from the pupils. The school buildings for the most part were rented. The rental in 1846 had been £350. Mr. Barber thought that the fifteen districts should be consolidated into eight, and that each should have a headmaster, an assistant master and a schoolmistress. That would necessitate the building of schools, a policy more desirable than the one which so far had been followed. He pointed out also that the Act in Section 8 gave the Board power to determine whether the teacher should be paid a fixed salary from the City, or should receive part of his emolument from pupils' fees.

Some members of the Board considered that the abolition of fees was not reasonable and the Secretary was instructed to write to Dr. Ryerson and ascertain if the Legislature really meant that the schools should be free. In answer Mr. J. George Hodgins, secretary of the Provincial Board of Education, said that Dr. Ryerson considered free education to be the cardinal principle of the Act. On December 6th, 1847—a date of some importance in the story of education in Toronto—Hon. John Elmsley moved that an Address be presented to the Common Council of the City recommending that there should be a sufficient assessment for school purposes so as to dispense with payment of school dues by pupils. His resolution contained this clause: "That parents are far too prone to grudge even the small pittance demanded as their contribution towards defraying the expenses of the education of their children; and thus a large number of both sexes are annually cast upon society unaccompanied by any of those safeguards which a good education seldom fails to produce." Mr. McMurrich was opposed to the resolution but all the other Trustees voted for it.

It was not possible immediately to carry out Mr. Barber's suggestion as to the consolidation of the schools and while a plan was in preparation the schools were carried on as before, the existing teachers being confirmed in their positions.

On January 31st, 1848, Mr. McDougall, teacher of School No. 15, resigned to accept the position of "master of a select school at Richmond Hill." On February 22nd, James B. Coleman was appointed in his place. On March 7th the Superintendent reported having admitted James and John Doherty, sons of the Widow Doherty, as free scholars in Section 14 on recommendation of J. G. Bowes, a member of the Board.

The Estimates were passed a week later. Since trouble arose on account of them they are given here in full:

1.	Rent of school houses at £20 per annum	£ 300		
2.	Casual repairs	50		
3.	Maps, books of reference and books for indigent scholars	25		
4.	Fuel for the schools at £5 each	75		
5.	Salaries to 15 teachers at an average of £112 10s each	1,687	10s	
6.	Reserve fund to pay for services of assistants if needed	200		
7.	Contingent expenses	25		
8.	Salary to the City Superintendent, acting also as Secretary of the Board.	125		
		£2,477	10s	
	Less Government Grant	467	12s	5d
	Amount required to be raised by the City Council per assessment of rateable property	2,009	17s	7d

The Board had followed closely the procedure set forth by the Act, but the City Council regarded the estimates with indignation. Such an enormous expenditure for mere schools was at the outer limit of absurdity. In 1846 the City Treasury had supplied only about £500 for these same schools and teachers. Why should the amount be increased four-fold? The newfangled notion of giving free schooling to everyone was all very well in theory, but the practice of taking money out of the ratepayers' pockets was not to be endured without protest. The City Council refused to endorse the estimates or to raise the money required. Conferences and argument were in vain. Some of the members of the Board were in favor of applying to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus*—since the Attorney-General had given an opinion that the Board was in the right. But the majority halted at the prospect of a direct fight. The deadlock was complete. Funds were in hand only to maintain the schools until the end of June. Accordingly on June 29th the Board determined to close the schools and dismiss the teachers. On the following day action was taken in accordance with the resolution, and the schools remained officially closed for a year—from June 30th, 1848, to June 30th, 1849. Some of the teachers continued their classes on private speculation, being permitted by the Board the use of the school furniture.

There was no meeting of the Board from July 5th to December 30th, 1848. On the latter date the Council was interrogated as to the disposition of £250 balance of school funds in the Board's hands, and a ballot was taken to determine which two of the six members of the Board should retire at the end of the year. Mr. Cameron and Mr. Bowes were chosen. Messrs. Elmsley and McMurrich were selected to retire at the end of 1849 and Messrs. Cawthra and Barron at the end of 1850. City Clerk Daly reported on February 10th that the Council had chosen Thomas Ewart and Richard Kneeshaw to fill the vacancies, and had suggested holding the money for the present. "There being no immediate probability of the schools being re-opened," says the Minute, "the Board adjourned."

A warning came in June from the office of Dr. Ryerson to the effect that the Provincial grant would not be paid if the schools continued closed. The Council passed a resolution authorizing an assessment of 1d in the pound for school purposes for the half year and the Board resumed business—making a concession of its plain legal rights for the benefit of the community. Some of the teachers who were re-engaged inquired on July 26th about the possibility of a summer vacation, but the Board was unsympathetic. A vacation was not considered to be expedient since the schools had been so recently re-opened. But the cholera made its appearance in August, and leave of absence was granted to such teachers as desired to go to the country for a few days. The schools as a whole were not closed during the epidemic. No teachers suffered from more than temporary indisposition, and only one pupil died.

Two curious entries are found in the Minute Book for 1849. One relates to the fact that 700 pupils were admitted at reduced prices to see Winter's Dioramas and a representation of the funeral of Napoleon Bonaparte. The other cites a communication from an applicant for appointment as a teacher, offering the Superintendent of Schools £2 as a bonus if he should get the position. The letter and the Superintendent's reply were placed on file. The first suggestion that music should be taught in the Public Schools came on December 29th, 1849, in a letter from Mr. Townsend, who proposed to use "Hullah's System."

Possibly the long struggle in Toronto between the School Board and the Council had some influence in the framing of the amending Act of 13-14 Victoria, Chapter 48. By this legislation the Trustees were to be elected by the people, thus securing a mandate equal in force to the mandate of an alderman. The first election was held in Toronto on September 3rd, 1850, when the following were chosen: E. F. Whittemore, J. Lukin Robinson, St. George's Ward; William Gooderham, Joshua G. Beard, St. Lawrence Ward; Geo. P. Ridout, Alexander Macdonald, St. Andrew's Ward; J. H. Hagarty,* James Price, St. Patrick's Ward; Joseph Workman, M.D., A. A. Riddell, St. David's Ward; Joseph D. Ridout, David Paterson, St. James's Ward.

The first meeting of the new Board was held on October 16th in the Albany Chambers "where the former Board was in the habit of assembling and transacting business." At the second meeting three days later Dr. Workman was elected Chairman and Mr. Barber was re-appointed Superintendent and Secretary.

On December 18th, 1850, Mr. Riddell gave notice of motion to this effect: "That whereas the present system of taxing the people for school purposes and then compelling them to pay a heavy school-rate (or fee) likewise is unjust and detrimental to the cause of Education; therefore be it resolved that the Common Schools be free to the scholars during the year 1851." The question was submitted to a Free Schools Committee and the principle was endorsed by the Board on March 5th, 1851. Nevertheless it was some time before the fees were entirely abolished.

Some of the teachers in 1851 were Mr. D. Clyde, Mr. John Tovell, Mr. J. B. McLachlan, Mr. Dean, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Carruthers, Mr. McLelland and Mr. Bogue. The last-named principal was reprimanded by the Board on March 19th, 1851, "for exhibiting in the punishment of his pupils a severity and loss of temper which the Board must always strongly condemn, and which it trusts it may not again have occasion, in the case of Mr. Bogue or any other teacher, to notice." There was complaint also of another teacher who had whipped a girl with a rawhide, when the Board declared that it disapproved of the use of a rawhide whip and generally of corporal punishment—an advanced position for those days. The summer holidays for the year 1851 began on August 2nd and continued for four weeks.

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* Mr. Hagarty resigned immediately after the election. A bye-election was held at Dill's Tavern on November 4th when William Hall was the successful candidate. The cost of this bye-election was £1 6s.

Towards the end of 1851 the Board determined to acquire sites and build school-houses as the need arose, rather than to continue the policy of renting buildings. There was a resolution on November 5th authorizing an advertisement in the *Patriot,* the *British Colonist* and the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* for plans for a school house with outbuildings, fencing, etc., to cost not more than £800. A premium of £15 was offered for the best plan received, and of £10 for the second-best. Mr. W. Thomas won the first prize, with Mr. Joseph Sheard second, and the winning plan was formally accepted on January 13th, 1852. Meanwhile there had been a discussion in the Board over the special needs of the district east of Parliament Street and north of Queen Street., then known as the "North Park." None of the established schools was near enough to accommodate the children. Accordingly it was resolved to build the first school-house in the Park neighborhood. The site was bought from John Robertson for £300, and the school was opened on April 5th, 1852 in charge of Miss McLean. A few days before this Dr. Workman had resigned the chairmanship of the Board and Mr. J. G. Beard succeeded. On November 26th, 1851, the school hours had been fixed — from 9 to 4 daily except Saturday with one hour for luncheon and on Saturday from 9 to 12.

With the approval of the City, debentures of £3,500 were issued in April 1852, to pay for schools after the Thomas plans. The "Park" was succeeded by George Street and Louisa Street schools. The best idea of the scope of the Board's commitments for 1853 is shown by the Estimates:

	£	s	d
Salaries for the year	1,846		
Rents	120		
Interest and instalments on three school sites now built upon	296	8	9
Instalment on purchase of three new sites	365		
Redemption of one-twentieth of principal and one year's interest on £3,500 debentures	385		
Firewood and cutting	75		
Sweeping schools	65		
Repairs	20		
Insurance	15	15	
Printing	15		
Advertising	25		
Books, stationery and apparatus	25		
Contingent expenses of the Board	7	10	
Election expenses	25		
Extras on new buildings	300		
Additional expenses, planking yards, etc.	50		
	3,635	13	9
Government Grant	£737	6s	4d
LESS apportionment for Separate Schools	200		
Net Grant	537	6	4
Amount to be raised by assessment	£3,098	7s	5d

The total expenditures of the Board of Education for 1921 were $7,099,569.14.

From the day that the principle of free schools was endorsed by the Board there was strong opposition in the community. On January 9th, 1852, a public meeting was held in St. Lawrence Hall on requisition of George Bilton and sixty-nine others for the discussion of the question. It is interesting to notice that John G. Howard, Richard Score and Robert Beard were among the petitioners. The arguments against free schools was twofold: (1) that the children of wealthy parents would not make use of the Public Schools but would go to private seminaries, thus making the Schools mere institutions for the poor; and (2) that in view of the fact that such schools could not be of equal advantage to all, general taxation for their support was unfair. Possibly there were some who used these arguments as an excuse to protest against an increased tax-rate! The chief speaker at this meeting, for those opposed to the policy of the Board, was Mr. Dallas, a dealer in woodenware, who had a perpetual quarrel with Dr. Ryerson, the Provincial Superintendent of Education. Dr. Workman answered Mr. Dallas and ridiculed his pretence to complete information concerning school systems in Europe. He asked why he had sat quietly looking at his woodenware and allowed Dr. Ryerson to go abroad for information which Mr. Dallas had in full measure. Among those who supported the Free Schools were Dr. Ryerson, Rev. Dr. Burns, Rev. Mr. Jennings, and Hon. Henry John Boulton. A resolution prepared by the "antis" and submitted to the meeting was swamped. Of some 400 present only about a dozen voted for it. After this meeting all serious opposition to the policy of the Board died.

Following the construction of the first three schools, three others were built, John Street, Victoria Street and Phœbe Street, and were opened in 1855. Mr. Barber resigned his position as Superintendent in 1857 because in his opinion the free-schools policy had not been as successful as he had anticipated. He continued as secretary of the Board, and Rev. James Porter became the Superintendent on July 1st, 1858. Under his regime night classes were organized but for the first year they were only a partial success. The average attendance was only 121 for the whole city. The school attendance during the day averaged 2,622 and the annual outlay by the Board was about $25,000. (Decimal currency was adopted in 1857).

The Annual Report for 1858 named the following schools and members of the staff:

Western Auxiliary School, St. Patrick's Ward; teacher, Mrs. O'Flaherty.

Trinity Street School, St. Lawrence Ward: teachers, Mrs. Henderson; Miss Elizabeth Agnew.

Park School: Headmaster, William Anderson; Miss Julia Robinson, Miss Jemima Armstrong, Miss M. A. Cuyler, Miss Susan Hamilton.

The last two were in charge of classes exclusively for girls.

Victoria Street School: Headmaster, William Spotton; Miss Elizabeth Kennedy, Miss Charlotte M. Churchill. Female department, Miss Georgiana Round, Miss Margaret Wilkes.

Louisa Street School: Headmaster, William Hunter; assistant master, John Irving; Miss Elizabeth Mitchell, Miss S. B. Quinn, Miss Mary A. Kennedy, Miss Mary Henderson.

John Street School: Headmaster, John Thompson; Miss M. A. Fellis, Miss Jane Mowatt, Miss Fanny Gordon.

Phœbe Street School: Headmaster, Samuel Coyne; assistant, James Anderson, Miss Mary A. Churchill, Mrs. M. E. Lauder, Miss Elizabeth Barker, Miss Elizabeth McMurray.

George Street School. Headmaster, Richard Lewis; Miss M. J. Keown, Miss Amanda Richards, Miss Charlotte Smyth, Miss Martha Hoig, Miss M. Phillips.

The report declared that in the "female schools" all learned needlework and "vocal music was practised" in all city schools. The salaries ranged from $280 to $700.

The books used in the Toronto schools in 1860 included the National Readers (Irish), with the option of Sullivan's Literary class book; the National Arithmetic, Lennie's English Grammar, Sullivan's Geography, and Hodgins's Geography of British North America, Edwards' Summary of English History, the National Mensuration, Colenso's Algebra and various editions of Euclid's Elements.

In view of the successful singing of the children at the reception to the Prince of Wales, Rev. Joseph Porter in his annual report took occasion to "express his earnest and abiding conviction of the great importance to be attached to the systematic cultivation of vocal music as an equally delightful and improving means of education, particularly if such cultivation were conducted by one leading and presiding mind." It is interesting to notice the persistence of that sentiment in the minds of the school administrators even to our own day. Good singing in the Toronto schools is not to be wondered at. It is a tradition.

In 1860 the Trustee Board informed the City Council that taxation of 2c on the dollar would be necessary for the maintenance of the schools during the year. The Council presumed to revise the estimate and offered to raise 1c 6 mills instead. The Board applied to the Courts and the case was heard and adjudged by Chief Justice Robinson, who granted a *mandamus* instructing the Council to provide the money. The Judge said in the course of the judgment: "The interests of the Common Schools are too important in a large city to admit of a sudden suspension of their proceedings from any dispute of this kind between the two authorities if it can possibly be avoided. It would produce the utmost inconvenience."

An interesting comparison between the school administration of Detroit, Oswego and Toronto in the year 1859 was made by the Superintendent in answering some criticisms against the Toronto system.

	Detroit	Oswego	Toronto
Teachers employed	61	50	38
Pupils to each teacher	53	44	56
Teachers' salaries	$22,499.81	$17,458.23	$14,134.32
Range of salaries	$250 to $900	$275 to $900	$170 to $700
Cost of fuel	$1,120.26	$1,642.83	$1,019.26

One finds in the Report of 1862 the beginning of the cadet system. "The Board has accepted the handsome offer of Brigade Major R. B. Denison to receive larger boys in the Public Schools under his orders for the purpose of being instructed in elementary drill for one hour each week." The drill began soon after the re-opening of the schools in January, 1863.

By 1860 there was a strong feeling that some provision ought to be made by the City for higher education. The first motion to that end came with the offer of the Toronto Grammar School to receive under scholarship regulations a certain number of boys annually who had distinguished themselves in the Public Schools. Between 1860 and 1864 the following boys were so honored: Robert Palen, Thomas Mitchell, H. P. Spotton, Richard Lewis, Wm. Jardine, Daniel Ryrie, W. J. Spence, James Constable, Wm. Dorothey, Wm. Courtney, Wm. Lewis, Alfred Baker, G. L. Brighton, Wm. Wagner, W. H. Coulter, Wm. Carrier, Wm. Lumsden, James Leatch, James Jardine, Alex. Sampson, John Brown, John Stevenson, Jacob Walton, C. A. Ritchey and James Boomer.

In 1865 Dr. Wickson, Principal of the Grammar School, wrote as follows to the Board: "It affords me much pleasure to inform you that at the recent Matriculation Examinations in the University of Toronto two of the former pupils of the City Schools to whom scholarships were awarded by you acquitted themselves with great credit. I refer to Daniel Ryrie and Alfred Baker."

Daniel Ryrie was placed first in the first-class in every subject of examination, winning several scholarships. Alfred Baker had first class honors in mathematics and won a scholarship for general proficiency. Dr. Wickson ended his letter as follows: "By the establishment and maintenance of the system of free schools and scholarships we in our favored day scarcely feel the force of the maxim of older times, *Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat res angusta domi.*"*

It is said that the credit of pressing forward the scheme for awarding scholarships to public school pupils rested with Judge Adam Wilson and former Mayor Bowes. The success of the boys led to an agitation in favor of providing better opportunities for girls of special talent. The Board of Trustees adopted a resolution on April 1st, 1863, which read as follows: "That it be an instruction to the Standing Committee on School Management to report at an early date on the advisability of establishing a High School. The Committee reported favorably but suggested that it should be for girls exclusively and that the curriculum should include French, Music, Drawing and Ornamental Needlework. The Board endorsed the Report, but the City Council was not favorable. In 1865 the plan was dropped on account of the new law providing that Grammar Schools should become City High Schools. By 1873 Mr. Archibald MacMurchy, Rector of the High School, wrote as follows to the Board: "As I was in the Grammar School and took part in receiving the first boy scholars in 1860, it was a satisfaction to me to have the opportunity of welcoming to the High School the first (5) girl scholars last August; sent in the same way as the boys have been."

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*It is not easy for men to rise when poverty stands in the way of their manly qualities.—Juvenal, Satire III.

The first Truant Officer was appointed in May, 1872—Mr. W. C. Wilkinson. Two years later, on the death of Mr. Barber, he became secretary of the Public School Board and served in that office for over forty years. Rev. James Porter, the Inspector, died on April 18th, 1874, and was succeeded by Mr. James L. Hughes, whose energetic temperament and enthusiasm soon created a lively corps-spirit in the teaching staff. In 1875 Mr. Hughes informed the Board that more than 4,000 of the children had no desks of any kind. He urged that single desks of an approved American pattern should be secured. Under his régime written examinations were instituted and the High School Entrance examination had its inception in 1877. The Kindergarten was first established in Louisa Street School in September, 1883, under the supervision of Miss Mareau. Supervisors of music and drawing were first appointed in 1872. Among the most notable headmasters of the mid-'eighties were Mr. Macdonald of Wellesley School, Mr. Samuel McAllister of Ryerson, and Mr. Richard Lewis of Dufferin, father of Mr. John Lewis of *The Globe,* the biographer of Hon. George Brown.

To-day the City of Toronto possesses 99 Public Schools, valued at $11,900,000, and 9 Secondary Schools worth nearly $2,000,000. There are 87,352 pupils registered in the Public Schools who are instructed by 1,758 teachers. The present Chief Inspector is Mr. Robert H. Cowley, M.A. The growth of this system of free schools in less than eighty years to its present vast proportions makes the time-old fairy tale of Jack and the Beanstalk less marvellous than it once was. Canada is a land of miracles.

Secondary education developed laboriously in Ontario. From 1807 to 1853 was the period of the old Grammar Schools, subsidized by the Government, copied in a measure after the Public Schools of England, and being mere appanages of the Anglican Church. Where the teachers were men of high ideals, energy and enthusiasm, the classes profited, but not all the Grammar Schools were so favored. Generally speaking they were not popular in the country. In 1849, according to Prof. W. E. Macpherson, from the whole 39 Grammar Schools only eight students matriculated to the University. At this time fifty-six per cent. of the schools received pupils who were unable to write. Not one pupil in six was studying Latin and of these only about one in twenty was far enough advanced to read Cæsar or Virgil. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that these schools competing with and thereby injuring the neighboring Common Schools should challenge the attention of Dr. Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education.*

The Superintendent's Report of 1850 contained the following sentences: "Pupils who are learning the first elements of an English education are sent and admitted to the Grammar School because it is thought to be more respectable than the Common School, and especially when Grammar School fees are made comparatively high to gratify this feeling and to place the Grammar School beyond the reach of the multitude. The Grammar Schools should be a connecting link between the Common Schools and the University; the Common Schools should be feeders of the Grammar Schools, as these should be feeders of the University. But this cannot be done until the Grammar Schools are placed as much under the control of local authorities as are the Common Schools." Legislation of 1853 followed in the main this suggestion. An entrance examination was proposed, text-books were prescribed, but in many instances the rules were better honored in the breach than in the observance. Rev. A. E. Miller thus described the Toronto Grammar School of 1854: "On the ground floor were the class rooms and the headmaster and his family lived in the upper storey. There was an old box stove in the principal's room, large enough to contain several five-foot sticks of wood. On very cold days it was no uncommon thing for masters and pupils to gather around the stove. The desks were arranged around the room against the wainscotting so that the backs of the pulpils were towards the master." Not until after the Grammar School Act of 1865 were girls admitted to secondary schools, and then only for the study of French. Both Dr. Ryerson and Inspector George Paxton Young were opposed to co-education, but circumstances overbore them.

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*The Ontario Grammar Schools, by W. E. Macpherson (Queen's University Press.)

The High School as we know it to-day, with an Entrance Examination Board consisting of the local inspector of Public Schools, the Principal of the High School and the Chairman of the High School Board was not finally established until 1871.

In that year the Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute was built and a year later Mr. Archibald MacMurchy entered upon his long course of 28 years as principal. "Jarvis Street" rightly traces its genealogy from the Home District School established in York in April, 1807, under Rev. George Okill Stuart. The old Blue School, where the Church Street Public Library now stands, was built in 1816, a frame structure 55 feet long and 40 feet wide, with Rev. John Strachan as Rector. In 1823 Rev. Samuel Armour was principal, to be succeeded two years later by Rev. Dr. Thomas Phillips.

In 1829 the school was moved to the corner of Lombard and Jarvis Streets, but as Upper Canada College had just been established the two institutions were merged for a year, with Dr. Phillips as vice-principal. In 1834 the Grammar School was reconstituted with Rev. Duncan Macaulay as principal. He was followed in 1836 by Mr. Cosens, and two years later Mr. M. C. Crombie took charge.

In 1864 the school was removed to the east side of Dalhousie Street, just north of Gould Street, with Rev. Dr. Wickson as rector. There it continued until 1869 when the Jarvis Street site was purchased. While the new school was in process of erection the classes met in King's College, which stood on land now occupied by the east wing of the Parliament Buildings.

After the retirement of Dr. MacMurchy the principals of Jarvis Street were Major F. F. Manley, 1900 to 1906, Dr. L. E. Embree, 1906 to 1914, and Mr. John Jeffries. The corner stone of a new school of modern type was laid in 1922. The first University scholarship won by a pupil of the school was secured in 1854 by Mr. W. J. Rattray.

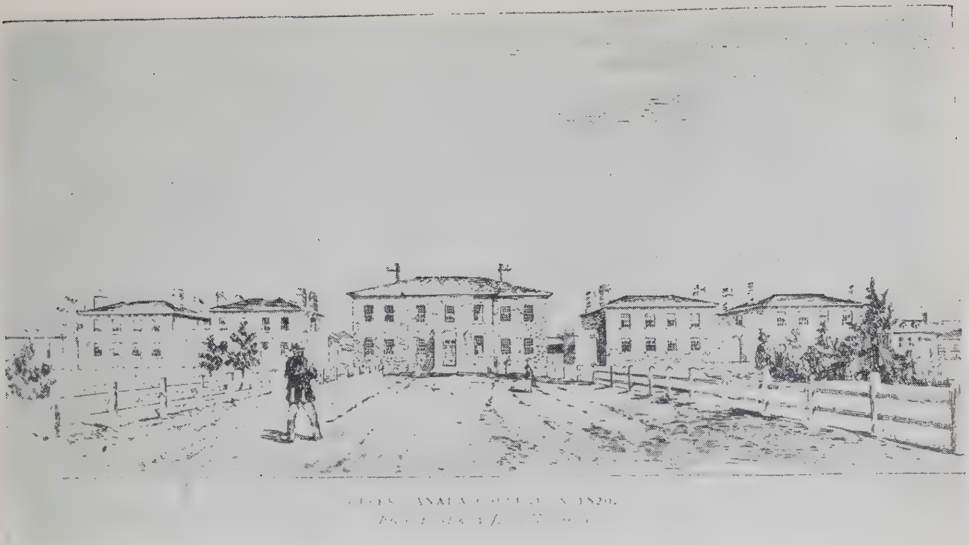
Sixty-six thousand acres of Crown Lands were set aside by Sir John Colborne in 1829 as endowment for a classical school for boys, after the model of the English Public Schools. The Home District Grammar School, for lack of sufficient Government aid, was unable to provide an adequate staff or suitable buildings to do the work among the young that the Governor considered necessary. Sir John, before coming to Canada, had been stationed in the Island of Guernsey and had had an important part in the reorganization of the Elizabeth College, an old but somewhat decayed educational foundation of the Island. The needs of York and of the Province were plain to him, especially since the charter granted to King's College had roused such clamorous opposition on the part of reformers and dissenters alike that its withdrawal was found necessary in the interests of tranquillity. The Governor no doubt perceived that the question of University establishment would be settled the more easily if there were a secondary school of approved standard, preparing boys for entrance to an institution of higher learning, and capable, if need be, of carrying on some University work itself.

Accordingly Upper Canada College was established. Tenders for the construction of buildings were invited and the Governor wrote to Dr. Jones, vice-chancellor of Oxford, asking him to select a principal and a competent staff. Dr. Jones took the advice of Rev. C. Stocker, formerly of Elizabeth College, and Rev. Charles Young, of Eton, and recommended Rev. Dr. Harris and Rev. Charles Dade, with others, whose names have been already given in the body of this work.

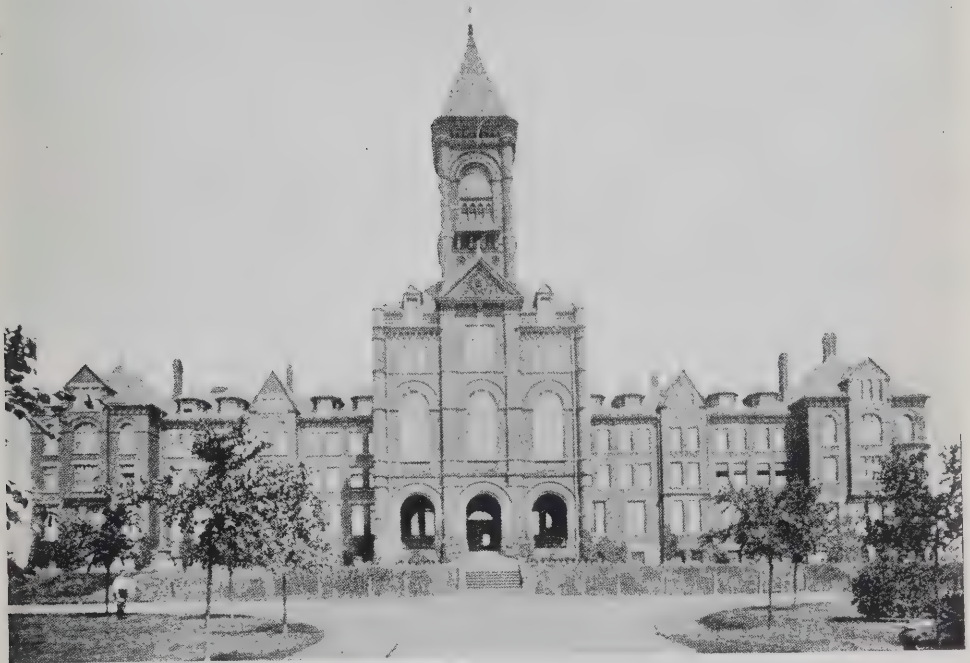
Russell Square, at the northwest corner of King and Simcoe Streets, was chosen as the site for the buildings. While they were in process of construction, the school was amalgamated with the Grammar School and Dr. Phillips, headmaster of the latter, became vice-principal. By 1831 the new buildings were ready for occupation; modest enough structures of red brick, set in a marshy field with a surplusage of pine stumps. The first fees were £2 a quarter, with 5s extra for pens, ink, fuel and lighting. Boys in the preparatory school paid £1 5s. The class-rooms had benches and desks around the walls, and box-stoves in the middle. The text-books were those used at Eton.

As in England Latin and Greek were all in all. A record of an early time-table established by Dr. Harris shows that throughout the whole six forms the time allotted to the classics ranged from 15 to 19 hours a week. English was taught only in the first and second forms. Six hours were devoted to French in the third form and 5½ hours to mathematics in the fourth. The "Sixth" had 17 hours of classics, 8 hours of mathematics and 3 hours of French.

The average attendance at first was about 120. Of these 84 were town boys; the boarders lived in the houses of the various masters. Discipline was rugged and the bamboo cane was the instrument of flagellation. Yet there grew up a school-spirit of the finest quality, a code of conduct established by the boys themselves which was as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Differences were settled by set fights, even as at Rugby, and cricket was introduced by Mr. G. A. Barber, who came to Canada with Dr. Harris as his assistant. But for all the copying of English methods, and the influence of English and Anglican teachers, Upper Canada College was Canadian: Tory Canadian, it is true, but still Canadian. The boys necessarily came from the upper strata of Colonial society, from the homes of officials, retired officers, professional men and suc-



OLD UPPER CANADA COLLEGE
From a drawing by J. G. Howard, 1829



UPPER CANADA COLLEGE

cessful merchants. No other parents could afford the fees. Thus, the percentage of students coming from among the Reformers was small. Many and evil were their school-experiences amongst a body of ardent juvenile Tories. When the Mackenzie rebellion broke out there was a desire exprssed by even the youngest to march in a body against the invaders. Dr. Harris entertained the juvenile spokesmen to cake and wine and advised them to go home.

Dr. John McCaul was principal from 1839 to 1843, retiring to become President of King's College. In his time upper-school boys were reading Œdipus Rex and the Ars Poetica, and dallying with elementary Conic Sections. The administration of the College had been in the hands of the King's College Council and the expenditures overran the available revenue. The annual cost of maintenance was between £6,000 and £7,000 a year. The land-value of the endowment was low and the fees were only a drop in the bucket. In 1839, after only ten years of existence, the College was in debt to an amount of £30,000. Ultimately this obligation was cleared by rising land-values, but the financial state of the institution long gave aid and comfort to its enemies. There was never a time when criticism of Upper Canada College wholly failed. The advocates of a more general education for the masses of the people protested against Government aid to an institution designed only for the rich. Nonconformists objected to its thoroughly Anglican atmosphere. Reformers found it a mere nursery of Toryism after the Strachan-Robinson model.

In later years when the Educational System of Ontario was devised and the High Schools were beginning to train boys for University, the complaint was made that there was discrimination in the examinations in favor of Upper Canada College boys. The accusation was unfounded, but it was made. Undoubtedly the existence of the College stimulated the work in the High Schools, as the High Schools influenced the outlook and the course of study at the College. The institution has been blessed by a succession of brilliant principals, such as F. W. Barron, M.A., 1843 to 1856; Rev. Walter Stennett, 1857 to 1861; G. R. R. Cockburn, M.A., of Edinburgh and Leipsic, 1861 to 1881; John Milne Buchan, M.A., 1881 to 1885; George Dickson, M.A., 1885 to 1895; George R. Parkin, the publicist and Imperialist, from 1895 to 1902; Henry W. Auden, M.A., 1903 to 1916, and the present Principal, Mr. W. L. Grant. The assistant masters also have been men of the highest type. Between 1868 and 1874 the second Mathematics Masters were John A. Paterson, James MacLellan, Rev. Arthur Sweatman, afterwards Bishop of Toronto, and Alfred Baker, later of the Department of Mathematics in Toronto University.

The old buildings at King and Simcoe were deserted in 1891 for the splendid College site at the head of Avenue Road.

In recent years St. Andrew's College for boys has been a useful and worthy institution, with a Presbyterian atmosphere. Dr. Macdonald is the Principal. The University Schools, established as a practice institution for students of the Faculty of Education in 1910, is a Secondary School for boys. Already it has won a high reputation.

The High School of Commerce designed to qualify boys and girls for business life has been singularly successful, and the Toronto Technical School is one of the educational marvels of the community. It is a palace of grey stone occupying a city block, with 69 teachers for the day classes and 156 for evening pupils. The attendance varies from 2,685 in the daytime to 7,258 in the evenings. Many of these pupils, of course, are taking short courses in perhaps one subject of technical training. The Technical School property is valued at $2,493,952.

Separate education for girls was considered necessary even in the Common Schools. The old Central School at the corner of Jarvis and Adelaide Streets, which dated from 1833, had a separate "female" department with a "headmistress." In the Grammar School of the Home District girls had no place, although in some of the similar schools of the Province they were admitted, grudgingly. Co-education had no support from Dr. Ryerson or other educationists of his period. Not until the High School System of Ontario was finally organized were mixed classes found in being. Feminism won the first parallel of trenches against Giant Use-and-Wont with the official admission that the daughters as well as the sons of a poor man had a right to a measure of education at the public expense. At first French and needlework were considered the only suitable subjects of secondary instruction. When girls were allowed to study Latin much was achieved.

Before the war of 1812 young women of well-to-do families were sent to Quebec to boarding school but soon there was no lack of such institutions in York. Perhaps the most notable of these, at least in the early days, was in charge of Miss Eliza Hussey. Her school, which was in operation by 1831, was situated on the corner of James and Albert Streets, and the building stood until the construction of the City Hall. A list of the private schools for girls during fifty or sixty years would be merely a catalogue of names, even if its compilation were possible. They did not greatly differ one from the other. The pupils were taught Music, French, ornamental needlework, "the use of the globes," and were formed on the Victorian model of feminine grace. Becky Sharp attended just such a school.

When Mr. George Dickson retired in 1895 from the headmastership of Upper Canada College, he, with the active aid of Mrs. Dickson, established St. Margaret's College, a school for girls which for twenty-five years had the highest reputation. The course of studies was similar to that of the best High School and led directly towards matriculation. At the same time it was a "finishing school" in the best sense of that hackneyed term. The young pupils were taught music as well as the languages, and acquired insensibly the graces of "deportment" through association with refined and cultured teachers. St. Margaret's was never a snob-factory. Its disappearance, owing to the retirement of Mrs. Dickson in 1920, was a real loss to the community and the country.

Almost contemporary with St. Margaret's was Havergal's foundation. Its aims have been similar, to provide a course leading towards the University, while forming the character and manners of the pupils. The main building at 354 Jarvis Street is admirably equipped for the accommodation of over 100 boarders, and the four branches in various parts of the city do a good work. Miss E. M. Knox is the principal.

Branksome Hall was founded by Miss Margaret T. Scott in 1903 and also is conducted upon sound educational lines; its successes at the matriculation examinations are noteworthy. Bishop Strachan School and St. Hilda's College attract Anglicans; Moulton is a Baptist institution, founded by Mrs. William McMaster, whose maiden name was Moulton.

Mr. Percy J. Robinson, of St. Andrew's College, contributes the following illuminating sketch of the personality and work of Dr. MacMurchy, who established the tradition which to this day rules secondary education in Toronto:

Dr. MacMurchy, so long the headmaster of the Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute, or as he much preferred to call it, "The Old Grammar School," exerted a strong influence upon education both in Toronto and Ontario. A fine scholar himself, and a strong disciplinarian, he impressed his ideas upon many generations of pupils and through the medium of *The Educational Monthly,* of which he was for many years the editor and proprietor, he was an important factor in the educational life of the Province.

When he became Rector of the Grammar School in 1872 Dr. MacMurchy fell heir to a tradition which he felt it an honor to maintain. Founded in 1807, the Home District School had had an honorable history and had passed through many vicissitudes. It was at one time temporarily absorbed in Upper Canada College. The Grammar Schools were a part of Simcoe's original scheme for the education of the children of the more prosperous citizens of the Province, and there clung to these schools something of the original tradition of education as a privilege. The rivalry with Upper Canada College, however, gradually forced the Grammar School into the pursuit of more democratic ideals. Upper Canada College became by virtue of the excellent salaries paid to its teachers, a highly efficient school able to carry off most of the scholarships offered at the University, and at the same time claiming pre-eminence as a state residential school and as the stronghold of class ideals in the Province. As headmaster or Rector of the Grammar School, Dr. MacMurchy was fully conscious of the two opposing educational theories. The battle for a State system of education had been won by Dr. Ryerson. The University had been freed from sectarian control and had been remodelled on the democratic model of the University of London, but the struggle was not by any means at an end. Secondary Schools of all kinds long continued to be regarded as class schools and did not receive sympathetic support from all quarters. The new High Schools created in 1870 were to be integral parts of the state system and there was to be a very definite cleavage between private schools of the type of Upper Canada College and the Government schools. Dr. MacMurchy conducted the old Grammar School with a sympathetic understanding of the ideals of both parties. His strong reverence for the past made him cherish tenderly every morsel of tradition connected with the Old Grammar School. In this he was intensely conservative. On the other hand he never took the view that education should be the privilege of the few. He welcomed all, irrespective of wealth or family, and encouraged ability wherever he found it. In this he was a thorough democrat. He dispensed no favors except to the industrious and he believed with all his heart in the high destiny of education to save the State. There was a kind of dualism in his character which bewildered his critics. By nature deeply conservative and reluctant to change, he was fully seized of the importance of the new development in state education. With the creed of the Tory he combined the spirit of a Liberal. While he clung to the externals of conservatism in dress and demeanor, writing with a quill pen long after quill pens became obsolete, he had not one vestige of the love of privilege which is the real mark of a Tory. With him nothing went by favor, but everything by merit; and he made no distinctions between his pupils. Thus it happened that he often gravely offended persons of opposite cast of mind. There are always some who despise the past and think that everything new is therefore good; and there are always some who expect from those who profess the conservative faith an adherence to the cult of personal favors, private patronage and special privileges. Inevitably then, Dr. MacMurchy failed to please those narrow persons who see no good in the opposite mode of thinking. He belonged rather to those who do not really care very much for the petty rivalries of democrats and aristocrats. He would probably have divided mankind into the wise and the foolish rather than the well-born and the ignoble. At heart he probably had as much fear of aristocratic assumptions as he had of democratic aggressions. But the antithesis to him was a false and unnecessary antithesis. He was sufficient of a Puritan to divide the world on morals, yet he was sufficiently not a Puritan to cling romantically to the Jacobite tradition.

The explanation of this inconsistency lay in his Highland blood. Those who speak the Gaelic have qualities which set them apart. The Celtic strain lends a fervour to religion which in the case of Dr. MacMurchy added an impressive earnestness to the collects which he used so effectively at morning and evening prayers; the intonations with which they were pronounced remaining long in the memories of his pupils. Of naturally austere, even severe morality, and possessing the true Celtic religious temperament, he had no touch of fanaticism. On the contrary he was drawn rather to liberalism in religion as preached by Rev. D. J. Macdonell, of (new) St. Andrew's Church, whom he greatly admired. There was thus another dualism in his character. Deeply religious in everything he did he combined with Puritan severity the spirit of the hymn which was his special favorite: "There's a wideness in God's mercy like the wideness of the sea." And while he could mete out strict justice to offenders he was fond of urging the scriptural injunction, "to love as brethren and to live peaceably with one another," precepts which in a large school may contribute much to good discipline.

Another notable Highland characteristic which he possessed was the habit of intense loyalty towards those to whom he had once given his support. It was the clansman's feeling for the clansman. None of his teachers ever had reason to complain that he did not stand behind them. On the contrary it is certain that he often supported teachers when his own interests might have suggested a different course. It was an excellent lesson in loyalty and he expected, though he never asked, the same fealty towards himself. This he commanded from those who could appreciate his good qualities, but like all in authority, he occasionally experienced disloyalty and sometimes treachery. Like a Highlander he had few or no words of outward profession and he expected others to carry out his wishes without very extended instructions. The Celtic temperament relies much upon psychic communications, the glance of an eye, a sign, a shrug of the shoulders mean much to the Gael; and Dr. MacMurchy moving silently about the school conveyed an impression of what he desired from his colleagues and his pupils by methods which were never voluble. His words were few, but his wishes and intentions were well understood.

In the same silent way he disciplined his pupils. He never scolded or harangued and the amount of authority he could put into a nod or a gesture was very terrifying to transgressors.

Another Celtic trait which he possessed was the faculty of dreaming. He often bewildered his classes by standing for long periods gazing into the distance. But these visions were not idle. He visualized correctly the potentialities of the young country whose youth he was training and without their knowing it he made them feel the effect of the visions that his Celtic imagination created. He was the very opposite in some respects of the hard business man and the things which he valued, mathematics, the classics, literature and history, were to be pursued for themselves and not for profit. His school was completely dominated by his personality; and if his pupils often expected more from him than he could give, it was partly because he created the atmosphere where high things are demanded. It is the dreamer alone who has the power to do this.

In one respect Dr. MacMurchy encountered much opposition. He was opposed on principle to co-education, and when girls were by legislation admitted to the secondary schools he reluctantly acquiesced, always maintaining that there are advantages to both sexes in separate instruction. At the Grammar School the classes always remained separate and until the end of his Rectorship there was little intercourse between the two schools. The efforts which he expended to frustrate communication often heightened animosity and aroused opposition and ridicule, but he was inflexible. There are now many who recognize that in theory he was correct. At that time, however, the girls would have had to do without secondary education at all had they been excluded. Under Dr. MacMurchy there was very little nonsense and very scant opportunity for frivolity; and it is certain that however the younger people felt about the matter the parents had no misgivings in committing their daughters to his charge. It is more than probable that both girls and boys would have a better time to-day in separate institutions than they do when sharing the same class rooms and instructors.

Dr. MacMurchy was the last of those old-fashioned Headmasters who maintained a thoroughly dignified and independent position. Through the greater part of his career School Boards and School Inspectors left him severely alone. The prestige of the Grammar School and his own personal dignity enabled him to possess alone the importance which his successors must divide with many rivals.

No picture of the Rector would be complete without some description of his personal appearance, his dress and certain mannerisms which in his case interpreted the man. He was not tall, but an upright bearing gave the appearance of height. His hair, which was very thick, he wore rather long. His face was scarred by smallpox and a rather short thin beard covered his chin. His features were aquiline and his complexion dark. Winter and summer Dr. MacMurchy wore invariably a black suit with high clerical vest and black bow tie. His watch was attached by a black ribbon to his waistcoat. In summer he often wore a silk hat, as was then customary, and in winter a Persian lamb cap. He always carried a black thorn cane, which he was fond of holding by the middle or trailing on the ground. He walked with a loose knee. Punctuality was with him a passion. He was never late and never absent. Methodical in everything, year in and year out he rang the school bell with exactly the same step and swing of the bell. Various little mannerisms he had which sometimes amused his pupils. There was never anything slack or purposeless in his actions. He had his own way of doing everything and the result was an outward bearing which expressed very truly the inner man.

As an educator Dr. MacMurchy lived before the age of psychologists and professors of pedagogics. He believed that character was the first requisite for a teacher and scholarship the second. For himself he felt that his duty was ended when he had provided the opportunity for learning for his pupils. He did not spoon-feed them and coax them along the path of knowledge. There are still those who believe in the methods which he practised. His reverence for scholarship was profound and he lived before the days when the athlete usurps the honors of the student.

It would be incomplete to conclude without mention of his success as an editor. *The Educational Monthly* under his management provided first-class literary and educational matter for a wide circle of teachers and furnished the arena for the discussion of many important educational problems. There is no periodical to-day possessing the same outlook.

During his lifetime Dr. MacMurchy found many warm friends and admirers. They recognized the uprightness of his character and the loftiness of his ideals. What difficulties he experienced were due to the dualism of his temperament and of his position. He was for many years Secretary of the Ontario Teachers' Association and afterwards President of the Ontario Educational Association. Smith and MacMurchy's Arithmetic, long a familiar school book, was the first mathematical text-book written in Canada. Dr. MacMurchy's hand-book of Canadian Literature is still a useful manual.

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[*] Archibald MacMurchy, the second son of Angus MacMurchy and Elizabeth Macphail, was born on 16th March, 1832 at Stewartfield, Kintyre, Argyleshire. The family came to Upper Canada in 1840. He was educated at Rockwood Academy, the Normal School and the University of Toronto, graduated as B.A. in 1861, with the Silver Medal in Mathematics, and as M.A. in 1868. He opened the first public school in Collingwood on 25th April, 1855, was appointed Mathematical Master in the Toronto Grammar School (afterwards Toronto Collegiate Institute) in 1858, and was Rector 1872-1900. He fought at the Battle of Ridgeway on 2nd June, 1866 with the University Company of the Queen's Own Rifles, was a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto from 1877-1884 and was given the honorary Degree of LL.D. in 1907. In 1859 he married Marjory Jardine Ramsay, daughter of James Ramsay of West Port House, Linlithgow, Scotland, and had three sons and three daughters. Mrs. MacMurchy's death took place on 5th August, 1889, and Dr. MacMurchy's on April 27th, 1912.

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